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EDITED BY

JAMES WILSON BRIGHT, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
MURRAY PEABODY BRUSH — GUSTAV GRUENBAUM
WILLIAM KURRELMEYER — JAMES EUSTACE SHAW

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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A PLAY OF JUDITH

An incomplete play of "Holofernes," in Latin and English, is found in Hengwrt and Peniarth MS. 508, at the National Library of Wales.[1] The play begins at the top of page 3, and ends at the middle of page 9, the lower half of the sheet being torn away. The original Latin, which proves to be a copy of a portion of the play of *Judith* by Cornelius Schonæus[2] is written on the even pages; the English translation is on the odd pages. The bottom of the eighth page, for the space of about five lines, is blank. Also, so far as one can judge, the lower half of the ninth page was left blank, so that it would appear that the translator gave up his task at this point. The translation includes the title and the names of the *dramatis personae*, the prologue, and a part of the first speech of Holofernes. Of that speech, the last twelve lines translated were not copied in Latin. The Latin text is written stichically in an Italian hand, while the translation is written as prose[3] and in the national hand.

[1] Professor Carleton Brown called my attention to the MS. It is referred to in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* II, Appendix, p. 106, as belonging to the 16th century. Wynne in *Arch. Camb.*, Ser. IV, vol II, p. 118, assigns it to the 17th century. I am obliged to Mr. John Ballinger, the Librarian of the National Library, for having a rotograph made of the MS.

[2] The MS. deviates in orthography, especially in the matter of doubling consonants, from the printed versions of the Latin which I have been able to examine.

[3] I am indebted to Professor Brown for calling my attention to the fact that the translation is in unrhymed verse, and for much information concerning the 16th century movement for classical metres in English. I have supplied capital letters at the beginning of the lines, but have adhered to the MS. capitalisation in all other cases.

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[page 3] IVDITHA · AVCTORVM[4] NOMIN[A]
HO : MOR : AMMO : AC : THRA :
LA : BA : | OZI : IOA : SA :
MEL : AZA : IV : AB :[5]
PROLOGUS
Trimetri[6] Jambi.

O yee most worshipfull and gentle citisones,
All haile vnto you, whosoever of you came hether
To see theese plesaunt and ioifull comm*e*dies
Hou[ld?] on I will not stay you here with any longe speach
But whatsoever wee are aboute to do wee wi[ll] declare vnto you
A comm*e*die beinge in *pre*sens with few wordes.
But who is he which made this commedie,
It is one[7] sconevs a master of our scoole,
For he purposed to shew this his industrie vnto you
Afore this time now he declareth an other comm*e*die,
It is not vaine but also holy and godly
Taken out of the holy bible. And what vacaiuite,
Ever he had, the scoleres beinge absente
He wi[ll]ingly applied all that time vnto this studie.
And he thinketh his laboure not to be vn*pro*fitable
Vnto himself nor vnto you vnacceptabl[e]
If you would dedicate your mindes ether vnto
Divine learninge or vnto politike artes,
Ffor evenas he confesseth, his comm*e*die
Tò bee far differinge from the stile and phrase[8]
Of aunc[i]ente Poetes, so if[9] there be any losse

[4] A mistake for *Actorvm*.

[5] The full names of the *dramatis personae* as given in the printed texts are:—Holofernes, imperator Assyriorum; Moabus and Ammonides, duces militum; Achior, Ammonites; Thraso and Labrax, milites Assyrij; Bagoas, cubicularius Holofernis; Ozias, Consul Betuliensis; Ioachimvs, summus sacerdos; Sadocos, Melchias and Azarias, cives Betulienses; Juditha, vidua: Abra, Judithae ancilla. The perpendicular line after Ba[goas] seems to mark a division between the Assyrians and the Israelites.

[6] MS. *Trimeti*.

[7] *on* has been deleted from the line and *one* written above.

[8] MS. *phase*.

[9] *of* seems to have been altered to *if*, and a letter has been written above and blotted.

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Or b[reak]inge herin let evrie man iudg of it as they wi[ll]
For here is no thinge [10] [page 5] which is eather absurde or dishoneste,
Or any thinge vnworthy to be harde, but only
Chaste honest and godly, which you are aboute to heare
Wherby you shall trie all things wether they be trew or not.
And so there be no learned men wantinge
Which will reade and allow his comm*e*dies.
Vnto whose comm*e*die yee seeme to obay whom I see
Most attentiue and heedfull and givinge greate yeare hearvnto.
Now least that any man by your iudgmente shall thinke
Me to haue ben longe aboute [11] it, if I hould
You [12] heare any longe time: give yeare vnto me
While I shew you the argumente of this comm*e*die.

The argument of the comm*e*die.

Holefernes a captaine of the Asirienes
Mightie in war and doinge many noble actes, compaste
The citie Betulia with great siege, the citiesones beinge
Seperated on from an other by theire strengthe [13] desired
Aide of god. then they beinge vexed with scarsnes of water sayd
They would yeeld to theire enimies vnlesse in five daies god
Would help them, as soone as this came [14] unto Juditha her eare
She consulted with Ozia her lifte tenaunte.
Herevpon she being brethed by hevenly powers [15] by night
And tooke her hande maide with her, and wente to the hostes of her enimies:
[page 7] And shee moste craftily deceved Holefernes by her fained decietes.[16]
Whom after he beinge ov[er] whelmed by over much drinkinge[17] of wine imm*o*deratly
When shee had kut of his heade and brought it to the citie, by and by
The enimies fled away beinge frightened with greate feare.

[10] **Half the line has been left blank in order that the English might correspond to the Latin on the following page.**
[11] *u* written above.
[12] *with* deleted.
[13] MS. *strenghe*.
[14] *came* repeated in the MS.
[15] *r* written above the *s*.
[16] *i* written above.
[17] MS. *drinkinke*.

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Then the Izaralites havinge gotten the victorie gave greate [18] praise vnto god.

The firste acte and scene. Holefer
Moabus [19], Iambi [20] senarij et septenarij.

By Iubiter it is [21] graunted vnto me for whatsoever
I do it happeneth vnto me most prosperously.
For into what parte soever of the worlde I goe
With my armie I *pre*sently rise great feare & tremblinge.
Nether is there any citie any wheare or region
Valiaunte in armie which kan resiste againste mee. for all men
As soone as they heare me to have co[m]*m*en [22] somwhat neare vnto them
By & by they co*m* vnto me: and will yeld vnto me
Both themselfes theire regiones goodes & armes vpon which they put theire truste
& daily resistinge againste them and will ever do it [23]
[page 9] They giue & yeeld them selfes vnto me wi[llin]gly:
And in all respectes obainge my [24] praeceptes & com*m*aundements.
By obtaininge the which thinges [25] truly so happily and valiauntly
I thinke I shall obtaine greate praise and gorgeouse [26] rewarde
As I haue hether vnto gotten wonderfull greate renowne
And glorie for my selfe and my posteritie
Sith that this is the only way for noble and princlike men,
Wherby they may never droune nor leese theire eternall honor
And glorie, when the fame of slothfull [27] men and cowarde
Dishonestly decaith with the life which dishonestlie
I know I have avoided hethervnto and
I hope I [28]

The original play was the work of Cornelius Schonæus, Rector of Haarlem at the end of the 16th century. He was well-known during his lifetime as the author of a number of sacred comedies

[18] *a* written above.
[19] *a* written above.
[20] *s* deleted.
[21] *it* comes in the middle of the line. The rest of the line is left blank.
[22] *pre* deleted.
[23] A letter is deleted between *i* and *n*.
[24] *l* deleted.
[25] A letter has been deleted.
[26] *vnto me* deleted.
[27] MS. *shothfull*.
[28] Here the page has been torn.

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in imitation of Terence, on account of which he was often described as the "Christian Terence."[29] Foppens mentions *Judithae constantia* as one of a number of Schonæus's plays which were printed separately at Antwerp between 1570 and 1578, and in one volume at Cologne in 1614. *Juditha* is found in at least three other editions:—Haarlem, 1592; Antwerp 1598; and Cologne, 1604, all volumes containing six plays. Dr. Herford[30] points out that Schonæus was well-known in England and that "three at least of his seventeen plays were reprinted in London almost as soon as they appeared."[31] A footnote refers to a volume containing *Tobaeus, Juditha* and *Pseudostratiotes,* printed in London in 1595. The present version is interesting as an additional piece of evidence for the influence of the school-masters of the Low Countries on English Literature during the 16th century.

Even more interesting is the attempt of the translator to reproduce the *senarii* and *septenarii* of his original, for the fragment is thus connected with the whole literary school that strove to regulate English verse according to the rules of classical prosody. The first efforts to conform strictly to Latin quantity, and to ignore the accent of the spoken language, were soon found impracticable. The later metrists, while still endeavoring as much as possible to follow the classical rules, insisted that accentuation must primarily determine the form of English verse. Moreover, the ear, rather than the eye, was to be the test of rhythm. On the whole, the present attempt is to be classified with the works of the early reformers, inasmuch as English accentuation is frequently ignored for the sake of the quantity of the vowels. Thus in the following words, the accented syllable is made short, while the unaccented syllable is long owing to the position of the vowel before two consonants:—*labŏūre not, tenaŭnt, dishonēste.* When it happens, however, that two long syllables are required by the metre, the accented vowel is then made long even though it may be short according to position, e. g.:—*unăccēptāble, cŏmpāste, prēsēns, ābsēnte, ĭūdgmēnte.* In one case *cĭtĭsōnes* is found with two long syllables, in another *cĭtĭesōnes* with the accented syllable short. It must be noted, on

[29] Jean François Foppens: *Bibliotheca Belgica,* ed. 1739, p. 218.

[30] *Literary Relations of England and Germany,* p. 94.

[31] In making this statement, Dr. Herford seems to be referring to the edition of 1592 rather than to the one mentioned by Foppens as having been published 1570-1578.

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the other hand, that vowels which are long by position, and even diphthongs, are occasionally short if they are unaccented, e. g., *a* in *ăbsūrde*. The author's treatment of short *e* and *i* as separate syllables before other vowels illustrates yet more clearly that he followed the grammar-school rules of scansion, e. g.:—*Asīrīēnes, scōnĕŭs, Ozīā*. It may be noted that the quantities of the Latin case endings are preserved in the last two examples, *-ŭs* and *-ā* (ablative after the preposition *with*). But most significant of all, perhaps, is the fact that the ending *-ie* is with very few exceptions regarded as a diphthong and made long, e. g.:—*commedīe, stŭdīe, cītīe, evrīe;* and in two examples, *godlȳ* and *onlȳ*, the rule has been extended to include the same sound when it is spelt with *-y*. Usually a digraph makes a preceding vowel long, e. g.:—*cōnfĕssēth;* similarly the ending *-inge* is regularly long in *bĕinge, brĕakinge, drīnkīnge*. This usage is more slavishly classical even than the rules to which the Areopagite School conformed, for Spenser recognised that *th* was one sound, and that *ie* was a simple vowel even though it looked like a diphthong. Somewhat more freedom has been taken in the treatment of monosyllables. Usually unaccented or lightly accented monosyllables are short, even when the rules of position require them to be long, e. g.:—*ănd* (but *ānd* is also found), *mŏst, ĭn presens, ŏf thĕ hŏly*. Conversely, if the verse requires the monosyllable to be long, it is made long, although the vowel is flanked by single consonants, without regard to the strength of the accent, e. g.:—*to dō, be nō learned*. Nevertheless, in spite of such deviations, the translator of *Judith* has modelled his prosody fairly strictly on the basis of his Latin Grammar, although his native pronunciation at times has become stronger than the rules.

To judge from its unfinished condition, and the halting character of its style, this version of the *Judith* was a school exercise. Some confirmation of this conjecture is found in the fact that the same manuscript contains a "Cato construed by Corderius, Latin and English."[32] Finally, it is to be observed that the connection of this piece of translation with the schools is quite in accord with the generally accepted view that the schools supplied the main channel through which the Netherlands influenced English literature.

Bryn Mawr College. GWEN ANN JONES.

[32] See Wynne's description in *Arch. Camb.* cited above, n. 1.

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ALLITERATION AND VARIATION IN OLD GERMANIC NAME-GIVING.

Old Germanic names are prevailingly composed of two themes and the dominant principle in name-giving is that of variation of the two themes. According to this system one theme of the basic name of father or other relative is retained and combined with some other theme in forming the new name, as Eurich-Alarich. By the side of this principle we also often find that of alliteration and now and then repetition. In the latter principle the full name of the relative is retained; this method belongs, however, to a later period, and, as G. Storm has shown,[1] is then usually seen to be connected with the belief in the transmigration of the soul. In Germanic practice, therefore, repetition of the full name would seem to be later evolved (or borrowed); the original principle was either that of variation or that of alliteration. It is the purpose of this paper to indicate briefly the scope of these two principles in early Germanic practice with a view to ascertaining: 1) what forms the principle of variation assumes, and 2) the relative order of the two on the basis of the evidence of the names in the Old Germanic royal lines, and 3) to determine, if possible, the question of the origin of the system of repetition in Germanic and West Scandinavian. What I shall offer is intended to be merely suggestive not exhaustive.

At the outset I may say there is clearly no sharp dividing line between any two of these principles. The reason for separating repetition from variation as a system of name-giving was, of course, the fact that the former has been found to be extensively associated with the belief in the transmigration of the soul, whereas no such belief is evidenced it would seem in connection with either variation, or with alliteration. Storm found the earliest trace of repetition when Eurich, among the Visigoths of Toulouse, about 470 named his son Alarich after his great grandfather, Alarich I, the conqueror of Rome, who died in 410. Only slightly later the new practice is in evidence among the Burgundians in Eastern Gaul.[2]

[1] *Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, 1893, pp. 199-222: "Vore Forædres Tro paa Sjælevandring og deres Opkaldelsessystem."

[2] Storm, p. 206.

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He holds, therefore, that the new belief and the new custom in name-giving were borrowed from the Gauls.

Formally there may seem to be some support for the view that the custom was borrowed in that whereas the older system was a principle of similarity, the new one is a system of identity requiring the use of the identical name of the ancestor that is to be renamed. But the change from variation to repetition is also one from a lesser to a greater identity; from the identity of one theme to a principle which required the identity of both themes. Between the two there are intermediate forms in actual Germanic and W. Scandinavian practice, as there also are between alliteration and variation.[3] Also the view that variation was the primitive Germanic system necessarily must assume that variation was later displaced by the (borrowed?) system of alliteration; and further that the latter was later again replaced by variation, for this seems to be the dominant principle when repetition sets in in the West Germanic countries and in the West Scandinavian North. If alliteration be the original principle the evolution of the later principles would represent a progressive tendency to greater and greater identity in the name as the mark of kinship.

Of course alliteration and variation may originally both have existed side by side as they actually do in the earliest groups of related family names (*i. e.*, personal name-theme as the mark of family relationships). We can then readily see how one might gain dominance in one region, the other in another, both, however, being everywhere practised. Thus the alliterative principle of the E. Scandinavian royal lines around the year 500[4] would represent the complete ascendency of this principle in this region at this time.[5] However, the more complicated system it would seem was evolved out of the simpler rather than vice-versa.

I shall now turn to the Germanic genealogies. In the earliest names of the royal lines alliteration is frequent and alliterative variation decidedly preponderates over non-alliterative. The family tree of Arminius is significant and typical. The date is the

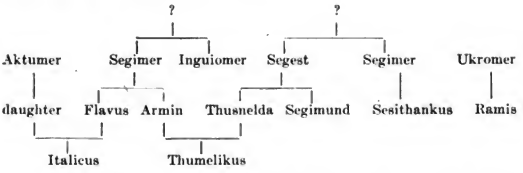
[3] See below.

[4] This has been shown by A. Olrik, *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, I, 22-25, who holds that variation preceded alliteration.

[5] The evidence, as far as I can see, is almost exclusively East Scandinavian.

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first century A. D. I reproduce the table here from F. Dahn's *Deutsche Geschichte* I, Part 1, p. 366:



Here we have then alliteration in *S* once,[6] in *Th* once and in vowel once, and alliterative variations once (*Segest—Segimund*). The name Ramis must be left out of account as uncertain. Alliteration and the primary theme *Seg-* completely dominates here. It is practically a certainty that the father of the second Segimer and his brother Segest had a name that began with *S*. The father of the first *Segimer* had a name that began with *S* or a vowel. The second theme is usually *-mer;* the first is either *Seg-* or a vocalic theme. The name *Arminius* alliterates with the uncle's name (and the grandfather's?) If it had a second theme, and the Germanic names of this family all have two themes, that then was probably *-mer* = *Erminomer.*[7]

Among the earliest West Gothic kings we find alliteration and variation and even repetition: as *Athanarich — Alarich* (395-410), and *Theoderich* I (d. 451), whose four sons are *Thorismund, Theoderich, Friedrich* and *Eurich.*[8] Here the oldest son is named after the father by alliteration and the fourth son similarly after the great-grandfather. In the case of the second son the living

[6] A. K. Müllenhoff, *Germanica Ant.* and Kögel, *Geschichte d. d. Lit.* I, 51 ff., have shown that the name of Segimer's son is Sesithankus (not Segithankus) as Wormstall would read.

[7] The name *Arminius* may now be regarded as definitely shown to be not Roman, but a Romanized Germanic name. See especially Gustav Kossinna, "Arminius Deutsch?" in *Indo-Germanische Forschungen*, II, pp. 174-184. Kossinna assumes Arminius = **Erminz*, a short name for *Erminomerus.* This is precisely the 'full-name' which the genealogy requires (see the table).

[8] See table in Dahn's *Allgemeine Geschichte*, II, 2, p. 590. The alliterations are prevailingly vocalic or in *Th.*

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father's name is repeated. The third son's name is purely variational; the family theme *-rich* is also repeated in the fourth son's name. The Rugian names *Flaccitheus,* (ca. 460) and those of his sons *Feletheus* and *Ferderuch* show alliteration with retention of the end theme in the first case; when Feletheus names his son *Fridrich* we seem again to have pure alliteration.[9] Among the Amali alliteration seems to prevail: The earliest names alliterate in vowel or *H* (See *A. G.*, p. 588), then follows Athal whose son is Achiulf. The latter's sons are: *Ansila—Ediulf; Wuldulf* and *Ermanarich.* Wuldulf's son is named *Valeravans,* whose son again is *Winithar* (further *Wandalar* and *Widemer, Walemer* and *Theodemer,* sons of Wandalar). In the Vandalic line of King Godigisel, whose sons are *Guntherich* and *Genserich* we find alliterations of the fathers named, while the sons' names have the second theme in common. Thereupon the alliterative principle changes here to variation; Genserich names his son Hunerich, born ca. 450, who in turn names his son *Hilderich.* Genserich's son Genzo gives his sons variational names: *Godagis* (great-grandfather *Godigisel*); *Gunthamund* (*Guntherich,* another son of Godigisel); the third son is named by variation of the second son's name *Thrasamund.*

In the Merovingian line a special form of variational name-giving is practiced (see below) but the primary themes are prevailingly themes in *Ch.* The names are: *Childerich—Chlodovech—Chlodomer—Childibert—Chlothachar — Chlodechildis — Chram—Charibert.* Among the Longobards the letters are *A* (*Audvin,* son *Albvin*) (6th cent.) and *G.* (*Garibald,* sons *Gundovald* and *Grimvald*) (7th cent.). Among the Burgundian Gibichungs alliteration is the chief mark of kinship: *Gibiche—Godomar, Gislachar, Gundichar.* The letter is *G* further in the later descendants: *Gundeuch—Gundobad—Godegisel.* With *Godomar,* born ca. 475, son of *Gundobad,* repetition sets in[10] which henceforth is practiced by the side of alliterative and non-alliterative variation. Among the earliest kings of the Gepidi, the principle seems to be alliteration: *Trafstila,* son *Thrasarich;* and *Elemund,* sons *Ostrogotha* and *Arigusa*(?), while *Turismod,* died ca. 549, is named after *Turisin* by alliterative variation.

[9] *L. c.* 594.
[10] Storm, *l. c.* 206.

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Primitive Germanic name-giving then, the above brief survey would seem to indicate, was one which combined alliteration and alliterative variation. Alliteration is found in a considerable proportion of the cases as the sole mark of the family line, while non-alliterative variation is in some lines not practiced at all, in others only sporadically evidenced. This seems to point to alliteration as the original Germanic principle; along with it alliterative variation was probably regularly practiced in general Germanic times. Pure variation, however, belongs to the age of the Germanic migrations and after. Alliteration as a survival obtains clear down to the Viking Age and in East Scandinavian gains a dominant place again in the sixth century.[11]

So far we have spoken only of the order of the two systems. Let us now consider briefly the evolution of variation.

The earliest variational names were then alliterative, it may be assumed, *i. e.*, had end-variation; this stage has been illustrated by many names cited above. What the first step was that led to the new method is indicated, perhaps, by such groups as *Gundegisel—Gunderich—Genserich*. The second son's name, Genserich, is linked to the father's name by something more than the initial *G;* we have here a kind of inchoate variation. Cp., above, *Garibald* and sons *Gundovald* and *Grimvald,* and the Burgundian names *Gundobad—Gislahad*. Again when *Kýlan* named his son *Kári*[12] the result is somewhat similar. Such identity of larger portions of the name may, of course, sometimes be purely accidental. Greater is the identity and nearer to true variation in such case as *Arnegisclus—Anagastus,* Thrasian father and son of the fourth century.[13] These cases are intermediate forms; they illustrate, it seems to me, the way in which an accidental, but from the nature of the case a frequently occurring, identity of two or more of the first sounds could finally lead to a feeling for such greater identity in the name and finally to a fixed practice of choosing names in which the first stem was identical. Variation may also have arisen in the second theme, in a manner illustrated by the names

[11] See Berger Nerman: *Studier över Svärges hedna Litteratur,* 1913, pp. 13, 17 and elsewhere.

[12] *Landnamabók,* II, 1.

[13] Schönfeld: *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen,* 1911.

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of the two first daughters of the Frankish king Childerich I, died 481, *Audefleda* and *Albofledis*. Here we have the function of the alliteration enforced by the identity of the main part of the second theme. This type would seem to be rather characteristic of Early Germanic. We meet with it in several of the Runic inscriptions written in the older runes, as in the Istaby inscription, Blekinge, Sweden seventh century: *Haþuwulafiʀ*, son of *Haeruwulafiʀ*; two names which also appear on the Stentofta stone, Sweden seventh century. In the O. H. G. Hildebrandslied we meet with the same method in the series: *Heribrant—Hildebrant—Hadubrant*. Other examples are, Vandalic: *Hunerich—Hilderich*; Longobardic: *Audvin—Albvin*; Burgundian: *Gislachar—Gundachar* (cp. also *Childerich—Chilperich*); Frankish: *Vigbert—Valtbert*[14]; Swedish (Geatic): *Hervarðr—Hjorvarðr*, etc. This method might be abundantly illustrated from the E. Scand. heroic saga. It is the same method that is in evidence when in the *Landnamabók*, Atli jarl enn mjóvi named his three sons *Hallsteinn*, *Hersteinn* and *Holmsteinn*.[15] Or again when Eyvindr sorkvir named his two sons *Hrómundr* and *Hermundr*, or in the variation of the father's name when *Hrosskell*, son of Þorsteinn and Lofthöna, named his son *Hallkell*.

The tendencies above briefly indicated would finally lead to two types of variational name-giving. The first would result in a type which retained the first theme but varied the second, as *Heorogar—Heoromund*. The second would lead to one in which the second theme is retained and the first changed; as *Genserich—Hunerich*. With the development of this latter type the main significance of the name as a mark of relationship must have shifted from the initial sound to the component themes. With this the principle of variation is fully developed as a dominant principle. It is to be noted here that as names with end-variation will still always have alliteration: the new principle does not do away with the old, but the old principle lives on by the side of the new. The two principles meet in this new type; alliteration and variation both operate. Also the tendency of the time toward greater identity in the names of the members of the family would undoubtedly give

[14] Valtbert named his son Vigbert, where the principle of repetition appears.

[15] *Landnamabók*, I, B. Reykjavik ed., 1891, p. 30.

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a leading place to names of this type in which the first part is preserved and the suffixal theme changed; see below on the governing principles. Both in the earlier period therefore and later this type would probably dominate. This is also in actual practice the case, in the names of the Old Germanic kings. In illustration of the older practice I shall cite merely the following examples: *Gundegisel—Gunderich; Gelarich—Gelimer; Theodemer—Theoderich, Theodemund; Theoderich—Theodegoto; Amalfreda—Amalaberga; Theodehad—Theodegisl, Theodenantis; Albrin—Albsvinda; Gundovald—Gundobert; Chlodvch—Chlodomer,* etc., etc. The genealogies show this practice to be dominant throughout the whole of the migration period.

Non-alliterative or front-variation appears however now and then and especially later seems to be almost as general as end-variation. The material contained in Storm, *l. c.*, however, has only these: Vandalic, *Genserich—Hunerich, Theoderich;* Longobardic, *Aribert—Godobert;* Frankish, *Merovech—Chlodovech.* Already this reveals the relative scarcity of this type. In the tables in Dahn's *A. G.* we find also the following: *Childerich—Theuderich; Childibert—Sigibert—Dogobert; Achiulf—Ediulf, Wuldulf; Hunimund—Thorismund—Berismund; Widerich—Eutharich; Kunimund—Rosimunda; Theoderich—Eurich—Alarich,* and a few more, but in proportion to those with end-variation the number is small. This was therefore not a favored method; when the father gave a name to the son or daughter the primary theme was the one to be chosen.

There seem to have been certain other principles in operation. *E. g., where there are several children front-variation of the father's name or perhaps of the first son's name is resorted to.* Thus the second theme of the first son's name will reappear in later children's names. So when *Gundegisel* names his sons *Gunderich* and *Genserich* the latter name in addition to alliteration repeats the second theme of the first son's name. Genso names his two first sons *Gelarich* and *Gunthamund;* the second theme of the latter is repeated in the third son's name *Thrasamund.* Cp. further *Theoderich—Theodegoto* and *Astragoto; Garibald,* and sons, *Gundovald* and *Grimvald; Gundovald,* sons, *Gundebert* and *Aribert.*[17] This principle is clearly practised among the Vandals, the East Goths, the Longobards and the Burgundians. It is not always clear what

[17] Unusual is it when Ari*bert* names his sons *Bert*ari and Godi*bert*.

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principles have been decisive in the choice of the type appearing. There are departures from the principle that the son is named by end-variation but they are exceptional, and due perhaps to the form of the names. *E. g.*, when *Gundegisel* names his two sons *Gunderich* and *Genserich* the second son receives a name which does not contain either of the two themes of the paternal name. It is in the final theme *-rich* that the kinship is given expression; this would seem to be the reason why he repeats this theme in his two first sons *Hunerich* and *Theoderich;* then the third son is named by a "Kurzname" based on his own name. Again exactly in the same way when *Gundovald* names his sons *Gundobert* and *Aribert*, *Aribert* preserves the theme *-bert* in his sons' names *Bertari* and *Godibert*. Likewise Bertari gives his two sons the names *Kuninbert* and *Luitpert*.

While there are other principles in operation in the Merovingian lists, as *repetition of the full name in alternate generations*, the principle of variation is also observed. Chlodveh's sons are named *Theoderich, Chlodomer, Chlothar* and *Childerich;* here the name of the second son follows the principle that *the primary theme of the father's name is retained in the same position in the son's name.* Similarly, when *Gunthchram* named his son *Gundobad.* This is also done by Theuderich when he named his son *Theudibert* and by the latter who named his son *Theudobald.* Later the method is obscured by the entrance of the principle of repetition. But among the Merovingians a new principle now sets in,[17] namely that of *repeating the primary theme in alternate generations.* Thus Childerich's grandson is named *Childibert* (d. 558) and a grandson of Chlotachar I is named *Chlotobert.* A grandson of *Chlotachar II,* 584-628, is named *Chlodovech* 638-656; the latter may have been named after Chlodoveeh I (d. 511). *The second theme is also repeated in alternate generations;* an example of this we already have in the name of *Chlodovech I,* born 466, and who is thus named after *Merovech*, and again in Chlodvech's son named Theuderich after the grandfather Childerich I. Finally this principle crosses that of the retention of the new primary theme of the father's name in the son's name when, *e. g.,* Dagobert I named his first son *Sigibert* (III, 638-656). An unusual form appears in the name *Charibert,* second son of *Chlothachar* I, d. 561. When

[17] First half of the sixth century.

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Charibert in turn named his second daughter *Berthefledis* he observed the same method. In the third daughter's name, *Chrodieldis*, ancestral feminine themes were combined. Finally the repetition of the first theme in alternate generations, and the repetition of the second theme in the same alternate generations led to the repetition of the identical name in alternate generations,—the grandson is given the name of the grandfather. Examples are: Chlothachar—Gunthchram—Chlothachar (d. 573); Chlothachar—Chilperich—Chlothachar (d. 584); Dagobert I—Sigibert III—Dagobert II (d. 678), etc.

Here then among the Merovingians about 550 to 650 all types of variations are employed with the old alliterative family themes and in combination with new themes, and according to fixed principles leading at last to repetition. The principle of repetition finally leads to the selection of certain favored names: Dagobert, Sigibert and the old names Chlodovech, Chlothachar, Chilperich and Theoderich.

Perhaps the above will have indicated: 1, how variation arose and, 2, how variation as practiced among the continental West Germanic tribes and the East Germanic peoples led at last to repetition.

It would be tempting here to undertake an examination of Old English practice as evidenced in the royal genealogies. However, here we are face to face with a difficult and very complicated problem. For we have to do in this case with a people that has severed its connection with the old home, the cradle of its traditions, and has established a new home, and has furthermore in that new home come in prolonged contact with a foreign civilization. The removal from the native soil is not, however, the significant fact; for an emigrating people takes with it its household gods and its beliefs wherever it goes; old customs and beliefs may survive longer even in a new home where the process of change is checked for a time as the tradition is removed from the soil that gave it growth. But the contact with a different civilization, if equal or higher, is the all-important fact. Where such contact takes place the seeds of change have already been sown. Now in England Germanic traditions came in close, mainly hostile, contact with Celtic civilization, a civilization which itself for 400 years had been in contact with Roman civilization. But in that period

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Celtic culture had not been influenced very much, it would seem, by the Romans. What follows then with the coming of Angles, Saxons and Jutes upon the invitation of Vortigern in 449 is a long struggle between native British and a transplanted Anglo-Saxon civilization. That there was cultural exchange in ways not yet investigated at all we may be sure: The solution of all such problems we shall have to leave to the Anglicist-Celticist. These questions will be settled only by those scholars who have the viewpoint of the specialist in Old English and also of the specialist in Old Irish language and tradition. So I shall leave this phase of the problem with the suggestion that names and name-giving seem to suggest that in Northumberland and East Anglia English traditions are found in their purest form; that in Mercia and Wessex the conditions are more mixed. But what belongs to both sides remains then the problem. So far Anglicists seem to have underrated the Celtic element on the one hand, while Celticists are evidently overestimating the Celtic loan.

We shall now return to the question of the relation of this new type of name-giving by repetition to the belief in the transmigration of the soul. I cannot take the time to discuss this question in detail here, but I suggest that the belief in soul-transmigration does not give rise to the practice of repetition in name-giving. The latter system was slowly evolved and has in its origin no more religious connection than the other two methods. On the other hand the belief must have existed early and attached itself to name-giving long before repetition set in. The repetition of a grandparent's name grew into repetition of the name of the departed ancestor. What took place then was a double change: First, the grandparent's name was repeated; sometimes the grandparent had died before the birth of the child to be named; here repetition was restoring to life the name of the ancestor. Again though the grandparent were living at the time of naming the child, the grandparent usually died before the namesake grandchild. Here there was equally room for associating the name in some mysterious way with the departed. The other change was in the form of the belief which regarded the soul as present in the name. In this connection I shall cite a significant bit of evidence from Isaac Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, II. p. 14. He is discussing the doctrine of migration of souls in later Jewish philosophy: "The soul of Adam passed into David, and shall pass into the Messiah, for are

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not these initials in the very name of Ad(a)m, and does not Ezekiel say that 'my servant David shall be their prince forever.'" Here then the migration of the soul into the new body is assured by the repetition of *any* letter of the name as the initial of the new name. And it would be a natural step for the belief to attach itself to the initial of the basic name which then is to be used as the initial in the new name.

Among the Old Germanic peoples too, then, the soul may have been thought present in the initial after death and transferable with it; alliterative name-giving by repetition of the initial of the departed no doubt was regarded as insuring the transmigration of the soul of the departed into the new body. But among our Germanic ancestors the theme had come to be the name-unit in the main; in variational name-giving the whole theme represented the family character and the soul. Now the tendency to greater and greater identity in the name as the mark of relationship was there; but the belief also aided this tendency. What took place in the change from variation to repetition was a development in the belief according to which the whole name came to be regarded as the symbol of the soul and its vehicle after the death of the body. Finally the belief associates itself exclusively with the repetition of the whole name of the ancestor whose soul and personality it is desired shall continue a new existence in the present descendant.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

University of Illinois.

SHAKESPEARE'S LAST SONNETS

One who ventures an additional word on the Sonnets of Shakespeare after everything has apparently been said thrice over might do well to introduce himself thus: "I am a Southamptonite, dating the Sonnets with Sarrazin from 1592 to 1596, accepting with Dowden the quarto order of the first 125 as chronological, with Massey identifying the Dark Lady as Elizabeth Vernon, and with Wyndham proclaiming the Rival Poet to be Drayton." Or: "I am a Pembrokist, dating the Sonnets with Mackail from 1598 to 1603, with Tyler identifying the Dark Lady as Mary Fitton, and holding with Minto that the Rival Poet is Chapman." Or: "I agree with

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Sir Sidney Lee that the Sonnets are literary exercises which do not record the poet's own experience; I believe with Alden that it is impertinent to try to identify the Dark Lady; I think with Fleay that W. H. is not the youth to whom the First Series is addressed at all but Thorpe's "only procurer" of them; I am confident, with Walsh, that the order is wholly haphazard and must be completely readjusted to make the Sonnets intelligible; I haven't the faintest idea who the Rival Poet could have been, for I hold, with Rolfe, that many of the First Series may have been addressed to a woman. Or finally: "I am a free lance among the Sonnets' critics with a special set of conjectures all my own; though I do agree with Butler that W. H. is William Hughes, with Acheson that the Dark Lady is Mistress Davanant, and with Montmoreney that the Rival Poet is Spenser; I realize, with Beeching, that Sonnet 107 must refer to the death of Elizabeth, though the majority, as McClumpha shows, are contemporary with *Romeo and Juliet* and *Love's Labour's Lost*." Having thus, or by some similar formula, presented his credentials, the new champion may enter the lists and proceed to break his spear against the Veiled Knight who guards the Mystery of the Sonnets.

My own choice among these and other possibilities, together with my particular reasons for dating the majority of the Sonnets from 1595 to 1598, I have given in the *Publications of the M. L. A.* for September, 1915, and I there maintained that much that we find in the Sonnets is mirrored in the plays. There is, however, one problem in this connection on which I then offered no comment but on which I now have a word to say. To introduce this problem I venture to quote a few sentences from Professor A. C. Bradley's lecture on "Shakespeare the Man."[1]

". . . But when he is dealing with lechery and corruption, the undercurrent of disgust seems to become audible. Is it not true that in the plays from *Hamlet* to *Timon* that subject, in one shape or another, is continually before us; that the intensity of loathing in Hamlet's language about his mother's lust is unexampled in Shakespeare; that the treatment of the subject in *Measure for Measure*, though occasionally purely humorous, is on the whole quite unlike the treatment in *Henry IV;* . . . that this same tone is as plainly heard in the unquestioned parts of *Timon;* and that . . . there is no apparent reason why Lear in his exalted madness

[1] *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, pp. 325, 326, *n.*

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should choose this subject for similar invectives? . . . If we do not take the second series of sonnets to be purely fanciful, we shall think it probable that to some undefined extent it owed its origin to the experience depicted in them. That experience, certainly in part and probably wholly, belongs to an earlier time, since sonnets 138 and 144 were printed in the *Passionate Pilgrim*. But I see no difficulty in that. What bears little fruit in a normal condition of spirits may bear abundant fruit later, in moods of discouragement and exasperation induced largely by other causes."

Now the tone of bitterness and disgust which we find in the *Hamlet* to *Lear* plays is found in only a few of the Sonnets. Those which are written to the friend regarding his treachery are without bitterness, and the Sonnets which address the lady are for the most part wholly in keeping with them. It is the later sonnets, 141, 142, 147-152, which have cast their shadow over the whole "Dark Lady" episode. Compare, for example, the ending of Sonnet 42,

> But here's the joy: my friend and I are one;
> Sweet flattery! then she loves but me alone.

with that of Sonnet 147,

> For I have sworn thee fair and thought thee bright,
> Who art as black as hell, as dark as night.

What I believe has not hitherto been noticed is that this vast difference in tone corresponds to an equal difference in the situation. Until we reach Sonnet 142 we have no indication that the lady is married, and indeed the opposite is implied not only in the tone but in the subject matter of the so-called "Sonnets story." Moreover, in this last sequence the friend has entirely disappeared. We have only the distressing implications that the lady is now married and that Shakespeare has returned to her. On his part there is anger, self contempt, and futile struggle; on her part as well, alternate love and hate. There is no reason, therefore, why the sonnets which correspond in tone with the *Hamlet* to *Timon* plays may not be strictly contemporary with them; there is no reason that I can see why the attitude of mind which produced those plays should be separated even in time from such an experience as *would* have produced them; and there is no reason why the bitterness and intensity either of the plays or of these few sonnets should be connected with the treachery of the handsome young friend whom Shakespeare so readily forgave.[2]

[2] Professor Alden, whose Variorum edition of the Sonnets is now before

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Now if this correspondence of plays and sonnets is significant, and Shakespeare's turning from such comedies as *Twelfth Night* to *All's Well That Ends Well* and *Measure for Measure*, and from such tragedies as *Julius Cæsar* to *Hamlet, Othello, Timon*, and *Lear*[3] is not to be wholly accounted for by a contemporary preference for tragedy, shall we have to question the date of Sonnet 107? If this sonnet refers to the death of Queen Elizabeth, then Shakespeare was writing of "this most balmy time" in a lyric or personal mood, while as a dramatist he sought expression in *Othello* and *Measure for Measure*. This is a very small objection to my claim that the plays are not to be too wholly dissociated from the poet's own temperament and experiences, since "a sonnet is a *moment's* monument," and the tragedies of this period are by no means unrelieved. But I take advantage of the occasion to register my conviction that Sonnet 107, as Tyler suggested, refers to Essex's rebellion in 1601, and hence just escapes the "period of gloom."

There is no reason why Shakespeare should not exult in the defeat of Essex. His *Henry V* celebration of the Earl's hoped-for return from Ireland, "bringing rebellion broached on his sword," is obviously national and not personal; after Essex's dismissal from all offices of state, in August, 1600, he was dissociated from Shakespeare's patriotic pride.[4] And that Southampton was the associate of Essex in his wild scheme means nothing to me in this connection. The Earl of Southampton had received a couple of dedicated poems from Shakespeare a few years before, as he had also done from various other poets. In 1601 Shakespeare did not know that this nobleman would some day be identified with his young friend Will H——, and a wonderful intimacy be built up between the Earl and the actor. If Shakespeare celebrated in this sonnet Southampton's release from prison in 1603, then "tyrants' crests" in the last line would necessarily refer to Queen Elizabeth, which is, of

us, suggests to me that we may have another lady as well, in this new situation. But I refuse to believe in another dark lady (for the "dark" is still insisted upon). Whatever presumption there is would be certainly against it.

[3] My reason for placing *Timon* before *Lear* may be found in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. XII, pp. 11, 12.

[4] The rebellion of Essex is an insignificant bit of history now, but we know that it loomed large in its day. There were plenty of "sad augurs" who talked of the overthrow of Elizabeth and of civil war.

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course, quite impossible. But if "W. H." had sided against Essex and was released upon his overthrow, we should have a situation with which everything in this most puzzling sonnet would accord.

HENRY DAVID GRAY.

Leland Stanford Junior University.

MANKIND AND THE MUMMING PLAYS

Lines 426-468 of the Macro Morality play *Mankind* have some points that suggest a connection with the modern mumming play, or, more accurately, with its medieval prototype.

1. In ll. 425-440 Myscheff offers to cure Now-a-days of his wound by smiting off his head and setting it on again as good as new. This heroic remedy is similar to the mock cures in the modern mumming plays. For instance, in the first part of the St. George play performed at Bampton, in Oxfordshire, the Doctor, who is summoned to cure the "Turkish Knight," enumerates the wonders that he can perform, one of them being to cure a magpie of the toothache by cutting off his head.[1] In the second part of the same play, the Doctor, called in to cure the "Soldier Bold of Prussia," says,

> Yes, there's a doctor in the land,
> Capable of head and hand;
> And if this man has got a cough,
> I'll cure him without cutting his head off.
> And if this man has lost his head,
> I'll put a donkey's on instead.[2]

Two other plays, one of Islip, Oxfordshire, and the other of Berkshire, give the same cure for the magpie's toothache.[3] In a Worcestershire play, "Turkish Knight" is revived by the Doctor, who boasts, "If I break that man's neck, I'll put it in place, and not charge a farthing for my pains."[4]

In none of the extant plays is the cure of the dead or wounded knight represented as being effected by beheading; the remedy is

[1] P. H. Ditchfield, *Old English Customs*, p. 322.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 325.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 318 and 313.
[4] *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Ser., XI, 271.

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usually a pill or a stamp of the foot. The versions which have been cited, however, contain references to the cure of a magpie and a wounded man by cutting off their heads, and in one there is a significant suggestion of setting on a donkey's head if the man has lost his. What is the source of this incident? Mr. Chambers has shown that the scene of the Doctor and his cures is archaic: it is the survival of the primitive ceremony symbolizing "the *renouveau*, the annual death of the year or the fertilization spirit and its annual resurrection in spring."[5] The modern plays retain only vague memories of this ceremony. In none of them is the knight killed by beheading,—his death is usually the result of a fight; but in some of the sword dances, which Mr. Chambers shows to be closely related to the mumming plays,[6] there are significant figures which seem to be reminiscent of the actual beheading of a primitive sacrificial victim.[7] If we take this primitive ceremony and the incomplete modern version, with its suggestion of beheading and replacing the head, as the two extremes of the process of evolution, we should expect to get somewhere an intermediate form in which the knight—who took the place of the sacrificial victim when the original significance of the ceremony was forgotten—was represented as being beheaded and then revived by setting on his head. Later, the idea of a cure seems to have become associated with the beheading itself, perhaps through the influence of the common stories of disenchantment by decapitation.[8] Such a hypothetical form would account for the scene in the modern play.

Compare this hypothetical form with the passage in *Mankind*. There Myscheff offers to cure the wounded Now-a-days by cutting off his head, and setting it on again as good as new. Was this incident suggested by a medieval prototype of the modern mumming play, a prototype having the form outlined above?

2. The theory that this was the case is strengthened by other evidence. One of the most interesting features in *Mankind* is the collection (ll. 448-467). In no other extant medieval play, so far as I know, is the collection made a part of the play as it is here.

[5] E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, I, 218.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, 218.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, 203 and 206.

[8] For a number of these stories see G. L. Kittredge, "Disenchantment by Decapitation" (*Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XVIII, 1-14).

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This is very much like the *quête*, which always has a prominent place in the mumming plays.[9]

3. In ll. 445 ff., Nought, with his flute, summons Tityvillus, who is outside, and who answers, "I com with my leggis vndur me." During the collection New-gyse and Now-a-days prepare for the coming of Tityvillus by saying that they are gathering money for "a man with a hede þat is of grett omnipotens" (l. 454); "he ys a worschyppfull man" (l. 456); and "he ys a goodly man, sers: make space, & be ware" (l. 467). Then Tityvillus enters, announcing, "Ego sum dominancium dominus, & my name ys Titivillus" (l. 468). This announcing of Tityvillus and his answers, suggest the presentation of the characters in the mumming plays and sword dances, where the Chorus, or some other character, calls for the players in turn, and they enter, repeating the formula, "In comes I, Beelzebub," etc.; "Here come I," etc.; or "I am the Turkish Champion," etc.[10]

4. In l. 454, New-gyse describes Tityvillus as a "man with a hede þat is of grett omnipotens." In several of the mumming plays "Beelzebub uses the description 'big head and little wit' to announce himself on his arrival."[11] He is not actually represented as having a larger head than ordinary; nor is he usually the devil in the play,—that part is generally taken by some character like Little Devil Doubt.[12] His name, however, suggests that his lineage is to be traced back to some devil in an earlier form of the mumming play; and the description appears to be a survival of the distinguishing feature of that ancestor, a head of unusual size, which was probably represented by a large mask of some sort. It was just such a devil in the medieval prototype of the modern plays that, according to our theory of relationship, would have furnished the suggestion for Tityvillus in *Mankind*, with his "hede þat is of grett omnipotens."

It is to be noted, also, that "Beelzebub generally carries a club and a ladle or frying pan, with which he makes the *quête*."[13] Tityvillus, although he does not make the collection, is closely associated with it.

[9] Chambers, I, 217.

[10] T. F. Ordish, "English Folk-Drama," in *Folk-Lore*, IV, 160-161; see also Chambers, I, 209, note 3; 215, 216; and II, 277.

[11] Chambers, I, 214. [12] *Ibid.*, I, 215. [13] *Ibid.*, I, 214, note 1.

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5. Finally, when Tityvillus enters, accompanied by Nought (who apparently has been waiting outside with him), Now-a-days bids the spectators "Make space, & be ware" (l. 467). Frequently, the mumming play begins with the entrance of a character bearing a broom, with which he pretends to sweep, at the same time calling upon the spectators to make room for the players.[14] I do not care to make too much of this point, however, for expressions similar to the one in l. 467 are used elsewhere in *Mankind* to clear a way for the entrance of the players through the audience (see ll. 605, 624, etc.).

We have, then, in *Mankind* four, and perhaps five, elements which are found in the modern mumming plays; and, it is to be particularly noted, they are all in one passage of less than fifty lines. A summary of the evidence will make the relationship clearer. Mr. Chambers divides the typical mumming play into three parts: the Presentation, the Drama proper and the *Quête*.[15] In the first, the characters are presented, and introduce themselves with certain formulas; in the second, one of the main incidents is the reviving of a killed or wounded character by the Doctor, who in some versions speaks of a cure by beheading; in the third, the collection is taken. In *Mankind* we have the presentation of Tityvillus, and his use of similar formulas in announcing himself to the audience; we have beheading proposed as a cure by Myscheff, the "Doctor;" and we have the collection. In addition, a big head is associated with both Beelzebub and Tityvillus, the latter a devil, and the former, if we are to judge by the name, the descendant of a "devil" ancestor. Finally, there is a demand for space or room in both plays. This parallelism between the two can hardly be accidental; it points to a definite relationship.

The natural explanation of this relationship is that the writer of *Mankind* drew his incidents from a fifteenth century prototype of the modern mumming play. Mr. Chambers says that the archetype of the modern texts need not be earlier than the seventeenth century.[16] There is no evidence, however, to show that it was not earlier. In fact, Mr. Ordish thinks that the combat between the Winter and Summer Champions—of which the modern Doctor's episode is a survival—was amalgamated with the St. George story about the time of the Crusades; and he adds: "When the dialogue

[14] *Ibid.*, I, 216. [15] *Ibid.*, I, 211. [16] *Ibid.*, I, 221.

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was added we do not know; there were probably spoken words of defiance by the champions [St. George, Mohammedan warriors, etc.] in thirteenth-century English, and on this modifications and developments were made, until the play reached the shape in which we know it in more or less debased forms." [17] We have seen that somewhere in the evolution from the actual primitive sacrifice to the modern episode of the Doctor we should expect a form which could suggest the proposed cure in *Mankind*. According to our theory this form belongs to the fifteenth century, and it contained an episode in which a cure of a dead or wounded man was represented as being effected by beheading. The passage in *Mankind* does not give any data for determining the nature of the combat which preceded the cure, or the nature of the dialogue, with the exception of the presentation formulas; but it does give enough on other points to lead us to suppose that the fifteenth century prototype contained the chief features of the modern play. Thus, if the relationship has been established, we have some new information about the mumming plays which antedates our previous knowledge of them by about two centuries.

My contention is not that the author of *Mankind* was consciously trying to write a little play of fifty lines, within the larger play, in imitation of this medieval prototype, but that he adapted some of the material to his needs. The theory of this sort of relationship is entirely probable. *Mankind* was written for a country audience and by a man who was familiar with country life and customs. The mumming play, also, belongs to the "folk;" it is distinctly the property of the country-side. Hence, this hypothetical prototype is the sort of play with which the author of *Mankind* and his audience would be likely to be familiar, and it is not strange that he should be influenced by it.

WALTER K. SMART.

Armour Institute of Technology.

[17] *Folk-Lore*, IV, 160.

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Erzählungen des Mittelalters in deutscher Übersetzung und lateinischem Urtext herausgegeben von Joseph Klapper. *Breslau:* M. & H. Marcus. 1914. viii + 474 pp. (*Wort und Brauch. Volkskundliche Arbeiten namens der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde in zwanglosen Heften herausgegeben von* Prof. Dr. Theodor Siebs *und* Prof. Dr. Max Hippe. 12. Heft.)

The growing interest in the class of medieval Latin stories known as *exempla*, or illustrative stories for the use of preachers, is shown by the large number of collections published within a few years. The earliest collection was Thomas Wright's *Latin Stories* printed in 1842 for the Percy Society (vol. VIII.), and it was not until thirty-five years later that Lecoy de la Marche edited for the *Société de l'histoire de France* a selection from the *exempla* contained in Étienne de Bourbon's *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus*. The first collection of *exempla* from sermons was Professor Crane's *Jacques de Vitry*, London, 1890, *Folk-Lore Society*, XXVI. Since then Hervieux has published in the fourth volume of his *Fabulistes Latins* (1896) the *exempla* from the sermons of Odo of Cheriton, and A. G. Little has edited for the British Society of Franciscan Studies (1908) an incomplete treatise for the use of preachers, containing many *exempla* arranged alphabetically under two main divisions: *De rebus superioribus*, and *De rebus inferioribus*.

But it is in the last four years that the greatest activity has prevailed in this field of study. In 1911 appeared J. Klapper's *Exempla* (in *Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte* 2), followed in 1913 by A. Hilka's *Neue Beiträge zur Erzählungsliteratur des Mittelalters*. The year 1914 saw the publication of no less than four most important works: J. T. Welter's *Speculum Laicorum*, J. Greven's and G. Frenken's independent and simultaneous editions of the *exempla* from Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones feriales et communes*, and, finally, a new collection of *exempla* by Dr. J. Klapper, much more extensive than the one he edited in 1911.[1]

[1] I have reviewed the above, with the exception of Klapper's second work, at sufficient length, in *Modern Philology*, X, 301-316, and in the *Romanic Review*, VI, 219-236.

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Dr. Klapper's new collection, like the earlier one, is taken from manuscripts in the Royal and University Library of Breslau (one *exemplum* is from a manuscript in the National Library at Paris), and may be dated about the end of the 13th century. One hundred and sixty-four stories are from a single manuscript and form a collection of illustrative stories for the use of preachers, but not arranged in any systematic manner, alphabetical or topical. The editor thinks that traces of the use of such systematic collections may be found in the manuscript from which the majority of his stories are taken. There are small groups of stories devoted to the miracles of the Virgin, penance, confession, temptation, liberality, justice, avarice, and drunkenness. What collections were used it is impossible to say, but the miracles of the Virgin resemble closely those in a manuscript of the British Museum, Additional 18929 (Ward's *Catalogue*, vol. II, p. 656), which came from the monastery of St. Peter at Erfurt. Dr. Klapper thinks we must assume the existence at that spot, at the end of the 13th century, of a collection of miracles of the Virgin used by Middle German Dominicans and probably put together by them, from which the London collection and most of the miracles in the collection before us are derived. However, our space does not permit us to examine in detail the history and composition of this collection and we must hasten to its contents.

The literary form of the *exemplum* differs considerably in the various collections. Sometimes the story is an independent tale of some length, sometimes it is (notably in the systematic treatises for the use of preachers) the merest sketch, to be expanded and adorned at the will of the preacher. Both of Klapper's collections (although the *exempla* were undoubtedly intended originally for use in sermons) contain almost exclusively stories of the former class. It is only necessary to compare these *exempla* with those in the *Speculum Laicorum* to see the great difference between the two classes.

Klapper's first collection, made from thirty-one manuscripts, contained only such stories as were quoted without specification of source, or the source of which is no longer known to us at the present time. The second collection, now under consideration, is taken, as has been said, largely from one manuscript, and the stories are given just as they occur in it. Curiously enough, they are generally without specification of source. About twenty-seven

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stories contain mention of source, not always correctly. The *Vitae Patrum* is cited seven times (once incorrectly), but twenty-two *exempla* are from that famous work. There are fifty-one stories or miracles of the Virgin, with one citation of source: "Legitur in miraculis beate Marie." St. Gregory's *Dialogues* are mentioned once, and a few "chronicles" and "histories" have been used. In the great *exempla* collections the sources are usually given with great care and certain authors are laid under a heavy contribution. In the *Alphabetum Narrationum*, well known to us from the English translation, *An Alphabet of Tales*, published in 1904-5, by Mrs. M. M. Banks for the *Early English Text Society*, out of eight hundred and one stories, fifty-seven are from Jacques de Vitry, ninety-four from the *Vitae Patrum*, one hundred and fifty-one from Cæsarius of Heisterbach, forty-one from the *Liber de dono timoris*, thirty-nine from St. Gregory, etc.[2]

While it is impossible to indicate the sources of many of the *exempla* in the present collection, it is easy to point out parallels to almost all of the stories in the manuscript and printed collections with which we are familiar. The editor has very wisely renounced the attempt to indicate with completeness the origin and diffusion of his stories. He has tried only to indicate the place of the stories in the narrative literature of the middle ages. For the miracles of the Virgin he has generally limited his references to Poncelet's *Index* in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXI, (1902) 241-360. For the other *exempla*, reference is made to the principal representatives of this class of literature in France, England and Germany. For France, Jacques de Vitry and Étienne de Bourbon (with parallels from 13th and 16th century manuscripts in the National Library of Paris, which have not been previously used); for England, the catalogues of Ward and Herbert; and for Germany, Cæsarius of Heisterbach, Herolt's *Discipulus*, and the *Gesta Romanorum*. It is easy to enlarge Klapper's references, and sometimes he has overlooked parallels in Herbert's Catalogue, owing to the lack of com-

[2] Out of the five hundred and seventy-nine *exempla* in the *Speculum Laicorum*, two hundred and seventy-three are from Étienne de Bourbon, seventy-five from Odo of Cheriton, seventy-two from the *Liber de dono timoris*, forty-two from the *Liber exemplorum secundum ordinem alphabeti*, forty-seven from Jacques de Vitry, twenty-three from the *Legenda aurea*, etc.

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plete cross-references, which will be supplied when the index to that invaluable work appears.

I shall mention first some parallels to well-known stories, then some of the more notable tales, and, finally, those for which the editor gives no analogues. I shall try not to repeat more than is necessary Klapper's references. To the first class belong: No. 34, Longfellow's "King Robert of Sicily" (see Herbert, *Cat.* pp. 202, 447, and 719. I cite Herbert only when references to him are omitted by Klapper); No. 72, "Beatrice the Nun who saw the World" (see Cæsarius of Heisterbach, ed. Strange, VII, 34; Ward, *Cat.* II, 659; Herbert, *Cat.* 342, 565, 604, 680, and H. Watenphul, *Die Geschichte der Marienlegende von Beatrix der Küsterin*, Neuwied, 1904, Göttingen Diss.); No. 107, "Theophilus" (Herbert, *Cat.* 395, 454, 523, 534, 543, 608, 696, 717, and Crane's *Miracles of the Virgin, Romanic Review*, II (1911), 275, No. 29); Nos. 110, 210, 211, "The Angel and the Hermit" (Herbert, *Cat.* 8, 54, 469, 474, 531, 585, 648, and 691. A little known English version is in *Jacob's Well*, Early English Text Society, Original Series 115, London, 1900, p. 285); No. 138, "Amis and Amiles" (Klapper cites the German version in *Seelentrost*, the story may be more conveniently found in G. E. Klemming's edition of the Swedish version printed in *Samlingar utg. af Svenska fornskrift-sällskapet*, Stockholm, 1871-3, Heft 57-60, pp. 450-470. All previous references are now completed by Bolte and Polívka's *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, Leipzig, 1913, I, 56, No. 6, "Der getreue Johannes"); Nos. 139, 182, "Fridolin" (there is a Swedish version in Klemming's *Själens Tröst*, p. 147, and a German one in Pfeiffer, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Kölnischen Mundart im 15 Jahrh.*, Nürnberg, 1854, I, 205); No. 146, The poor philosopher who is not admitted to emperor's presence on account of his shabby dress. When he is properly clad he kisses his clothes (one of the few *facetiae* in the collection. The story is told of Dante, see Papanti, *Dante secundo la tradizione e i novellatori*, p. 73, Herbert, *Cat.*, 70, Odo of Cheriton, but not in Hervieux. A great mass of references to this story may be found in Wesselski's *Der Hodscha Nasreddin*, Weimar, 1911, I, 222); No. 157, "The Pardoner's Tale" in Chaucer (Klapper published other versions in 1911, Nos. 97, 98. Only in the present one is the story attributed to a life of St. Bartholomew, see references in my review of Klapper in *Modern Philology*, X, (1913) 310); Nos. 161, 187, Poor

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but happy man is made sad by sudden acquisition of riches (for this enormously popular story, which possibly goes back to the tale of Mena and Philip in Horace's *Epistles*, I, 7, ll. 46-98, see my notes to Jacques de Vitry, No. 66; to these may now be added Hilka, *Neue Beiträge zur Erzählungsliteratur des Mittelalters*, Breslau, 1913, p. 11, No. 8).

We shall now consider a few of the most notable stories. No. 7 contains the powerful story of "Vengeance deferred." A certain count falls desperately in love with a countess, kills her husband, and asks her to marry him. She consents on the condition that her suitor spends one night at the grave of the murdered husband. He does so, and a voice from the grave calls to heaven for vengeance, and is answered with the words, "Rest in peace." The lady requires her lover to watch two more nights, when the voice from heaven says that the murderer will be judged if he does not repent within thirty years. The marriage takes place and repentance is postponed. When the thirty years had elapsed, the murdered count appeared to a blind man and told him to summon before the bar of judgment that night his murderer. In token of his mission the blind man receives his sight at the hands of the murdered count. He performs his errand, and all God-fearing persons leave the castle, which that night with all its dwellers is consumed by fire from heaven. The *Chronica tripartita* is incorrectly given as the source of the story. Kjapper cites the *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. 277, for a somewhat different version, and refers to the notes of Oesterley, in which are mentioned only Holkot's *Moralitates*, Douce's *Illustrations to Shakespeare*, and Graesse and Swan's translations of the *Gesta Romanorum*. I do not find the story in Holkot. Herbert refers only to the versions in the various redactions of the *Gesta Romanorum*. The only Latin parallel to this story that I know is in A. G. Little's *Liber Exemplorum ad usum Praedicantium*, Aberdeen, 1908, p. 65, No. 112. In this curious version, the poor suitor goes out into the highways and kills a rich merchant. When the thirtieth year is completed, the nobleman gives a splendid banquet, to which a fiddler seeks admission. The wags at the feast grease the strings of his fiddle and the minstrel slinks away in shame. He discovers that he has lost a glove, and in his search for it he comes to the spot where the castle was and finds only an uninhabited plain with a fountain, and his glove near it. Little, in his notes p. 145, cites two curious parallels in Rhys's *Celtic Folk-*

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lore, pp. 73 and 403. "In both of these," says Mr. Little, "vengeance is delayed till the ninth generation, and the wicked couple are still alive. In the first, the legend of Llyn Syfaddon, the murderer keeps a vigil at his victim's grave, and eventually the sinners and their descendants are overwhelmed by a great flood in the midst of a feast. In the second, the legend of Kenfig Pool, a historical setting is given to the tale. A plebeian was in love with the Earl Clare's daughter; she would not have him as he was not wealthy. He took to the highway, and watched the agent of the lord of the dominion coming towards the castle from collecting his lord's money. He killed him, took the money, and the lady married him Then followed the banquet and the voice threatening vengeance in the ninth generation. 'No reason for us to fear,' said the married pair, 'we shall be under the mould long before.' They lived on, however, and as the appointed time drew near, a descendant of the murdered man—'a discreet youth of gentle manners'—visited Kenfig. At cockcrow he heard a cry: 'Vengeance is come'! Rising in terror, he went towards the city, but found nothing but a large lake with three chimney pots above the water emitting stinking smoke. On the face of the waters the gloves of the murdered man float to the young man's feet; he picks them up and sees on them the murdered man's name and arms." It is strange that so fine a story has had so little circulation.

Nos. 9 (193), "We read in the Epistle of Alexander of a certain cleric much addicted to the vanities of the world. One day while seated in his room writing ('dictans') about love, a lady appeared to him. While he was gazing intently at her beauty, she said to him: 'Do you know who I am'? He answered, 'No,' and she replied, 'I am worldly love,' and added, 'You see me very fair in front, do you wish to see what I am behind'? He assented, and the lady turned and frogs and serpents appeared. When he greatly wondered, the lady said, 'I appear fair before, but behind I am vile and ugly, and so I make all those subject to me.' When she had said these things she disappeared." The same story is told in No. 193, but in a much expanded and more literary form. The hero is a noble knight given to the pomp and vainglory of the world. He meets the lady in a wood, and is so amazed at her beauty that he fails to greet her. She tells him that she is the one for whom he has performed knightly deeds and that she is called "The World." After the knight sees her foul back, he returns home, renounces the

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world and spends his life in the service of God. This story appears not infrequently in *exempla*-literature, see Ward, *Cat.* II, p. 663 (where Herolt, *Promptuarium Exemplorum*, No. 355, is cited), and Herbert, 558, and 701. It is also found in the *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. 202, and is evidently based on the story in the *Vitae Patrum* (Migne, *P. L.* vol. 74, col. 129) of Abbot Elias, who sees in a vision the decaying remains of a beautiful woman. The story is told in an Old-German MS. (see A. Schönbach, *Mittheilungen aus altdeutschen Handschriften, Neuntes Stück*, in *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 156, 2. *Abhandlung*, p. 19. Wien, 1907) of the church in its early and later state: "sum mater Ecclesia, que in primo statu quasi in anteriori parte sanctis, apostolis, martyribus, confessoribus fui pulcherrima et decenter ornata, sed moto a parte posteriori, id est, postrema parte, in modernis prelatis sum putrida et ignominia plena et argentum meum versum est mihi in scoriam."

More interesting, however, is the use made of this *exemplum* by two German poets, Konrad von Würzburg (*Der werlde lôn*, in Benecke's *Wigalois*, pp. lv, ff.), and Walther von der Vogelweide (*Frô Welt*, in edition of W. Wilmanns, Halle, 1883, p. 354).

In No. 11 (also incorrectly attributed to *Cronica tripartita*) occurs the familiar incident of the king ("rex in Ybernia") who will bestow his daughter's hand only on the suitor who solves three questions: what is the most horrible, most useful, and strongest thing in the world. The frame of the story is found in the *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. 70, but the questions are different. No. 28, "The chaste empress" (also attributed to *Cronica tripartita*) who is defamed by brother-in-law, whom she afterwards cures of leprosy. This story is sometimes given as a miracle of the Virgin (see Ward, *Cat.* II, p. 680). It belongs to the Crescentia cycle, for which see Dr. Stefanovic's monograph in *Romanische Forschungen*, XXIX (1911), 461-556; an extensive bibliography is given in pp. 552-556. No. 43, the story of the wicked knight, who as penance for his sins is enjoined to watch in silence for a night in a church. The devil in various forms endeavors to lure him forth or to make him break his silence. He perseveres until day, and afterwards lives a pious life. Besides the references to Herbert which Klapper mentions, may be added: pp. 485, 504, 568, and 659. No. 87, "Devil in Service," also a miracle of the Virgin (see Ward, *Cat.* II, p. 628), to Klapper's references may be added: Herbert, pp. 53, 85, 395.

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506, 537, 638, 648, and 688, and Crane's *Miracles of the Virgin*, No. 26. The literature of the subject is given in Köhler's *Kl. Schriften*, II, 613-619. No. 111, the very beautiful story of the daughter of a heathen king who saw a fair flower in the garden and began to reflect how much more beautiful must be the creator of all flowers. She is betrothed to a youth and on her wedding day asks permission to go into the garden and worship the god of flowers. An angel appears to her and carries her away to a convent in a Christian land, where she spends the rest of her life as a nun. I do not know of any parallel among medieval *exempla*, although the theme "Marienbräutigam" is widely spread and was used by Mérimée in his story *La Vénus d'Ille*, see also Crane's *Miracles of the Virgin*, No. 20. The story was early known in Germany, and a *volkslied* on this subject was in circulation as early as 1658. The version printed in Docen's *Miscellanea*, I, 263, begins:

> Ein Soldan hätt ein Töchterlein
> Die war fruh aufgestanden,
> Zu pflücken schöne Blümelein
> In ihres Vaters Garten.

Other versions are in Mittler's *Deutsche Volkslieder*, 2d ed. 1865, Nos. 460, 461. No. 150, "Young Italian Duke in Paradise," a youth on his wedding day invites a poor old man to the feast and becomes so much interested in him that he asks him to remain. He refuses, but says he will send his ass on the morrow to convey the prince to his abode. There in a royal mansion three hundred years pass unnoticed. Finally, the youth returns home, tells his story, is led to his parents' grave and asks to have the tomb of his betrothed opened. The body is fresh and fair and stretches out its hands to the prince who dies in its arms. The literature of the story, which is not frequent in *exempla*-collections, may be found in Köhler's *Kl. Schriften*, II, 224. There is only one version in Herbert, p. 584.[3] No. 164, "The Dead Guest," a drunkard passing through a

[3] The miraculous lapse of time is also found in No. 167, a variant of No. 85. In the first story a priest who has two churches to serve, is met on Christmas by a beautiful maiden who tells him that the Virgin has sent for him to say mass. She takes him into a beautiful church, where he performs service, and then the maiden leads him to his own church. A hundred years have elapsed and he finds every thing changed and is deemed a madman until he establishes his identity. He enters a cloister of Gray Monks and dies in the service of the Virgin.

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cemetery invites a skull to sup with him. It comes with its body in terrible shape, and in turn invites the host to sup with him in a week in the place where he was found. The guest goes there and is carried by a whirlwind to a deserted castle, and given a seat in a gloomy corner at a wretchedly served table. The host tells his story, how he was a judge neglectful of his office and bibulous. He urges his guest to return home and do good works. This is one of the few versions of the "Don Juan" legend found in medieval sermon-books. One is given in Herbert, 464 (quite different, however), and another is in Klapper's *Exempla*, 1911, No. 46, see Klapper's article *Die Quellen der Sage vom toten Gaste* in *Festschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier der Universität zu Breslau*, 1911, pp. 202-231. No. 166, "The Ring of Contrition," a sinner is told that his sins will be forgiven when he sees that his tears falling on a ring which he wears are turned into a gem. He visits the Pope, who prays that he may be granted the true tears of contrition. When he returned home and once wept bitterly, a tear fell on the ring and was turned into a gem. Klapper gives no parallels and I know of none. No. 181, a very interesting version of the story of the captive crusader whom the devil promises to carry home if he will renounce the aid of the Virgin and saints. The devil performs his part, but the crusader calls on the Virgin who delivers him. A similar story is in Klapper, 1911, No. 55. There are two French versions of this theme in Herbert, *Cat.* pp. 444, 719, where the hero is a "Conte de Chartres." Other versions more or less connected with the story in Cæsarius of Heisterbach, VIII, 59, are mentioned by Herbert, pp. 363, 508, 590. This theme is used by Boccaccio, X, 9, in his splendid story of Messer Torello (see Rajna in *Romania*, VI, pp. 359-368). No. 188, a dying king divides his realm between his four sons, but retains a tree worth his whole kingdom. Each son in turn begs for it and receives, one the boughs, another the bark, the third the roots, and the fourth the fruit. Before their father's death the sons quarreled over their shares in the tree, and to settle their dispute the father ordered himself to be set up against the wall and his sons to shoot at him with a bow, the one who came nearest his heart to receive the whole tree. The fourth son, when it came his turn, threw away his bow in tears, and refused to kill his father. The story is followed by a prolix moralization after the style of the *Gesta Romanorum*, in which the story occurs in various forms (Nos. 45, 196, and 262). There are many

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references in Herbert: 176 (told of Alexander and his three sons, "Refert Trimegistus in libro suo de ortu Dei,") 191, 206, 444, 529, 563, 608, 652, and 684. The story is also in Klapper's earlier collection, No. 96. A very interesting examination of this story by Theodor Zachariae has just appeared in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, 25. Jahrgang, Heft 1-2, 1915, pp. 314-326, "Ein salomonisches Urteil." This double number, it may be remarked, is dedicated to Max Roediger in honor of the twenty-fifth year of the existence of the Verein für Volkskunde. A very romantic story, and rare in this complete version, is found in No. 194, in which a king of three realms sends his only son to study at Paris. On the king's death the nobles revolt against the queen who makes a compact with the devil to receive aid against her enemies. She renounces the Trinity and Virgin, and seals her compact with her blood. From year to year she has to obey commands of demons in order to conquer the three kingdoms, and expels clergy, destroys churches, makes incest lawful, kills the poor, etc. The son, still engaged in his studies, hears these things and being himself skilled in necromancy, summons a demon and asks him how his mother from being poor has obtained the three kingdoms. He has himself conveyed by the demons to the palace, upbraids his mother for her wickedness, and offers to do penance for her. She is overwhelmed with contrition and is carried off to purgatory by the demons. After ten years of penance in the desert, the son goes to Rome and St. Sylvester gives him a dry bough and tells him that when it produces fruit he can aid his mother by his prayers. In three years the dry bough grows into a lofty tree bearing eight apples, which the son takes to St. Sylvester, who ordains him a priest. At his first mass he has a vision of his mother in a special place, near hell, but not in it, subject to ineffable torments. In spite of these she smiles and explains that it is because she was deemed worthy to bear a son by whose counsels she was led to contrition and by whose penance and prayers she has escaped hell, and will be delivered from her torments when he has said thirty masses. Only the Virgin can get from Lucifer the compact written with her blood, and when the document falls upon the altar, the son will know that his mother is finally delivered. This happens and the son converts the three kingdoms to the Christian faith, repairs the churches and restores divine worship. The only complete parallel to this story is found in a MS. of the British Museum (Additional 21147, Herbert, 702),

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which once belonged to the Carthusians at Erfurt. The various incidents of the story, such as the son doing penance for mother (Herbert, 407), the blossoming of the dry staff (see Liebrecht's edition of the *Otia Imperialia* of Gervaise of Tilbury, pp. 22, 112), the son who releases his mother from purgatory after a year of masses (Herbert, 260), and, finally, the mother who smiles in her torments because she will be freed after thirty years by the first mass of a youth of her family (Klapper, 1911, No. 18), are found in various *exempla* separately. The last of the notable stories which we shall mention is No. 205, in which travellers in a desert find a naked man who tells them that a certain king had a treasure tower which could not be entered as long as the guardian was awake, and to keep him so, the king gave him a precious stone, which made him wakeful as long as he held it in his hands. Any one who let it fall was subject to the penalty of death. The naked man in the desert had been guilty of this negligence and was fleeing from the king's officers. No parallel is given by Klapper and I know of none.

Finally, I shall mention the stories for which no parallels are given by Klapper. Nos. 1, 4, 12, are visions in which the Christ-child appears to a devout maiden, in No. 15, to a pious youth. Similar visions in connection with the Eucharist are very common, but I do not know of any exact parallels to the stories just mentioned. No. 10, two brothers are seen by an abbot in a vision, one raised above earth by angels, the other protected against attacks of demons: one brother had overcome temptations, the other had not. No. 18, a hermit serves a sick man twenty-five years and sees his soul carried to heaven by choirs of angels. No. 22, a certain priest appears after death to a friend, wearing a scarlet cloak with golden ornaments, signifying the sinners he had converted; one special ornament is for a sinner for whose salvation all had despaired. No. 27, a monk does not restrain his tongue and after his death his body is found burnt down to his waist. This story is usually told of a nun, see Crane's *Jacques de Vitry*, No. 272, and Herbert, 23, etc. No. 30, a certain wicked count is converted by one preaching in a cemetery. After his death angels build him a tomb. No. 31, a recluse becomes a pilgrim and then a hermit before he pleases God. No. 35, a wicked man who postpones confession until the moment of death is prevented by the devil from speaking the words necessary for his salvation. No. 37, a soldier is converted by hearing read in church the story of the lepers who were told to show

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themselves to the priests and were healed (Luke, xvii, 12-14). No. 40, two companions on finishing their studies, become, one a Cistercian, the other a mendicant, feigning dumbness. The sick son of a prince is healed by the prayers of the latter. No. 42, a wicked nobleman dies a horrible death and his body is found blackened and torn by demons. No. 44, a nobleman apparently dead is given by the Virgin a brief lease of life in which to confess his sins. Similar stories are found in Ward, *Cat.* II, pp. 633, 663. No. 65, a nun takes special care in washing and drying the altar linen and is rewarded by a vision of the Virgin placing the Christ-child on the corporal-cloth. No. 69, a priest carrying the Host to a sick man encounters a train of asses laden with grain, they make way for the priest. No. 74, a nun plans to leave her convent with a lover, but has a vision of her future punishment and deliverance by the Virgin. No. 78, a dying man gives signs of contrition, but after death the priest who buried him sees his grave emitting flames and learns from the deceased that the sorrow he showed on his deathbed was caused by his fear that his wife would remarry and dissipate his property. No. 81, a sinful priest has a vision of judgment and vows that he will enter the Cistercian order. No. 99, a wife teaches her wicked husband how to implore mercy on his deathbed. No. 103, a certain charitable man in Antioch never ate without the presence of the poor. One day he finds no poor, but meets three men at the city gate and invites them to enter. One of the strangers says the city cannot be saved; shakes his handkerchief and half the city falls into ruins. He raises his hand again and the rest of the city would have fallen, but his companions restrained him. The charitable man is told to go home, and, since his alms are acceptable, he will find his property unharmed. No. 104, a count releases a maiden who had vowed her chastity to the Virgin, and promises to build a convent and place the maiden in it. He is killed in a tournament, and buried without the cemetery. The Virgin appears in a vision to the bishop, and commands him to bury the count with other Christians. His relatives on hearing this build a convent over his grave and in time the maiden becomes its abbess. No. 114, three companions are overtaken by a thunder-storm; two are struck by lightning, the third is saved by repeating the words: "Verbum caro factum est." No. 121, a certain man used to speak evil of priests, when, at extreme unction, the priest attempts to anoint his lips, his mouth

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grows horribly large and covers his face; but by the priest's prayers recovers its usual form. No. 124, a harlot is so impressed by a sermon on contrition that she rises in her place and begs the preacher to confess her. He replied that he would as soon as he had finished his sermon. She cried out that she would die if he did not confess her at once, and forthwith expired. The preacher calmed the tumult that arose and asked them to pray the Lord to reveal the sinner's state. She suddenly revived and said she had gone to eternal life without the pains of purgatory, on account of her abundant contrition. Klapper has overlooked the parallels in Herbert, 259, 526, 595, 667, 689, etc., and Ward, *Cat.* II. 677. No. 128, a hermit burns his fingers in a candle to extinguish his lust. Besides Klapper's reference to the *Vitae Patrum*, see Jacques de Vitry, No. 246, and Herbert, 20, 53, 66, 468, and 563. No. 135, a disciple in a cave of the Thebaid resists sleep seven times and his master in a vision sees him rewarded with seven crowns. Klapper has overlooked the source of this story, which is the *Vitae Patrum*, Migne, lxxiii, col. 903, see also Herbert, 72. No. 136, two hermits are so absorbed in their pious conversations that they do not notice the lapse of time and so fail to keep Lent. No. 137, two tailors, one married, one not; the former is pious and supports wife and children, the latter cannot support himself. His comrade takes him to church to see where he has his treasure, and tells him it consists in the text: "First seek the kingdom of God and all things shall be added unto you." No. 145, an anecdote of Alanus ab Insulis, who says the poor man is the king and emperor of the whole world, because he seeks nothing, and possessing nothing, he fears not to lose anything. No. 151, a recluse is deceived by the devil who assumes the form of an angel of light. This is very like a story in Cæsarius of Heisterbach, v. 47 (ed. Strange, I, 339). No. 152, a youth who has led a perfect life for six years in the desert, is lured away by devil with false news from home. Klapper has overlooked the fact that this story is from the *Vitae Patrum*, Migne, lxxiii, col. 899; see also Herbert, 328, 331, 334, 567, 716. No. 160, the monk who is often moved to anger leaves his monastery and goes to a solitary place where he will have no one to quarrel with. He flies, however, into a passion when his water-jar is overset. Klapper has overlooked the source of this story, which is also from the *Vitae Patrum*, Migne, lxxiii, cols. 778, 901; see also Herbert, 547, 569, and 583. No. 162, a monk suffers *accidia*,

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and is told it is because he does not reflect sufficiently upon the peace which is hoped for and the torments which are feared. This story is also from the *Vitae Patrum*, Migne, lxxiii, col. 780. No. 174, a nun is seduced by a cleric and becomes a harlot. In order to honor the feast of the Purification of the Virgin she takes refuge in a granary outside of the town. There she has a vision of judgment, in which she tries to enter a church of the Virgin, but is repulsed by Christ, who commands the demons to plunge her in everlasting fire. The Virgin intercedes with her Son and He orders the sinner to be released from her torments. She awakes from her vision to find the whole of her body as black as a coal, and so it remained until her death and many were edified by her example. No. 175, Paul, the first hermit, is visited by a man possessed of a devil, who describes to him the joys of heaven. I cannot find this story in the *Vitae Patrum*, where it would seem to belong. No. 178, St. Macharius has a vision of two deathbeds, one of a sinner, the other of a poor man. Klapper's reference to No. 89 is incorrect. The story is in the *Vitae Patrum*, Migne, lxxiii, col. 1011; see also Herbert, 456, and Ward, *Cat.*, II, p. 665. No. 191, a monk chaste from his birth confesses only once a year. He has a vision of judgment, in which the Virgin pleads with her Son to forgive the monk's negligence, which He does. No. 192, a certain monk has a vision of the Virgin sprinkling with holy water some of the cells and their occupants and passing by one monk whom she declares to be unprepared. The *Vitae Patrum* is incorrectly cited as the source of this story. A somewhat similar story is in Cæsarius of Heisterbach, vii, 14; see also Herbert, 468. No. 195, a noble youth devoted to the Virgin, but worldly-minded, falls ill and apparently dies. He revives, however, and relates how the Virgin obtained a respite for him in order to repair the harm he had done to the church and the poor. A similar story of a cleric is in Ward, *Cat.*, II, 663. No. 197, a monk who had lived forty years in the desert, prays the Lord to show him what his merit is. The divine voice says that he has not yet attained the merit of a poor woman who serves in the baths. The monk visits her and sees in visions how she has intimate intercourse with the Virgin and her Son, and learns that she is a king's daughter who renounced all to serve the poor. A similar story is told of St. Macharius and two good women in the *Vitae Patrum*, Migne, lxxiii, cols. 778, 1013. Nos. 198 and

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199 are stories of life prolonged to afford time for penance, as in No. 195, cited above.

Of special interest is the group of stories, Nos. 165 to 199, which, as the editor says, affords ample parallels to stories in the preceding group, and are also remarkable for the very extensive moralizations attached to them, which connect them with the collections of moralized stories such as the *Scala Celi* and *Gesta Romanorum*. Certain stories of this group seem originally to have been complete sermons.

We should say in conclusion that Dr. Klapper has given a German translation of the Latin text to enable those who are interested only in the subject matter of the stories to acquaint themselves more rapidly with it. There is also an excellent index which enables the student to find readily the numerous story-themes in the *exempla*. Dr. Klapper's work is in every way worthy of inclusion in the valuable series issued under the patronage of the *Schlesische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde*.

T. F. Crane.

Cornell University.

Umlaut und Brechung im Altschwedischen. Eine Übersicht von Axel Kock. Lund, C. W. K. Glerup: Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz (1916). v + 391 pp. —Kr. 7, 50 (= ca. $2.25).

Der durch zahlreiche wichtige Arbeiten auf dem Gebiete der nordischen und der altgermanischen Sprachgeschichte wohlbekannte Verfasser hatte seit dem Jahre 1911 in den Rektoratsprogrammen der Universität Lund eine Reihe von Abhandlungen über den Umlaut und die Brechung im Altschwedischen erscheinen lassen, die in dieser Schrift (die zugleich im 12. Bde. der *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, N. F., Abt. 1 erscheint) vereinigt sind. Sie enthalten in ihrer Vereinigung eine zusammenfassende, übersichtlich geordnete Behandlung des auf dem Titel genannten Gegenstandes.

Für keine altgermanische Sprache sind die Erscheinungen des Umlautes und der Brechung bis jetzt so eingehend dargestellt, wie hier für das Altschwedische. Und doch ist der Verf. offenbar bemüht gewesen, sich zu beschränken. Seine Behandlung ist durchaus knapp, der Umfang des Buches vorwiegend durch die

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Fülle des herangezogenen Materials bedingt, zu welchem alle Epochen der schwedischen Sprache, bis auf die heutigen Dialekte herab, beisteuern. Neben dem Schwedischen sind durchweg auch die übrigen Glieder des altnordischen Sprachzweiges herangezogen. Der Verf. bemerkt also S. IV mit Recht, dass er seiner Schrift den Titel hätte geben können: "Umlaut und Brechung im Altschwedischen unter Berücksichtigung der andern altnordischen Sprachen."

Über den Bereich des Altnordischen jedoch geht die Darstellung selten hinaus. Bei Lauterscheinungen, die das Nordische, wie es namentlich beim Umlaut der Fall ist, bis zu einem gewissen Grade mit andern altgermanischen Sprachen teilt, hat diese isolierende Behandlung ihre Bedenken. Man läuft ständig Gefahr, vom Standpunkte der Einzelsprache aus Deutungen zu geben, die auf das Gesamtgebiet nicht recht passen. *Ein* Beispiel genüge hier, dies zu erläutern. S. 17 wird das Fehlen des Umlautes in isl. *hunang* (ntr.), aschwed. *hunagh* (ntr.), *hunagher* (m.) darauf zurückgeführt, "dass das Wort zu urnordischer Zeit Fortis fakultativ auf der zweiten Silbe hatte (*huna'ng-*)." Dagegen sollen aschwed. *honagh* (ntr.), *honagher* (m.) auf die Betonung *hu'nang* weisen. Diese Erklärung, die den Unterschied der Vokale in der ersten Silbe von einem Betonungsunterschiede abhängig macht, der sich an die Form mit zwei Nasalen knüpfte, lässt sich nur sehr gezwungen auf das Verhältnis von asächs. *honeg-* : *huneg-* (Belege bei Gallée, *Vorstudien z. e. altniederdt. Wörterbuche*, S. 146 u. 155) oder von ahd. *honag* : *honang* (Graff. IV, 961) anwenden.[1]

Mehr als derartige Einzelheiten fällt ein andrer Umstand ins Gewicht. An der Spitze der nordischen Sprachen steht für den Verf. naturgemäss das Urnordische, die gemeinsame Grundlage des Ost- und des Westnordischen. Und zwar schwebt ihm diese Sprache überall—auch da, wo er die urnordischen Formen nicht ausdrücklich rekonstruiert—als eine der ältesten germanischen Sprachen vor: altertümlich namentlich auch dem Gotischen gegen-

[1] Kock hält anscheinend die Form mit zwei Nasalen für die ältere, und allerdings würde ja *hunag-* aus *hunang-* sich nach Art der von Edw. Schröder, *ZfdA.* XXXVII, 124 ff. klargestellten Fälle wie *Kömi(n)g*, *Pfenni(n)g* begreifen lassen, in denen die Lautfolge *n—ng* zu *n—g* vereinfacht ist. Aber man darf nicht übersehen, dass auch der umgekehrte Lautwandel vorkommt, z. B. in nhd. *genung*, der aus Goethes *Faust* und sonst bekannten Nebenform zu *genug*. Dafür, dass *huna(n)g* zu der letzteren Kategorie gehört, spricht das Althochdeutsche, wo *honang* statt des älteren *honag* erst bei Notker auftritt.

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über in ihrem Vokalismus und in der Bewahrung alter Vokale der Endsilben, die dem Gotischen fehlen. Der Verf. steht mit dieser Anschauung nicht allein. Sie gründet sich in erster Linie auf Bugges Auffassung der Sprache der ältesten nordischen Runeninschriften und wird heutzutage wohl so ziemlich von allen skandinavischen Sprachforschern geteilt. Der Auffassung der nordischen Gelehrten kamen die Ansichten deutscher Germanisten entgegen. Die Entdeckung des "gemein-europäischen *e*" führte zu der Ansicht, der Vokalismus der westgermanischen Sprachen und des Altnordischen sei vielfach ursprünglicher, als der des Gotischen. Als dann noch Sievers (*PBB.* v, 101 ff.) in westgerm. Endsilben Reste eines im Gotischen nicht mehr vorhandenen *i* bei einigen Formen der alten *i*-Stämme entdeckt zu haben schien, galt die Sache als zu gunsten Bugges entschieden. Das Gotische erschien nunmehr, was die Altertümlichkeit anlangt, als eine Sprache untergeordneten Ranges, deren Wert man ehemals überschätzt habe. Aus der germanischen Grammatik ist diese Lehre heute schon in die vergleichende indogermanische Grammatik übergegangen.

Allerdings ist diese Anschauung nicht ohne Widerspruch geblieben. Schon in den Jahren 1869 u. 1871 wandte sich Konr. Gislason in den *Aarböger f. nord. Oldk. og Hist.* gegen Bugges grammatische Folgerungen aus den älteren Runeninschriften. Einwendungen gegen Sievers brachten Heinzel und Scherer in der 2. Aufl. von Scherers *zGDS.* (1878) S. 611-618 vor. In einem kurzen Aufsatze "Zum vokal. Auslautsgesetze der german. Sprachen." *Mod. Lang. Notes* XX (1905), 129-131, habe ich die Untersuchung der hier schwebenden Fragen wieder aufgenommen und z. B. der Sieversschen Theorie gegenüber geltend gemacht, dass die scheinbaren Reste alter *i*-Stämme des Ags. und andrer westgerm. Sprachen, wie *wini, stedi,* sich als Neubildungen nach den alten *ja*-Stämmen (z. B. ags. *here, ende* = got. *harjis, andeis*) ansehen lassen, die mit dem Aussterben der alten *i*-Deklination als besonderer Flexionsklasse zusammenhängen. Für die 1. sing. des schw. Präteritums habe ich später Gislasons Auffassung, durch welche der Theorie Bugges eine ihrer wesentlichsten Stützen entzogen wird, in der Schrift *Das schw. Prät. u. seine Vorgeschichte* S. 129-137 eingehend zu begründen gesucht. Während es sich in den genannten Arbeiten wesentlich um den Vokalismus der Endsilben handelt, habe ich in dem Aufsatze "Segimer" (*JEGPh.*, VI, 253-306) die alte Ansicht wieder zu Ehren zu bringen gesucht, dass das Got-

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ische überall da, wo es dem westgerm. *e* ein kurzes *i* gegenüberstellt, den urgerm. Standpunkt gewahrt hat.

Im Interesse der Sache und zu meiner eignen Belehrung hätte ich gewünscht, dass Prof. Kock die dieser Richtung angehörigen Aufsätze nachgeprüft und sich mit ihnen auseinandergesetzt hätte um so mehr, als sie bis jetzt nur wenig Beachtung gefunden haben. Nicht nur Zustimmung sondern auch Einwände von seiner Seite wären willkommen gewesen. Aber es gehört offenbar zu der schon hervorgehobenen Beschränkung, die sich der Verf. auferlegt hat, dass er sich des Urnordischen in der Form bedient, in welcher es nach den jetzt gangbaren Theorien rekonstruiert wird, ohne die Grundlagen dieser Rekonstruktion von neuem zu erörtern.

Diese Selbstbeschränkung hat der Verf. auch einem Aufsatze gegenüber geübt, der seinem Thema noch näher liegt, nämlich L. F. Läfflers "Bidrag till läran om *i*-omljudet med särskild hänsyn till tiden för den germaniska sprakenheten"[2] (in der *Nord. tidskr. for filol. og pædag.*, N.R. II. Kopenhagen 1875-76). Läffler hat hier angenommen, die gotische Brechung des *i* und *u* vor *r* und *h* (genauer: die Regel, wonach dieselben Vokale, welche sonst als *i* und *u* vorliegen, vor *r* und *h* als *ai* und *au*, d. i. *ē* und *ō* erscheinen) stamme aus dem Urgermanischen. Nicht nur hat naeh Läffler diese Art der "Brechung" früher einmal auch im Nordischen und Westgermanischen bestanden, sondern es lassen sich ihre Spuren hier noch nachweisen. Zustimmung hat Läffler, so viel ich weiss, bisher nur bei v. Borries, *Das erste Stadium des i-Umlautes im Germanischen* (Dissertation, Strassburg 1887) gefunden. Aber darauf kommt es ja nicht an. Leider ist diese—wie ich jetzt glaube, richtige—Auffassung der gotischen Brechung bei Läffler mit der unhaltbaren Theorie von dem hohen Alter des westgerm.-nordischen *e* (gegenüber gotischem *i*) verquickt. Auch hat er die Argumente, die sich zu gunsten seiner Auffassung der gotischen Brechung vorbringen lassen, keineswegs erschöpft.[3]

Stellt man sich hinsichtlich des westgerm. *e* auf den Standpunkt,

[2] Beitrag zur Lehre vom *i*-Umlaut mit besondrer Rücksicht auf die Zeit vor der germanischen Spracheinheit.

[3] Es tritt z. B. bei Läffler nicht genügend hervor, dass die gotische Regel im Westgerm.-Nordischen bei *einsilbigen* Formen bestehen blieb, während sie in *mehrsilbigen* Formen der neuen Gleichgewichtsregel weichen musste. Freilich sind dabei namentlich in der Deklination die einsilbigen Formen vielfach durch die demselben Paradigma angehörigen mehrsilbigen beeinflusst.

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den ich in dem Aufsatze "Segimer" eingenommen habe und verbindet man damit Läfflers Auffassung der gotischen Brechung, so gelangt man für den germanischen Vokalismus zu einem überraschend einfachen Ergebnisse. Man erkennt, dass der urgermanische Vokalismus im Gotischen erhalten ist: noch viel getreuer erhalten, als Jakob Grimm anzunehmen wagte, dem hier seine Theorie von dem hohen Alter der drei "Urvokale" und der Unursprünglichkeit jeglicher "Brechung" im Wege stand. Dem Gotischen gegenüber führen das Nordische und die westgermanischen Sprachen im grossen und ganzen ein System durch, in welchem der Vokal der Stammsilbe dem der Endung halb oder ganz entgegenkommt. Vor mittlerem Vokal, insbesondere vor einem *a* oder *ō* der Endung, senken sich hohe Vokale (d. h. *i* und *u*) der Stammsilbe zu den mittleren Vokalen *e* und *o* (Holzmanns *a*-Umlaut); vor hohem Vokal der Endung dagegen heben sich *e* und *o* der Stammsilbe zu *i* und *u*. Daher z. B. westgerm. (ahd.) *biris* für got. *bairis* d. i. *bĕris*) und westg. *neman* für got. *niman*, neben westg. (ahd.) *nimis* = got. *nimis* und westg. *beran* = got. *bairan* (d. i. *bĕran*). Bei *nimis* und *beran* lag im Westgermanischen kein Grund zur Änderung vor, da das Gleichgewicht hier schon im Gotischen vorhanden war, wohl aber bei got. *niman* und *bairis* (= *bĕris*), wo Stammvokal und Endung im Gotischen (wie im Urgermanischen) auf ungleicher Stufe standen. Die Ausgleichung zwischen Stamm- und Endungsvokalen findet nur statt bei kurzem Stammvokal und bei dem alten Diphthong *iu*. Bei langen Vokalen der Stammsilbe dagegen nimmt man an dem Unterschiede der Zungenstellung zwischen Stamm- und Endungsvokal keinen Anstoss. Weitere Einschränkungen erleidet die Gleichgewichtsregel durch konsonantische Einflüsse. Diese Einflüsse machen sich in den verschiedenen aussergotischen Sprachen nicht ganz in derselben Weise geltend. Aber darin stimmen alle überein, dass die gotischen Stammvokale unversehrt bleiben, wenn sie unmittelbar vor Nasal + Konsonant stehen. Endlich wird die lautliche Regelung vielfach durch Analogiebildungen durchkreuzt.

Ich gedenke diese hier in aller Kürze skizzierte Theorie demnächst an andrer Stelle eingehend zu begründen. Inzwischen sei den Fachgenossen neben der reichhaltigen und lehrreichen Schrift Axel Kocks namentlich auch der fast in Vergessenheit geratene Aufsatz Läfflers zu eingehendem Studium emfohlen.

Johns Hopkins University. HERMANN COLLITZ.

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Critical Essays of the Eighteenth Century, 1700-1725. Edited by Willard Higley Durham, Ph. D. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1915.

One aim of this volume is to reprint "a group of representative critical essays," most of which are not readily accessible elsewhere. Dr. Durham thinks, rightly, that historians of literature need to study the criticism of this period as a means of correcting historical misconceptions of it. To reprint well-known papers from the *Spectator, Tatler,* and *Guardian* was hardly necessary, but otherwise the selections are very helpful. The editor, to be sure, feels called upon to depreciate Welsted, but quite needlessly. In such company it is superfluous to call any one a "complacent mediocrity;" and as for the vitality of Welsted's notions, his remarks on imitation, on the then popular "arts of poetry," and especially on the imagination, seem to the reviewer as just and as emphatic, if not so well known and influential, as Pope's deservedly famous celebration of Homer's creative power.

A second purpose of the work is to "make necessary a reconsideration of many generalizations which have heretofore been commonly received." In brief, Dr. Durham strikes sturdy blows at the notion of unanimity in the critical views of the time and at the tendency common nowadays to "pigeon-hole" literary men—or dogmas—of the period as either "classical" or "romantic." Such blows need to be struck. We shall never arrive at a just conception of eighteenth-century literature until we throw overboard for good and all the terms "romantic" and "classical" or come to regard them, with Dr. Durham, as representing two permanent tendencies of the human mind. "Sometimes one is dominant, sometimes the other; but in greater or less degree both are there. It is merely a question of preponderance" (page xlii).

But of the aggressive effectiveness of Dr. Durham's volume in accomplishing reform one may be doubtful. The generalizations commonly accepted about the "evolution" of eighteenth-century romanticism are so easy and schematic that they can be displaced only with difficulty. The essays of nine men alone, however illustrious, will hardly suffice. The obscure views of the ninety and nine unknown writers cited as parallels would greatly strengthen the force of statements, which may now, we fear, be comfortably set down as "the opinions of the enlightened few and not the

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general taste." Nevertheless Dr. Durham's work is good seed, and will have the approbation of every careful student.

In the notes the editor is perhaps less satisfying, tho he has done much careful and valuable work especially in clarifying vague citations or allusions. Professor Spingarn's work with the critical essays of the preceding century has led us to desire something more. We wish for parallel utterances such as would enable us to see how widely contemporary critics agreed with the views reprinted in this volume and how clearly the influence of these essays may be seen in later critics. More notes like that which tells us that in the instance of Gildon's *Art of Poetry* no second edition was demanded would be appreciated; for such a note helps to define the popularity of Gildon's work. But we need additional comment to enforce the notion that this type of criticism did not dominate the period. That might be drawn from a letter from Dr. George Sewell printed in *The Post-man Robb'd of his Mail* (1719), page 269, which objects that the work does not say enough "on the Enthusiasm of Poetry," tho Dr. Sewell expects "the Sale will answer its Worth." The friendly retort to this objection (*ibid.*, p. 270) is also interesting. Lack of sale was not due to lack of "pulling;" for the *Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post* for 3 January 1719 spoke of the work as being "approved of as the best Treatise of this Nature hitherto extant." If the best enjoys no second edition, the inference is obvious. Again, Dr. Durham might have given us a note telling us of the famous wrath of Mme. Dacier at Pope's description of Homer (here page 324) as a "wild Paradise" rather than an "order'd Garden." Of course consistent citation showing parallels or influences would require much preliminary reading, but the notes as they stand show that Dr. Durham has already done this reading.

The bibliography is excellent both in completeness and accuracy. In its field it has no competitors. It may, however, be pardonable to specify some titles not in Dr. Durham's list, tho few of the additions are of high importance and some might be ruled out by a rigid definition of criticism. Among translations from foreign criticism might be noted '*The Advices from Parnassus, and the Poetical Touchstone of Trajano Boccalini, translated by several hands* (1706). Altho not exactly criticism, Boccalini's *Ragguagli* are interesting inasmuch as they created a critical *genre* in

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the common "Parnassus vision." The 1706 translation was not the first, but it seems to have been the most popular. To the Ozell-Broom-Oldisworth Homer was added before 1722 Mme. Dacier's rather frequently quoted preface; and the "Works" of St. Evremond were published in translation in 1700 and 1714. The first two of these three works find mention in Dr. Durham's notes, which perhaps excuses their absence from the bibliography. Among anonymous English works omitted, is *The Post-Man Robb'd of his Mail: or, the Packet broke open* (1719), ascribed to Gildon and other *ignoti*, who modestly call themselves "the best wits of the present Age." The book contains considerable critical matter, especially with regard to the drama. *Crito: or a Dialogue on Beauty* (1725) by "Sir Harry Beaumont" (Joseph Spence) should find a place here, and so most certainly should Swift's *Letter to a Young Gentleman, Lately enter'd into Holy Orders* (1721) because of its famous discussion of prose style. John Sheffield was a Duke among the critics; hence possibly his "Works" (1723) should be noted. A more interesting critical piece than most of these mentioned is Parnell's "Preface to the Life of Zoilus" (1717) published originally with his translation of the *Battle of the Frogs and the Mice.* This contains an "inspired" defense of Pope's methods in translating the *Iliad;* it shows where Pope feared attack, and its discussion of Pope's intended style, its apology for the use of rime instead of the blank verse which, it seems, might have been expected, should be interesting to those of us who are anxious to have hasty generalizations about Pope and his period reconsidered. This leads into the field of Popeana, which Dr. Durham perhaps wisely avoided; but Parnell's defense is one of the most valuable pieces of the criticism of Pope before Spence's *Essay on Mr. Pope's Odyssey,* and hence deserves a place in Dr. Durham's excellent list.

GEORGE SHERBURN.

The University of Chicago.

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CORRESPONDENCE

The Cædmonian *Exodus* 492

In Blackburn's edition, Grein's *Sprachschatz,* and all the dictionaries *wælbenn* is taken as the single instance of a compound meaning 'deadly wound,' though the sense is particularly incongruous in a passage describing the drowning of Pharaoh's host, and the context leads one to expect some synonym for 'sea.' Hence Bouterwek's suggestion *wælburnan.* But why should not *-benn* be the well-attested by-form of *bend* which is discussed by Kluge in *Anglia* IV, 105-6 (cf. Paul's *Grundriss*[2] I, 379)? The sense would then be 'the death-bonds (*i. e.,* the enveloping waves) seethed.' The first element might conceivably be *wāl;* but since the accents of this manuscript are no criterion of quantity, and *wālrāpas* (*Beowulf* 1610) is only superficially parallel, it is better not to assume a new word.

In the same line *witrod* is a well known crux. In Grein's *Sprachschatz* it is taken as a form of *wigtrod,* otherwise unrecorded. But the instances of *wi-* for *wig-* are all from considerably later manuscripts, and often in combinations like *wihaga, wigar* where the loss of *g* is easily explained. I may therefore record a suggestion which Professor Napier mentioned shortly before his death, and which scarcely needs the benefit of his presentation. Read *wi*[*þer*]*trod,* and render 'God's handiwork (the sea) fell upon their way of retreat.'

Kenneth Sisam.

Oxford, England.

OHG. *Quecbrunno*[1]

All evidence bearing on the belief in a Fountain of Youth in and before medieval times is of particular interest since the appearance of Prof. E. W. Hopkins' article on the subject in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* XXVI (1905), i, 1-67; ii, 411-15. He shows that the conception was of Hindu origin and that it was not known in Europe until the twelfth century.[2] Grimm's equat-

[1] The suggestion of this note is due to Professor John A. Walz.

[2] Professor Hopkins distinguishes the rejuvenating fountain of the eagle

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ing of OHG. *quecbrunno* and MHG. *jungbrunnen, i. e.,* Fountain of Youth, (*Deutsche Mythologie,*[4] 488, n. 3), if the words are really synonymous, might be used as evidence for a native German belief in such a fountain prior to the twelfth century. Especial interest attaches only to the meaning of *quecbrunno* in OHG. for the existence of a Fountain of Youth in German belief at that time would contradict Prof. Hopkins' conclusions. It will, however, appear from the evidence below that the words cannot be equated.

In a number of passages in OHG. the word is found in its literal meaning, "lebendiges Wasser, sprudelnde Quelle."[3] In some texts the "living water" of the story of the Samaritan women is called *quecbrunno.* In that context the word had no peculiar significance for Tatian (Braune, *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch,*[6] p. 49) has *lebenti wazzar* and Otfried, II, 14, 26 (Braune, p. 114) reads *springentan brunnon.* To a scribe of Notker's Psalms the compound had no importance for he writes *choche prunnen* instead of *checprunnen.*

Nor does *quecbrunno* and its variant *Kochbrunnen* mean anything more than "bubbling spring" in later German.[4] The most significant passage is a long description of the springs on Mt. Magdala in the life of Mary Magdalene (Mone's *Anzeiger für Kunde der teutschen Vorzeit,* Karlsruhe, 1839, VIII, 486) in which we might expect to find the rejuvenating power of the *keckbrunnen* mentioned, if the word had that connotation. The figurative use of the word, as *er was ein quecprunne der tugent* (*Parzival,*

(Psalms, 103: 5), which was well known in Europe before the twelfth century, from the Fountain of Youth for men. That the eagle's fountain could, however, rejuvenate men appears in the *Imram curaig Mailduin,* *Revue celtique,* X, 79, § 30.

[3] Graff, *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz,* III, 311. The instances are *Christus und die Samaritcrin,* Braune, p. 145, l. 11; a sermon on the Samaritan woman, Graff, *Diutisca,* II, 381; Notker, Psalms, 45: 5 (in speaking of the *inundatio sancti spiritus*), ed. Piper, Freiburg i. B., 1882-95, II, p. 174 and variant in III, 154. The word is not peculiarly Alemannic, cf. Leitzmann, *PBB,* XXXIX, 555.

[4] *Fons* is glossed *quecbrunn* in Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Sumerlaten,* Vienna, 1834, p. 49, 10. For instances in modern German, cf. *DWb,* VII, col. 2335; V, col. 379; Schmeller, *Bayrisches Wb.,*[2] II, p. 280; Kluge, *Ety. Wb.*[8] (1915), p. 251. Quickborn, the title of Klaus Groth's poems, has no mythical connotation. The instances in "fragm. 18, 267," *i. e.,* C. H. Myller, *Sammlung deutscher gedichte aus dem 12. 13. 14. jahrhundert,* Berlin, 1785, III and *Städtechronik,* II, 535 (gloss on *latex*) have been inaccessible.

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613, 9), has no mythical associations.[5] The collocation *Du quellender keebrunne* (*Wilhelm von Oesterreich*, ed. Regel, 7066) is unequivocal.

Negative evidence is the fact that the fountain in which the eagle rejuvenates himself is not called *quecbrunno* in OHG. or later.[6] There is thus no instance of a Fountain of Youth for men in OHG.

Washington University. ARCHER TAYLOR.

THE INTERPRETATION OF *Parzival* 1, 26—2, 4.

Parzival 1, 26—2, 4, is punctuated by Lachmann as follows:

1, 26 wer roufet mich dâ nie kein hâr
gewuohs, inne an miner hant?
der hât vil nâhe griffe erkant.
sprich ich gein den vorhten och,
daz gliehet miner witze doch.
2, 1 wil ich triwe vinden
aldâ si kan verswinden,
als viur in dem brunnen
unt daz tou von der sunnen?

This punctuation is retained by Bartsch, Leitzmann, and Martin in their editions. In their commentaries on the passage in question, Lachmann, Bartsch, and Martin agree substantially in their interpretations. Martin translates:

"Wer rauft mich, wo nie ein Haar gewachsen ist, innen in meiner Hand? der hat gar nahe zu greifen gelernt.
Schrei ich aus Furcht hiervor o! so sieht es noch danach aus, dass ich bei Verstand bin.
Werd ich aufrichtige Gesinnung finden da, wo sie zu schwinden pflegt wie Feuer im Quellwasser und der Tau vom Sonnenschein?"

This interpretation is accepted also by the translators Simrock, Böttticher, San Marte, Pannier, and Weston. Böttticher, *e. g.*, translates:

Sie wollen raufen, wo an mir
Kein Härchen doch zu fassen ist.
Sie wissen nah zu greifen!
Wird mir bang vor solcher Not,
So hat's Erfahrung mich gelehrt.
Wohlwollen werd' ich schwerlich finden,
Wo es stets verschwinden kann
Wie Feuer, etc.

[5] A Low Franconian parallel in *Zs. f. d. a.*, X, 31. For the figure, cf. *brunne alles guates*, Otfried, III, 14, 81.

[6] Karajan, *Deutsche Sprachdenkmale*, Vienna, 1846, p. 98; *einen chochen brunnen* (clearly a descriptive adjective; the form quoted in *Deutsche Mythologie*,[4] III, p. 167 is inexact); *Zs. f. d. a.*, VII, 143 (reprinted in Grieshaber, *Deutsche predigten des 13. jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1844, I, p. 29) reads *einen kuelen brunnen*.

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In spite of this uniformity of punctuation among the editors and practical agreement in interpretation among the translators of *Parzival,* one can not but feel that the passage as commonly understood remains unduly obscure or forced, even when Wolfram's well-known obscurity of style is taken into consideration. Apparently all critics have felt dissatisfied with their findings. One naïve commentator, A. Baier, writes (*Germania* XXV, 404 Anm.) "Da ich aber die Stelle nicht genügend zu erklären vermag, halte ich sie für verdorben . . ." and thus cuts the Gordian knot easily.

A simpler explanation of the passage than the prevailing one is possible, however, without emendation of the existing text, if the Lachmann tradition is abandoned and the punctuation of Piper's edition (*Deutsche Nat. Lit.* Vol. v, No. 2) is accepted. Piper sets a comma instead of a period after *doch* 1, 30, and a period instead of a question-mark after *sunnen* 2, 4 and interprets:

"wer rauft einen an der Handfläche, wo kein Haar wächst? wer das tut, muss gut zugreifen können. Sein Tun ist ebenso nichtig und zwecklos, wie das desjenigen, der vor Entsetzen nichts als das Wörtchen Ach! hervorzubringen vermag. Wenn ich das tue, so ist das ebenso klug, als wenn ich Treue suche, wo sie keinen Halt hat."

Evidently Piper also agrees with the other commentators in his interpretation of 1, 28, "wer das tut, muss gut zugreifen können." Lachmann, as well as Martin, admits the possibility of interpreting *erkant* passively, *i. e.,* "hat erfahren," but in his remarks *Über den Eingang des Parzival* (*Kleinere Schriften,* 491) Lachmann renounces this explanation and says: "Woran man wohl auch denken könnte, dass *nâhe griffe erkennen* bedeutete Von dem Gerauften gefasst und gestraft werden, das wird man doch lieber aufgeben" and (*ibid.,* 492) "so wird man denn wohl wahrscheinlicher finden, dass *die nâhen griffe* die des Angreifenden sind."

If Piper's punctuation is accepted and *erkant* translated by "experienced," the passage may be interpreted naturally as follows: Whoever attempts to seize me on the inside of my hand will experience a swift clutch(*i. e.*. will be caught himself). If I cry out in alarm at such a danger (*i. e.*. no danger at all to me), that is just as sensible as to expect to find *triwe* where it can no more exist than fire in the stream or the dew in the sunshine.

Wolfram's *mich* 1, 26 is, of course, equivalent to the general *man* (cf. Paul, *Beitr.,* II, 233 f.) and the whole passage a generalization.

With Wolfram's clear and objective visualization, the picture of the swift reaction of the hand, closing the fingers instantly over the hand of the assailant, is natural and concrete. It is just as natural to consider fear of such an attack absurd, and to compare the foolishness of one who cries out in unwarranted alarm at an

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attack, fraught with danger only for the assailant, with the unreasonableness of seeking *triwe* where it does not exist.

I offer this explanation, not because I consider it original, for many readers must have interpreted the passage thus, but because, so far as I am aware, the Lachmann interpretation is still given, in all discussion of the *Eingang des Parzival,* as the accepted rendering of this mooted passage.

PAUL R. POPE.

Cornell University.

A NOTE ON THE NAME BEAUMARCHAIS

The origin of the name Beaumarchais has never been satisfactorily explained. The young Pierre-Augustin Caron is said to have taken it from an estate belonging to his first wife. According to his friend and biographer Gudin, he adopted it even before his marriage: "Le mari de cette femme [i. e. Pierre-Augustin Franquet] était un vieillard, possesseur d'une très-petite charge dans la maison du Roi. . . . Il chercha à s'en défaire en faveur du jeune Caron, qui prit, dès ce moment, d'un très-petit fief le nom de Beaumarchais."[1] Franquet died in January, 1756, and in November of the same year the young Caron married his widow. "Alors seulement, au commencement de 1757, il ajouta pour la première fois à son nom ce nom de Beaumarchais qu'il devait rendre si fameux. Le manuscrit de Gudin nous apprend que ce joli nom fut emprunté à un très-petit fief appartenant à la femme du jeune Caron. Je ne sais pas au juste où était situé ce petit fief, j'ignore si c'était un fief servant ou un fief de haubert, ou simplement un fief de fantaisie."[2] Lintilhac quotes from an unpublished letter of Beaumarchais: "Le Sieur Caron de Beaumarchais, qui ne portait en 1756 que le nom de son père, avait acquis du Sieur Franquet une charge de contrôleur de la maison du roi."[3] Bettelheim remarks: "Herr Franquet hatte einige Jahre nach seiner Vermählung ein Lehen namens Beaumarchais nach welchem Herr Caron sich seither nannte. . . . gekauft, wohin er sich häufig begab;" and he says further: "Die Provenienz des Namens Beaumarchais ist nicht weiter aufgeklärt . . . Vielleicht stammt der Name von Beaumarish (Bellomariscus)."[4] The following is the statement of Hallays: "L'aventure ne lui avait eu somme rap-

[1] Gudin de la Brenellerie, *Histoire de Beaumarchais,* pub. par M. Tourneux, Paris, 1888, p. 10.

[2] Louis de Loménie, *Beaumarchais et son temps,* Paris, 1856, vol. I, p. 90.

[3] E. Lintilhac, *Beaumarchais et ses œuvres,* Paris, 1887, p. 3.

[4] A. Bettelheim, *Beaumarchais, eine Biographie,* Frankfurt a. M., 1886, p. 33; he quotes from a pamphlet of 1789, of which there are copies in the British Museum: *Lettres des sieurs de Beaumarchais et Daudet, citées à l'audience du 14 Mars 1789, dans la cause du sieur Kornmann.* Cf. note on p. 595.

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porté qu'une charge et un nom: car dès lors, il s'appela Beaumarchais du nom d'un petit fief ayant appartenu à sa femme. Il faut ajouter que personne ne sut jamais en quelle province de France était située la terre de Beaumarchais." [5] In 1758 Beaumarchais used as his signature 'Caron de Beaumarchais,' [6] and in 1761 he purchased the right to call himself noble. His wife, born Madeleine-Catherine Aubertin, had died in September, 1757; he had trouble with her family over property, but none, apparently, over the name.

No further information about the origin of the name is given by the biographers, some of whom appear even to doubt the existence of the alleged fief.[7] Without assuming any necessary connection, it is interesting to notice the existence of an estate called Beaumarchais not far from Paris, some years before the birth of P. A. Caron. It is mentioned in a book printed in 1619, with this title: *Meslanges historiques, ov recveil de plvsieurs actes, traictez, lettres missiues, & autres memoires. . . .* A Troyes. Par Noel Moreav, dit le Coq. This collection of documents, which I shall have occasion to quote elsewhere, is ascribed to Nicolas Camusat. It is divided into six sections, with separate numbering of the folios in each section. The third section contains "Recveil sommaire des propositions & conclusions faictes en la chambre Ecclesiastique des Estatz tenus à Bloys en l'an 1576, dressé par M. Guillaume de Taix, Doyen en l'Eglise de Troyes, & deputé ausdicts Etatz pour les Ecclesiastiques du Baillage de Troyes." [8] At the end of the report on the meeting of the States General there follows an autobiographical notice of the author, with this heading: "Pour memoire du lieu et race d'ou sont descenduz les de Taix Seigneurs de Fresnay à present, & anciennement d'Assez, Beaumarchais, Beauregard, les Turez & autres terres toutes proches, contigües & quasi adjacentes l'une de l'autre, assizes tant ledict Fresnay que lesdictes terres susdictes, en la Paroisse de Cloye pres de Chasteaudun au Diocese de Chartres." The dean of Troyes relates that in 1575 he visited his elder brother, Loys de Taix Escuyer, Seigneur dudict Fresnay, and other relatives; from an aged aunt he learned that the family was founded in the fourteenth century by "un nommé Mery de Taix seigneur de Semes & dudict lieu de Taix audict pays de

[5] A. Hallays, *Beaumarchais*, Paris, 1897, p. 12. Similarly, P. Bonnefon, *Beaumarchais*, Paris, 1887, p. 5: "C'était le nom d'un petit fief de sa femme, fief de fantaisie sans doute, et produit d'une imagination qui en créerait bien d'autres. Ce nom de terre devint donc un nom de guerre."

[6] E. Fournier, *Œuvres complètes de Beaumarchais*, Paris, 1884, p. i.

[7] The *Vie privée, politique et littéraire de Beaumarchais*, published anonymously at Paris in 1802, does not mention the subject. An Eustache de Beaumarchais died in 1294; near Mirande, in the department of the Gers, there is a town Beaumarchès, which was founded in 1288, and named after Eustache de B. (see P. Joanne, *Dictionnaire géographique et administratif de la France*, Paris, 1890, I, 353-4); and in Seine-et-Marne there is a Bois de Beaumarchais (*ibid.*): but these names have not been connected with the dramatist.

[8] *Op. cit.*, third section, ff. 72a-73b.

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Touraine. . . . Duquel de Taix estoit par une longue reuolution d'années descendu Iean de Taix nostre Bisayeul seigneur de toutes les terres susdictes de Fresnay, Assez, Beaumarchais &c. qu'il eut pour son partage, comme puisné ou cadet de ladicte maison." Of the place-names here mentioned, two are recorded [9] as located in the commune of Cloyes, in the southern extremity of the department of Eure-et-Loir, namely Beaumarchais and Fresnay; [10] Beauregard occurs six times in this department, but not near Cloyes; Assez and les Turez I do not find. In the *Dictionnaire des Postes et des Télégraphes* for 1905, Beaumarchais near Cloyes is mentioned as having ten inhabitants; six other minute localities with the same name are located in different parts of France,—the largest, with 134 inhabitants, in Seine-et-Marne.

Thus Beaumarchais is not imaginary as a place-name. Whether or not the *terre* of that name *en la Paroisse de Cloye pres de Chasteaudun* suggested a *nom de guerre* to the dramatist, perhaps some investigator will be able to determine.

University of Illinois. KENNETH MCKENZIE.

CHAUCER AND LANCASTER

Since the printing of my contribution, "Chaucer and Richmond," in the April *Notes*, my attention has been drawn (somewhat tardily, alas!) to Professor Skeat's short but suggestive letter to the *Academy* of March 23, 1894, endorsing heartily a solution of the enigmatic lines of *The Book of the Duchess* offered by the Bishop of Oxford. "'Long castle' is Lancaster, 'whyte' refers to Blaunche, 'Seynt Iohan' is meant to introduce the name of John of Gaunt, and the 'riche hil' refers to the fact that he was Earl of Richmond." Only one more word-play seems possible—the pun upon "Gaunt"—and this, as we all know, was reserved for a greater than Chaucer. Skeat sustains the episcopal interpretation by reference to the variant, "long castel," for "Lancaster" in two passages of the *Bruce* of Chaucer's contemporary, Barbour (Book XVII, ll. 285, 852). Ashamed of my own dullness, I give entire assent to this apt reading by sharper wits; but I still dully and doggedly maintain that the punning description of the "long castle with walls white on a rich hill" is so accurately descriptive of Richmond as to imply strongly Chaucer's personal knowledge of the Yorkshire building.

FREDERICK TUPPER.

University of Vermont.

[9] See L. Merlet, *Dictionnaire topographique du département d'Eure-et-Loir*, Paris, 1861, s. v.

[10] Called Fresnay-l'Ève-Cloyes in 1290, Fresnay-sur-le-Loir in 1409 (*ibid.*). This name, variously written, is exceedingly common, "désignant un lieu anciennement planté de frêne, du latin *fraxinus*" (Joanne, *op. cit.*, III, 1573).

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Bishop Henry King and the *Oxford Dictionary*

The readers for the *Oxford Dictionary* (referred to below as *NED.*) apparently employed Hannah's selection from Bishop Henry King's poems (*Poems and Psalms by Henry King D. D.*, ed. Rev. J. Hannah, 1843, Pickering), and consequently failed to observe a considerable number of early or peculiar usages in his other work. It may not be without profit, therefore, to go through a complete edition of King (*The English Poems of Henry King, D. D., 1592-1669, Sometime Bishop of Chichester*, ed. Lawrence Mason, Ph. D., 1914, Yale University Press) and list the various points that seem to have escaped the all but omniscient editors of *NED.*

The page and line descriptions of the twenty words here considered refer to the Yale Press edition. The "Bibliography" cited is an article on "*The Life and Works of Henry King, D. D.,*" by L. Mason, printed in the *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. XVIII, 1913, Yale University Press.

Page 25, line 10: "turnes." If this be not an unrecorded sense of the word, it certainly antedates 1791, the earliest example under 47 b.

Page 26, line 8: "Sybellean." Unrecorded variant spelling of Sibylline. Only one earlier use (1579-80) is given, the spelling being "Sybilline."

Page 35, line 11: "befrosting." Unrecorded.

Page 36, line 7: "banes." Might it not have been pointed out that the single *n* may well represent the *ñ* of scribal contraction? Both here and in "Canon" (page 117, line 39), the MSS. employ the single *n* with the sign of doubling superposed, but the printer has failed to heed this signal.

Page 40, line 44: "night-peece." The date of this poem can hardly be fixed. But in King's earliest printed sermon, 1621, page 54, we have "night-piece" used in sense 1 b and antedating 1643.

Page 68, line 46: "Drill." This poem must certainly have been written before 1640 (cf. "Bibliography," p. 261), and hence King antedates the earliest instance (1641) under the second sense of sb^2. The date of printing (1657) would supply another seventeenth century example to support this solitary 1641.

Page 68, line 47: "floated." The earliest example in *NED.* of the adjectival use is 1675.

Page 68, line 57: "Fontinells." The earliest example under 2 b. is 1649: after this was written, but before it was printed.

Page 68, line 69: "Erra Pater." This passage, with some of the citations in Nares' *Glossary* (new ed., 1859), page 281, would seem to prove that this term should have been included as a common noun, meaning 'almanac.' So Halliwell's *Dict. of Arch. & Prov. Words*, 1847, I, 338.

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Page 93, line 127: "Cassiopeian." *NED.* quotes lines 127-129 of King's poem as the earliest (and only) illustration of the use of the word, with this ascription: "*c*1630 Drumm. of Hawth. *Poems* Wks. (1711) 55." In the first place, as this is an elegy on the death of Gustavus, who died in 1632, the date might at least be given as "*c*1632." In the second place, this elegy seems never to have been included among Drummond's poems before the 1711 folio (over 60 years after the poet's death) or after Jeffery's edition in 1791 (save for Anderson's many-volumed *British Poets*, in 1793, and Chalmers', in 1810). The Maitland Club (1832) publication has not been consulted; but if (as stated in their prefaces) W. B. Turnbull, 1856, 1890, and W. C. Ward, 1894, used the Maitland Club text, then it is safe to say that no modern critical edition has credited this elegy on Gustavus to Drummond. The Muses Library edition, 1894, I, CXXIV, and L. E. Kastner's exhaustive Manchester edition, 1913, I, LXXXVIII, and II, 416, simply discredit the critical authority of the 1711 folio with out even mentioning this particular elegy—far less, including it. While, on the other hand, the elegy appears in both the MS. volumes of Henry King's poetry; in three other MSS., all signed with his full name (Rawl. MSS. P. [Poet] 26, ff. 51-52, and 160, ff. 39v-41, in the Bodleian, and Addit. MS. 25,707, ff. 96-97v, in the British Museum); and in all the printed editions of King's poetry from 1657 to 1914, two of which (1657, re-issued 1664) appeared in his own life-time. Finally, the first use of the word "Cassiopeian" should be dated neither "*c*1630" nor "*c*1632," but 1633: for the elegy, signed "Henry King," was first printed in London in that year, in *The Swedish Intelligencer*. Part III. after the Index (British Museum, shelf-number 9435 cc. 13).

Page 112, line 34: "homebred." An unrecorded figurative sense of the word.

Page 115, line 4: "combine." This sense (= compose; or, unite to constitute) is either new and unrecorded, or a very considerable anticipation of the earliest example given under 2 (1799), or possibly 3 (1827).

Page 116, lines 7ff. In King's *Lenten Sermon at Whitehall*, 1627, pages 15-16, a parallel passage illustrating these lines includes the word "Novelist" in a sense which antedates *NED.*'s earliest example, 1706, under † 3.

Page 118, line 71. In King's *Exposition upon the Lord's Prayer*, 1634, page 244, line 25 (1st ed., 1628), the word "inanimated" is used as an adjective (and the form therefore antedates the earliest example, 1679, under "inanimate, v.", 1 *trans.*"). But the use of "inanimated" in this sense as an adjective is not recorded separately.

Page 136, line 284: "Caput Algol." This poem must surely have been written in the first heat of indignation after the execu-

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tion of Lucas and Lisle, August 28, 1643; and so this use of the term would seem to antedate the earliest example (1649) in *NED.*

Page 150, line 392: "lieger-hangman." Not recorded, under "Lædger. B. *adj.* † 2."

Page 152, line 455: "Tennis." *NED.* fails to distinguish the part from the whole; Tennis would seem to have been not only a game, but also a single stroke in that game.

Three other points may also be listed here, as more or less directly connected with Henry King:

Page 14, line 1: "Table-Book." Jasper Mayne in his lines *Upon Mistris Anne Kings Table Book of Pictures* (Harl. MS. 6931, ff. 59-60v, and Addit. MS. 33,998, ff. 57-58, in the British Museum), seems to have used the term rather in the sense of 'illustrated album' than in that of 'blank book,' and if so to have anticipated by over two centuries the earliest example (1845) under 3 in *NED.*

Page 39, line 21, note. The word "Sorne," 1562, is unrecorded in *NED.*

Page 67, line 18: "Calenture." A variant form, not recorded in *NED.*, is "callander"; cf. Fuller's *Church Hist.*, ed. Brewer, v, 437, footnote extract from Bishop Rudde's sermon before Elizabeth in 1596.

LAWRENCE MASON.

Yale University.

THE TWO ST. PAULS

The following lines from Langland and Chaucer attribute, directly and indirectly, to St. Paul the Apostle the trade of basket-making, instead of tent-making, as a means of livelihood. I have been unable to discover this tradition elsewhere.

> Poule, after his prechyng, panyers he made,
> And wan with his hondes that his wombe neded.
> *Piers Plowman*, B. XV, 235 f.

> I wol not do no labour with myn hondes
> Ne make baskettes, and live therby,
> Because I wol not beggen ydelly,
> I wol non of the apostles counterfete.
> *Pardoner's Prologue*, 443 f.

May it not be that this error arose from a confusion of St. Paul the Apostle with St. Paul the Hermit? Of the latter, St. Jerome tells us that the palm-tree furnished him with food and clothing, and in speaking of his "tunic" St. Jerome writes (*Vita S. Pauli*, Migne, *Pat. Lat.* XXIII, col. 27): . . . "Tunicam ejus, quam in *sportarum* modum de palmae foliis ipse contexuerat." According to Mrs. Jameson (*Sacred and Legendary Art*, 6th ed., p. 748) St. Paul the Hermit appears in medieval art clad only in a *mat* of

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palm-leaves. It is not without significance that in the lines immediately preceding those quoted above, Langland has been discussing the life of St. Paul the Hermit.

SAMUEL B. HEMINGWAY.

Yale College.

SPENSER'S VISIT TO THE NORTH OF ENGLAND

Between the poet Spenser's taking his master's degree at Cambridge in 1576 and his known secretaryship under the Bishop of Rochester in 1578 there is an interval which no biographer has been able to fill otherwise than conjecturally. The popular explanation of scholarly tradition would have it that he spent at least a part of this interval with relatives in the north of England,—an eighteenth century *obiter dictum* with no other apparent foundation than a gloss to the June eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calendar*. There "E. K." explains that Spenser's phrase "Forsake the soyle" alludes to the poet's private affairs, who "for his more preferment remouing out of the Northparts came into the South . . ." The relatives—*desunt*.

It is uncertain just how much credence we should attach to "E. K." at this point. There is here, as elsewhere (January gloss to *Colin Cloute*) in the *Calendar*, the appearance of an implied parallel to Virgil, who left Mantua in the north of Italy to go to Rome. Spenser similarly journeyed southward to Kent and London, and for the sake of the parallel he may well have stretched the "Northparts" to include Cambridgeshire. If "E. K." be not here the poet or the poet's mouthpiece, he may even misrepresent Spenser, for the lines contain no certain indication that such was his meaning. Indeed, they provide evidence to the contrary. Hobbinoll (*i. e.*, Harvey) a few lines later says: "Leave me those hilles . . . And to the dales resort." Now, in the *Calendar*, especially in the succeeding eclogue, hills stand for places of high honor, and the plains for the post of humble virtue. Consequently, to leave the hills would be to abandon ambition. The invitation of Harvey would be a poetical plea in favor of the country life. And such a sense would be more apt at publication in 1579 than allusion (strangely forced) to an event at least two years old.

Apart from this very equivocal evidence, it has been urged that Spenser's family was of Lancashire. Certain editors and writers of monographs, indeed, have continued to repeat the statement uncritically since it was controverted (*Anglia*, XXXI, 72 ff., "Spenser's Rosalind"). Without recapitulating the argument, it should suffice to correct finally Grosart's misuse of Harvey's Letterbook. This is his sole telling argument. He quotes (*Spenser*, I, lv) from what purports to be a letter by Harvey to Spenser:

"To be shorte, I wouldе to God that all the ill-favorid copyes of my nowe prostituted devises were buried a greate deale deeper in the centre of the

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erthe then the height and altitude of the middle region of the verye English Alpes amountes unto in your shier."

Grosart finds in this passage concerning the "English" Alps an allusion to Pendle Hill, and thereby establishes his conclusion that "your shier" (*i. e.*, Spenser's shire) is no other than Lancashire. He notes that the editor of Harvey, in his introduction, makes the passage read "in the aier," but, without consulting the manuscript, dismisses the unfavorable reading as a "grotesque mistake." But it is not a mistake. The manuscript (B. M., Sloane 93, fol. 37) was very faultily printed, as G. C. Moore Smith long since pointed out in *Notes and Queries*, varying here in several particulars. According to my collation the manuscript reads:

". . . a greate deale deeper in ye Center of ye Erthe then ye height and altitude of ye very heighest Alpes amountes unto in ye middle region of ye Aier."

The "English" Alps prove to have been a delusion.

One further possible indication of a visit to the North of England has been sought in Spenser's use of northern dialect in the *Calendar*. Certainly, there were northern men in London, Spenser's printer among them; and there were northern men at Cambridge during his seven years' residence at the university. But the poet's knowledge of northern dialect is amply accounted for in his boyhood by the circumstance that he attended the Merchant Taylors' School. The dialect was there impressed upon him by its use on the part of the school ushers. In his *History of the Merchant Taylors' School* (p. 25), Wilson notes that their use of northern English was regarded as objectionable. At the first visitation, on Friday, August 16, 1562, the examiners were well pleased. "The ushers had this only fault, that, being northern men born, they had not taught the children to speak distinctly, or to pronounce their words so well as they ought." For Spenser's excursions into dialect study we need not posit a visit to the North of England—nor, indeed, for any other reason.

PERCY W. LONG.

Harvard University.

BRIEF MENTION

On the Art of Writing, by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch (Cambridge, University Press; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916). The American teacher would be led by the title of this book to look for a text-book, to be added to the unnumbered class-room manuals produced in hot haste to meet the demands of the enormously increased attention the colleges have come to bestow on the subject of English Composition. It is, however, not a text-book or methodical treatise, nor is it addressed to American students. There is a double advantage in this. The reader will be assisted in deepening his convic-

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tions with reference to certain general principles, and he will be impelled to reflect on differences in academic attitude to the subject. The book consists of the inaugural lectures of a mature literary man,—one who has had a large share of the principal opportunities of his life, and has earned his wages (cf. p. 3),—who has been called to follow Dr. Verrall as Professor of English Literature in the University of Cambridge. Familiarity with Sir Arthur's literary work must surely keep anyone from going far astray in conjecturing the outstanding features of these lectures; it would certainly not fail to prepare anyone for the emphasis put on a citation from the authoritative definition of the newly assumed office: "The Professor shall treat this subject on literary and critical rather than on philological and linguistic lines" (p. 9). These words must not be construed into a presumption unfavorable to philological scholarship, of this Sir Arthur assured his hearers, for his argument soon brought him to where he had to speak plainly of the matter: "I use no disrespect towards those learned scholars whose labours will help you, Gentlemen, to enjoy it [a great work in literature] afterwards, in other ways and from other aspects; since I hold there is no surer sign of intellectual ill-breeding than to speak, even to feel, slightingly of any knowledge, oneself does not happen to possess." That might pass as an irresponsible view of Scholarship from a Cornish Window, but, Shade of Archbishop Parker! these words were uttered where they might be interpreted into a denial of the imputed value of the legacy reposing in the Library of Corpus Christi. Is it appropriate before an academic audience in a great national university even to hint at the possibility of a state of mind that does not assume that all sound learning is equally honorable? The lecturer has, however, so managed his argument that he has found it necessary to give specific assurance of his good-breeding, and to utter a caution against being misunderstood: "I am not persuading you to despise your linguistic descent. English is English—our language; and all its history to be venerated by us. I am not persuading you to despise linguistic study. *All* learning is venerable" (p. 226). There we have the note of Sir Arthur's intellectual temper, and in a setting that requires no comment.

The foregoing observations will prepare the reader of these lectures to find that personal opinion is exalted above accurate knowledge. This would be more than tolerable, it would be valuable, if done in a spirit manifesting philosophic seriousness. But there is no philosophy here to give depth and coherence to argument, but only light, unreasoned, hedonistic insistence on personal convictions. A characteristic passage may be cited: "Of Anglo-Saxon prose I know little indeed, but enough of the world to feel reasonably sure that if it contained any single masterpiece—or anything that could be paraded as a masterpiece—we should have heard enough about it long before now. It was invented by King Alfred

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for excellent political reasons; but, like other ready-made political inventions in this country, it refused to thrive. I think it can be demonstrated, that the true line of intellectual descent in prose lies through Bede (who wrote in Latin, the 'universal language'), and not through the Blickling Homilies, or Ælfric, or the Saxon Chronicle." A professional lecture on the "Lineage of English Literature" is thus complacently based on hear-say information and on inadmissible linguistic theory. A professor's business is to expound principles underlying accurately observed phenomena. Clever and irresponsible *obiter dicta*, well, let their stimulating effects be granted, but not mistaken for another and more profound experience.

Leaving aside the deeper subject of the power and dignity of knowledge,—without which no nation can have power and dignity,—and leaving aside the ethical and the æsthetic effects of the disinterested pursuit of truth on character and personality,—without which morals and canons of taste must be unstable,—Sir Arthur is concerned with notions of the Art of literature, reviewed in a refined and sprightly manner, but not without a degree of pedantry and of an obtrusion of his personality that one must feel to be in contradiction of his implied and expressed precepts.

"English literature being an art, with a living and therefore improvable language for its medium or vehicle," the lecturer declares his purpose as professor to be to direct his pupils in the practice of writing, so that, if possible, "appropriate, perspicuous, accurate, persuasive writing," may be "a recognisable hall-mark of anything turned out by our English School" (p. 26); "and I would add (growing somewhat hardier) a hall-mark of all Cambridge style so far as our English School can influence it" (p. 35). The practice of English verse will also be encouraged. There is, therefore, a lecture "On the Difference between Verse and Prose," and two on the "Capital Difficulty" of these divisions,—two lectures that show Sir Arthur at his best in an effort to give to an eclectic notion the importance of a fundamental principle. The two propositions of the argument fit into each other as neatly as the parts adjacent to a seam in a cracked vase: "the capital difficulty of prose consists in saying extraordinary things" (p. 89), "to handle the high emotional moments which more properly belong to verse" (p. 130); "the capital difficulty of verse consists in saying ordinary things";—"with verse, keyed for high moments, the trouble is to manage the intervals, with prose the trouble is to manage the high moments" (p. 89). The argument is entertainingly handled, but its relative value is surprisingly overestimated.

The author's name is sufficient assurance that this book of lectures will entertain the reader, and start up in him many a sensation of hearty and agreeable assent as well as of positive and profitable dissent. J. W. B.

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Professor J. B. Fletcher's *Dante* (Home University Library: New York: H. Holt & Co., 1916; price, 50 cents) is not so much an introduction to the study of Dante, as an essay which presupposes considerable knowledge of the subject. The events of the poet's life are merely alluded to; his writings are not expounded for the beginner, but elaborately interpreted in accordance with certain theories, already partially set forth in previous publications. This method may not correspond to the general purpose of the Home University Library, but the book is interesting and often illuminating, even if not always to be followed implicitly.

According to Professor Fletcher's theory, which is concerned largely with Dante's inner life as expressed in his writings, the *Vita Nuova, Convivio*, and *Divina Commedia*, form a trilogy,—not, as was argued by Witte and others in the last century, showing changes in point of view, but rather as showing stages in the continuous development of one identical point of view. "The *Divine Comedy* is simply that part of the personal confession of the *New Life*, which comes after Beatrice's death writ large" (p. 51). The *Convivio* is essentially a demonstration that even in the episode of the *donna pietosa* Dante was following, though unintelligently, the dictation of Beatrice; it is an essential part of the drama, the "action" of which "is how God drew him to himself by the agency of Beatrice" (p. 15). Professor Fletcher, it seems to us, is sometimes led into the fallacy of mistaking a figure of speech for logical proof, or an analogy for an argument. He is safe in saying of the *Vita Nuova* that, "so far from being an ingenuous diary of the heart, it is an almost uniquely complex piece of literary goldsmith's art;" but this does not necessarily lead to his conclusion that the book is constructed upon subtle symbolic correspondences with the *Divina Commedia*. He believes in the historicity of the events of the *Vita Nuova*, and here again he is on solid ground; when he says, however, that its "enigmatic manner is due neither to immature clumsiness nor to literary affectation. It is rather a carefully thought out attempt to render dramatically the gradual process of Dante's own spiritual enlightenment under the guidance of love" (p. 33), he begins to base his arguments on assumptions. Taking due account of the artificiality of the *Vita Nuova*, it is still not safe to identify its inner meaning with that of the *Commedia*, and to assume throughout Dante's works the consistency that it found in a modern interpretation. It may be that Dante would have accepted some such interpretation if it had been presented to him; but we are not justified in assuming that it was in his mind.

After a brief introduction, the book is divided into three long chapters—Dante's Personal Confessions, The Teaching of Dante, The Art of Dante. At the very beginning the author attacks some of the most difficult problems. He shows familiarity with Dante's writings and with many of the books which he used as authorities. Some statements call for protest, such as the identification of

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Gentucca (*Purg.* XXIV) with the stony-hearted damsel (pp. 69, 194), and the excessive application of symmetry (pp. 102-4). Dante was not exiled in 1300 (p. 48). The symmetrical arrangement of the *Vita Nuova* was not "originally noted by C. E. Norton" (p. 104), but by Gabriele Rossetti. Professor Fletcher's style, though sometimes involved, is strikingly original; his literary allusions are novel and appropriate. Emphasis upon the importance of theology (pp. 57, 81, etc.) is in line with the tendency of the best Italian criticism, but the conclusions reached are not the same. The pages devoted to Dante as a literary artist separate with fine discrimination what is of permanent value from what has lost its appeal. A brief bibliography of books in English is included, and also an index. K. McK.

Philip Stephan Barto's *Tannhäuser and the Mountain of Venus: a Study in the Legend of the Germanic Paradise* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1916, pp. xiii + 258) is a work of scholarly soundness and of absorbing interest. If at first approach it gives the appearance of undue pretentiousness, a cover-to-cover reading of it assures one that it justifies its pretentions. The book presents a novel conception of the myths of Tannhäuser and of the *Venusberg* which, founded upon hitherto inaccessible documents and references, stands in direct contradiction to all existing attempts to clear up the origin and interrelation of the two legends. Gaston Paris professed to find the source of the legendary material in Italian accounts of a transcendental Love Mountain; Kluge vindicated a Germanic origin for Tannhäuser but conceded the Southern starting-point of the *Venusberg;* the late R. M. Meyer contended for the Germanic provenience of both legends. The second aspect of the question, the connection of the Minnesinger Tannhäuser with the facts of folk-lore, Erich Schmidt and Wolfgang Golther sought to fixate in setting up the poet as the real hero of the original myth. Still a third avenue of approach is found in Elster who assumed that the fifteenth-century versions of the Tannhäuser-legend are based on a pro-papal treatment of an early Germanic myth, the idea of an unforgiving Pope being a later accretion born of Protestant partisanship; *hoc contra,* Remy regards the legend as it developed on German soil, a fusion of two distinct motives, the international Christian legend of mercy, superimposed upon a pagan Celtic myth of a mortal's sojourn in *faerie.* Barto's merit is the objective scrutinizing of the entire field of contention and the resultant insistence upon the essentially Germanic *and* unitary character of the basic motives to be found both in the Tannhäuser, the *Venusberg,* and the Knight of the Swan. Underlying and tributary to each of these three legends is the conception of the Grail, as it changed from the venerated jewelled cup of Chrestien of Troyes, thru Wolfram von Eschenbach's magic stone, into a pledge

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of carnal pleasure, a festival of ribald abandon and lastly a heathen earthly paradise, at first most likely not demoniacal in character (cf. Arthur's Avalon and St. Brandan's Isle of the Blessed), located either in a land-locked fertile plain in India (cf. Barto's article, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, July, 1916, written subsequent to his monograph) or in a hollow mountain, in Tuscany or in Cyprus, which was ruled over by Venus and soon assumed the appellation of *Venusberg*. Numerous literary allusions from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are adduced to show not only that the knight Danhuser was held to be the royal consort of Venus and that the Knight of the Swan, called Helias as well as Lohengrin, first issued forth from this anathematized Court of Love but also that the two knights must, according to the accounts of popular tradition, be held to be originally identical. Interesting and for the most part convincing reading is furnished also by the rôle played by the Church of Rome in Tannhäuser's hopelessness of salvation, and by the discussion of the relative primitiveness of the *Song of Daniel*. Operating with literary evidence the author treads on firm ground. When dealing however with some minor hypotheses, he exposes himself to fallacies. Thus it will be hardly tenable, from a philological standpoint, to connect the terms *Dan*, the name of the eponymous ancestor of the Danes, *Dan*-huser, *Wodan*, Teu*tones* and *Danzic* on the *ipse dixit* of the Dutch geographer Cluverius, altho such a collocation might yet prove to contain a pregnant suggestion as to the enigmatic entrance of Tannhäuser into the myth; nor can we give unreserved approval to the details of the identification of the hero of the Danhäuser-song with the Knight of the Swan. Copious notes, listing original references, an appendix on the Folk-Song of Tannhäuser printing for the first time all accessible versions of the song with their sources, are added to the investigation, and a comprehensive bibliography (but no index!), to which might be added Junk, *Tannhäuser in Sage und Dichtung* (München, 1911), Rank, *Die Lohengrinsage* (Wien, 1910), von Kralik, *Die Gralsage, gesammelt, erneuert und erläutert* (Ravensburg, 1907, pp. 348), and Pokorny, *Der Gral in Irland und die mythischen Grundlagen der Gralsage* (Wien, 1912), closes the book which must be pronounced a credit to American scholarship. It is a pity that the author did not see fit to give the larger bearings of the terrestrial-paradise type of folk-lore tradition, collate all the Germanic evidences and correlate them with some of their decisive international echoes. That he is competent to undertake such an investigation, is amply shown in his account of Sceaf, Baldr, Arthur, and Atli in relation to sleep as the mythological symbol for the passing to a transcendental paradise. On the whole, his all too terse manner of style obscures many a thought that merits later elaboration.

A. G.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOLUME XXXII FEBRUARY, 1917 NUMBER 2

ON THE MEANING OF 'ROMANTIC' IN EARLY GERMAN ROMANTICISM

PART II

The chief preoccupation of Friedrich Schlegel's mind during the half-dozen years preceding the earliest manifestoes of the Romantic School was the question of the nature, the relations, and the relative values, of "the ancient" and "the modern" in art. That there is some profound and significant unlikeness between the spirit, the informing idea, of classical and of modern art and taste—this was the assumption from which his earliest and most characteristic reflection upon æsthetic questions proceeded. The long essay *Über das Studium der Griechischen Poesie* (1794-5) is the outstanding illustration of the place which this antithesis had in his thought; but he could scarcely write upon any theme without giving evidence of his absorption in the problem.[1] There is, he declared in 1796, a sort of "civil war in the kingdom of culture"—a "Kampf des Alten und des Neuen"—and it is therefore indispensable to an understanding of the history of humanity that "the concepts of the ancient and the modern be given a definite meaning (*fixirt*) and be deduced from human nature itself."[2]

[1] Cf. especially *Über die Grenzen des Schönen*, 1794; *Lyceum-Fragment* 84; and the following from A. W. Schlegel's Berlin lectures of 1801-4, à propos of ancient and modern poetry: "Der verschiedne Geist beyder, ja der zwischen ihnen obwaltende Gegensatz, und wie man deswegen bey ihrer Beurtheilung von anders modifizirten Prinzipien ausgehn müsse, um jede ohne Beeinträchtigung der andern anzuerkennen: diess ist einer von den Hauptpunkten den mein Bruder und ich in unsern kritischen Schriften von verschiednen Seiten her ins Licht zu setzen gesucht haben." (*Op. cit.*, III, 6, in *Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale* XIX, 6.)

[2] In the review of Herder's *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität*, *Jugendschriften* II, 42.

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Schlegel's interest in this question, however, was not the interest of an historian but of an æsthetician. "Ancient" and "modern" expressed less a chronological than a philosophical distinction. The tendencies for which either term stood might manifest themselves, and admittedly to some extent did manifest themselves, in the period customarily denoted by the other. Schlegel's conception of "das Wesentlich-Antike," in particular, was much more the product of æsthetic theorizing than of historical inquiry; though he sincerely believed that conception to express the predominant character of Greek art, his generalizations about the ancients were so hasty and, in some points, so palpably absurd as to lend themselves very easily to Schiller's satire in the *Xenien*. When, in accord with the prevailing fashion of the time, Schlegel in his first period (1793-96) glorified ancient and belabored modern poetry, he was really engaged in formulating two antithetic critical theories, and in vindicating one of them at the expense of the other.

The antithesis, stated in more descriptive terms, was that between *die schöne Poesie* and *die interessante Poesie*, the "poetry of beauty" and the "poetry of the interesting"; or between "objectivity" and "subjectivity" as governing principles in artistic creation and æsthetic appreciation. The doctrine which Schlegel at this time held was, in essence, a sort of æsthetic rationalism. It regarded "beauty" as an "objective" attribute, which works of art do or do not possess, irrespective of their relation to the feelings and the experience of the artist, if not wholly irrespective of their relation to the feelings of the reader, hearer or beholder. An æsthetic value, to be genuine must be "of universal validity," neither expressive of, nor dependent for its effect upon, the subjective "interest" of this or that individual; and there is, or ought to be, an "allgemeingültige Wissenschaft des Geschmacks und der Kunst." The "pure [3] laws of beauty," therefore, are objective and universal principles, rigid and invariable. The end of art is the attainment of this beauty through fidelity to these laws; its end is *not* to imitate or emulate nature, nor yet to record the inner reactions of the artist upon nature and life. The foremost of its laws, therefore, is that of self-limitation, restriction of its themes and its modes of expression, by the exclusion both of the intrinsically ugly and of whatever is inconsistent with the

[3] "Pure" probably in the Kantian sense, *i. e., a priori*.

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rigorous unity, the clearness of outline and the singleness of total effect, of any individual work. There was in Schlegel's early æsthetic writings not a little of that smug talk about "good taste" and "technical correctness" (especially in the drama) which was later to become a favorite object of the Romanticists' ridicule.[4]

It is not, however, the purpose of this paper to offer any thorough exposition of the classicism of Fr. Schlegel's first period. Our concern is with his formulation of the opposite æsthetic ideal, which he at that time rejected, but with the definition of which, especially in the *Studium-Aufsatz*, he was scarcely less occupied. What I wish here to point out is that his conception of "das eigentümlich Moderne" was, in its essentials, completely formed long *before* the period of the *Athenaeum*, and did not materially alter when he passed from his *Gräkomanie* of 1793-5, through the transitional stage of 1796, to the Romanticism of 1797 and thereafter. The "romantische Poesie" of which we hear so much after 1798 was simply the "interessante Poesie" of the earlier period. What altered was only Schlegel's valuation of this type of poetry.

In the writings of 1793-5 the principal characteristics attributed to "the distinctively modern" are these: a disposition to imitate in art the "Fülle und Leben" which are the "Vorrecht der Natur," at the expense of the unity and coherency which are the "Vorrecht der Kunst;"[5] a consequent inclination to over-ride all fixed laws and limits, "als wenn nicht alle Kunst beschränkt und alle Natur

[4] For all this, *v. Über die Grenzen des Schönen* (1794), *Von den Schulen der griechischen Poesie* (1794), *Über die weiblichen Charaktere, usw.*, (1794), and especially the *Studium-Aufsatz* (1796) *passim*, in Minor's edition of Schlegel's *Jugendschriften;* also the (supposed) earlier form of the last-mentioned essay in *DNL*, vol. 143. As Alt has noted (*Schiller u. die Brüder Schlegel*, 1904), W. von Humboldt had, in *Die Horen*, 1795 (IV, 31-33), drawn the same contrast between *das Schöne* and *das Interessante*, had denied to the latter any "purely æsthetic" value, and had found a weakness for it to be a characteristic fault of modern taste.

[5] *Über die Grenzen des Schönen;* in Minor, *Jugendschriften* I, 23. Observe how precisely Schlegel here defines, while damning, the characteristics which he later came to regard as the essence of the Romantic temper: "Das furchtbare und doch fruchtlose Verlangen sich ins Unendliche zu verbreiten, der heisse Durst das Einzelne zu durchdringen"—these two cravings, sprung from a common source, and characteristic of the modern spirit, he now holds to be the arch-enemies of both æsthetic and moral worth.

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unendlich wäre;"[6] a tendency to produce, not, as does ancient art, that "Befriedigung wo die kleinste Unruhe aufgelös't wird, wo alle Sehnsucht schweigt," but rather an insatiable longing;[7] a relative indifference to "form," to pure "beauty," in comparison with expressiveness and richness of content, and, in particular, an eagerness to catch and express, not the universal and typical (which alone is consonant with "beauty"), so much as the differentness of things, the unique and the individual—"ein subjektives Interesse an einer bestimmten *Art* von Leben, an einem individuellen Stoff;"[8] an especial interest in individuals of exceptional originality, or force;[9] a liking for the representation of the positively ugly or grotesque;[10] a constant confusion and intermixture of *genres;*[11] a fusion of philosophical with purely æsthetic interests, so that "die Philosophie poetisirt und die Poesie philosophirt;"[12] and a lack of æsthetic disinterestedness and detachment on the part of the artist, a tendency to use all forms of poetic utterance as means for expressing his personal attitude towards reality, instead of devoting himself to the realization of pure, "objective" beauty in the work of art which he produces.[13]

[6] *Ibid.*, I, 24.

[7] *Jugendschriften* I, 87, 89.

[8] *Jugendschriften* I, 91, lines 19-22; 80, ll. 34-40. For the thesis that the universal, *i. e.*, the generic, not the individual, is the object of true (and of ancient) art, *cf.* I, 38-9, 89, 135. This craving for the representation of "the individual" is what Schlegel means by the often mentioned *penchant* of the moderns for *das Charakteristische*. W. von Humboldt also identified a preference for "Charakter-Ausdruck" (*i. e.*, expressiveness in the representation of the individual person or situation) with that craving for the "interesting" which he lamented in modern taste, as inconsistent with a pure appreciation of *Grazie und Schönheit* (*Die Horen*, 1795, IV, 33).

[9] This is one of Schlegel's senses of "the interesting": "Interessant nehmlich ist jedes originelle Individuum, welches ein grösseres Quantum von intellektuellem Gehalt oder ästhetischer Energie enthält" (*Jugendschriften* I, 109). Aesthetic condemnation is pronounced on this upon essentially Platonistic grounds: since such 'interestingness' involves the idea of relative magnitude and "since all magnitudes are capable of addition *ad infinitum*," there can be no such thing as a "höchstes Interessantes," *i. e.*, no fixed and absolute æsthetic standard with respect to this quality.

[10] *Jugendschriften* I, 88, l. 39.

[11] *Op. cit.*, I, 22, 89, 102-3, 122, 146, 150, 157.

[12] *Op. cit.*, I, 89.

[13] *Op. cit.*, I, 81, ll. 1-23, and l. 46 to p. 82, l. 17.

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Describe these characteristics in rhapsodical, instead of censorious, language, and you have most of the elements of Fr. Schlegel's later characterizations of Romantic poetry, and of *das Romantische* in general: universality of interest and of theme; insatiable progression and perpetual self-transcendence; *Streben nach dem Unendlichen;* glorification of *Werden* above *Vollendung;* supreme interest in the *Selbstdarstellung des genialischen Individuums;* inclusion even of the abnormal and "monstrous" in the province of art, as elements in "universality;" demand for the *Vereinigung aller getrennten Gattungen der Poesie;* identification of philosophy with poetry; and insistence upon the unrestrained freedom of the creative artist, "der kein Gesetz über sich leide." And, in particular, you have in the earlier and disapproving accounts of *das Wesentlich-Moderne* most of the features emphasized in *Ath.-Fgm.* 116. Though that fragment at first appears to be simply a eulogy of the novel as a *genre,* the ground of the eulogy is that the novel is peculiarly capable of attaining those qualities which Schlegel had long since described as the distinguishing traits of the "essentially modern."

Not only the characteristics, but also the principal historic embodiment, of the modern ideal in poetry, are the same for Schlegel before and after his adoption of that ideal as his own. Shakespeare, we are told, in a passage already cited in Pt. I of this study, is "unter allen Künstlern derjenige, welcher den Geist der modernen Poesie am vollständigsten und am treffendsten charakterisirt." But, to Schlegel in 1795, this means that the English dramatist is, in spite of, or because of, his genius, also the most striking example of the æsthetic aberrations of modern art—of "das grosse Übergewicht des Individuellen, Charakteristischen und Philosophischen in der ganzen Masse der modernen Poesie." Shakespeare's "unerschöpfliche Fülle" Schlegel cordially recognizes; "his individuality is the most interesting thus far known." Yet any critic who treats Shakespeare's poetry "als schöne Kunst" only falls "into the deeper contradictions, the greater his penetration and the more thorough his knowledge of the poet None of Shakespeare's dramas attains beauty in its *proportions* (ist in *Masse* schön); never does the principle of beauty determine the construction of the play as a whole. And even the beauties to be found in the parts are, as in nature, seldom free from an admixture of the ugly. What is beautiful is not there for its own sake, but

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as a means to quite a different end—in the interest of the expression of character or of a philosophical idea. Shakespeare is often rough and unpolished when a finer rounding-off of his material would have been easy. He is so precisely for the sake of this superior interest. Not seldom his abundance means inextricable confusion, and the result of the whole is an endless conflict. It cannot even be said that he presents us truth in its purity. He gives us only a one-sided view of truth, even though it be the broadest and most comprehensive. His representation is never objective, but always personal,[14] an expression of his individuality."[15] Even the greatest plays of Shakespeare exhibit the characteristic faults of modern art. Thus, *e. g., Romeo and Juliet* exemplifies the "unnatürliche Mischung der reinen Dichtarten," for it belongs to the class of modern dramas which may be called "lyrical"—not in the sense that they contain lyrical pasages, but in the more significant sense that the poems themselves, while dramatic in form, are in essence merely "die dramatische Aeusserung einer lyrischen Begeistrung." *Romeo and Juliet* is "but a romantic sigh over the transiency of the joy of youth." The very excellence of the execution merely makes the more evident the "Monstrosität der Gattung.[16] Even Hamlet, "masterpiece of artistic sagacity" though it is, is yet only an unbeautiful picture of the complete disharmony of a human soul: "der Totaleindruck dieser Tragödie ist ein Maximum der Verzweiflung." It is thus the best example of a "philosophical tragedy," which is "the exact contrary to the æsthetic tragedy." For the latter, which is "die Vollendung der schönen Poesie," has "for its final outcome the highest harmony."[17]

While Shakespeare in 1794-5 still represented for Schlegel the perversion of modern taste, even in a writer of the highest gifts, Goethe was then the object of the critic's supreme reverence and the ground of hope of a return to sound æsthetic principles and

[14] *Manierirt:* the word, as Schlegel's definition shows, has for him this sense.

[15] *Jugendschriften* I, 109; cf. also 107, l. 30.

[16] *Jugendschriften* I, 102-3.

[17] *Jugendschriften* I, 106-108. Alt (*Schiller u. die Brüder Schlegel*, p. 18) strangely refers to this passage as evidence that Schlegel at this period was "far removed from a disparagement of modern poetry"! For Schlegel's later recantation of precisely these strictures upon Shakespeare, see *Ath.-Fgm.*, 253.

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practice. But it was, be it noted, a Goethe who had not yet published *Wilhelm Meister,* and who was praised wholly for his 'classical' qualities—for his "serenity," his "balance," his "objectivity," his "nearness to the Greeks," his freedom from the usual modern over-valuation of *das Interessante.* "Goethe's poetry is the dawn of genuine art and of pure beauty . . . His works are an irrefutable proof that the objective is actually possible." In the values that belong to *die charakteristische Poesie* he is perhaps surpassed by Shakespeare. But it is not at such inferior values that he aims: "das Schöne ist der wahre Massstab, seine liebenswürdige Dichtung zu würdigen." Thus the time is ripe for a general æsthetic revolution, which shall bring to an end "die Herrschaft des Interessanten, Charakteristischen und Manierirten," and renew the felicity already attained by Greek art, when—through a happy instinct, rather than by formulated principles—the laws of unity, balance, measure, of pure beauty, still ruled the practice of the artist.[18]

In 1798, when Schlegel has become a professed Romanticist, it is still Shakespeare who represents most fully the (now admired) characteristics of modern poetry. Thus in *Ath.-Fgm.* 247, he, Dante, and Goethe make up "der grosse Dreiklang der modernen Poesie"; and while Dante's "prophetic poem" is "the highest of its kind," and Goethe's "rein poetische Poesie ist die vollständigste Poesie der Poesie," it is Shakespeare's "universality" which is "wie der Mittelpunkt der romantischen Kunst." It is not even true that (as Haym implies) in the essay on *Wilhelm Meister* Goethe figures as the sole or the supreme representative of the critic's new ideal of poetic excellence. When—remarks Schlegel—Goethe reaches the climax of his *Bildungsroman,* the point at which both his hero and his readers are to be enabled "das Höchste und das Tiefste zu fassen," he finds in Shakespeare the "grosses Vorbild" which he needs for this purpose; "for what poet could better serve for this, than he who preëminently deserves to be called the Infinite?"[19] No language quite so exalted is used of Goethe in the essay. His place here, relatively to Shakespeare, is the same as that which had already been indicated in the first number of the *Athenaeum* by A. W. Schlegel—whose *Beiträge zur Kritik der neuesten Litteratur,* in that number, constituted, it must be remem-

[18] *Jugendschriften* I, 114-116.

[19] The reference is, of course, to Goethe's interpretations of Hamlet.

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bered, the initial manifesto of "the new school." For Shakespeare, we there are told, Goethe has become "ein neues Medium der Erkenntniss; so dass *von beyden gemeinschaftlich* eine Dichterschule ausgehn kann." It is in having given to the new age a sense of Shakespeare's true meaning and value that a great part, if not the chief part, of Goethe's epoch-making significance is represented as consisting. In 1800, again, we have found the younger Schlegel describing Shakespeare as "das eigentliche Centrum, der Kern der romantischen Fantasie"—in the passage which constitutes the principal formal definition of "romantisch," the word here being expressly declared to be a synonym of "modern, in contrast with the classical poetry of antiquity." [20]

Thus Friedrich Schlegel had the conception of 'the Romantic' in art before him from the first, both in abstract formulation and in its concrete embodiment in Shakespeare. The heart of his earlier æsthetic doctrine lies in a phrase already cited: alle Kunst ist beschränkt. But over against this 'classical' ideal he had already clearly conceived of an art to which the limitations of the supposed unchanging "laws of objective æsthetic validity" were intolerable: an art more enamored of life than of beauty; content to take nothing less than everything for its province; resolved to possess and to express the entire range of human experience; more interested in the individual variant than in the generic type; sensible that the abundance and infinite interconnectedness of Nature are incom-

[20] *Athenaeum*, III, 122; *Jugendschriften* II, 372. As a further illustration of the supremacy of Shakespeare in the poetic hierarchy recognized by the early Romanticists, and also as evidence upon their general conception of 'Romantic' poetry, it is worth while to cite Tieck's prospectus of his *Poetisches Journal*, at the end of the original edition of his *Romantische Dichtungen* (1799-1800): "Mein Hauptzweck wird sein, meine Gedanken über Kunst und Poesie . . . zu entwickeln. Sie werden sich daher vornehmlich an die Werke der anerkannt grössten Dichter der Neuern anknüpfen, von denen meine Betrachtungen immer ausgehn. So werden z. B. Briefe über Shakespeare einen stehenden Artikel in jedem Stücke ausmachen . . . worin ich . . mich in historische und kritische Untersuchungen einlassen werde, die über die Werke dieses unerschöpflichen und immer noch nicht genug verstandenen Geistes Licht verbreiten können. Ähnliche Aufsätze über die ältere Englische und Deutsche und die glänzenden Perioden der Spanischen und Italiänischen Litteratur sollen damit in Verbindung gesetzt werden und nach und nach ein Gemählde der ächten modernen Poesie (nicht dessen was so oft dafür ausgegeben worden ist) darstellen."

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patible with any sharp cleavage of things from one another, and not more afraid of "confusion" than Nature is; aware that the distinctiveness, the idiosyncrasy, of the individual artist's vision is one of the elements in this abundance of Nature, and ought therefore not to be suppressed in art; and mindful that the task which it thus sets before itself is endless, and that no stage reached in the progress of it can be definitive.[21]

The genesis of Romanticism, then, is very seriously misconceived, when it is supposed (as by Haym and many others after him) that the conception of "Romantic poetry" was formed by Schlegel only about 1796 or later; that he "abstracted it from *Wilhelm Meister*"; that it implied a sort of apotheosis of the novel among the literary *genres;* and that Schlegel's first elucidation of it was in the *Athenaeum* in 1798. The theory of Romanticism was, so to say, a by-product of the prevalent classicism of the early seventeen-nineties. Desiring to define more clearly what they conceived to be the spirit and the ruling principles of the ancient art which they revered, several philosophical æstheticians of the period were led to define at the same time, with equal fullness, the spirit and ruling principles of the opposite of that art, to elaborate a theory of *das eigentümlich Moderne.* The result was that some of them—Fr. Schlegel notably, but not he only—presently transferred their alle-

[21] This conception—the original Schlegelian conception—of Romantic poetry, as reproducing the *Fülle des Lebens*, and consequently as characterized above all by universality and expressiveness, was shared by Novalis: "Der Romantiker studirt das Leben, wie der Maler, Musiker und Mechaniker Farbe, Ton und Kraft. Sorgfältiges Studium des Lebens macht den Romantiker, wie sorgfältiges Studium von Farbe, Gestaltung, Ton und Kraft, den Maler, Musiker und Mechaniker." "Je persönlicher, localer, temporeller, eigenthümlicher ein Gedicht ist, desto näher steht es dem Centro der Poesie" (*Schriften*, 1837, II, 224-5).

The program of such a Romanticism, which aims at the portrayal of what Schlegel called *das Charakteristische*, has manifestly much in common with realism, but is differentiated by the place which it, with some inconsistency, gives to the "subjectivity" of the poet. Novalis, however, was chiefly responsible for introducing a very different conception of 'the Romantic'—due partly to the influence of certain older, popular senses of the word—whereby it signifies 'the remote' 'the strange,' 'the ill-defined': "in der Entfernung wird alles romantisch" (*ibid.*, p. 221; cf. also p. 236). The common element in the two conceptions was the notion of 'the infinite' as the object of art—this notion coming, through a confused association of ideas, to be taken in two highly antithetic senses.

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giance to that which they had at first studied chiefly in order that they might the better condemn it. Grown accustomed to its dreadful face, they ended by embracing it. By 1798 Fr. Schlegel had for nearly five years been discussing Romantic poetry—under another name. And he can not have derived from *Wilhelm Meister* a conception with which he was entirely familiar before he had read that romance.[22] What befell in 1796 was neither the discovery, nor the invention, of the Romantic doctrine of art by Fr. Schlegel, but merely his conversion to it.

Who, or what, was the means of grace chiefly instrumental to that conversion? Upon an adequate discussion of this question I cannot, for lack of space, here enter. I must be content to say, without argument, that in the case of one famous writing published in 1795-6 there is conclusive evidence of its immediate and powerful effect in the alteration of Schlegel's æsthetic opinions; and that this writing was not *Wilhelm Meister* but Schiller's essay *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*.[23] Schiller here offered a vindication of the moderns upon principles peculiarly adapted to impress Fr. Schlegel—principles which, in fact, became the basis of his subsequent conviction of the superiority of 'Romantic' art. But Schlegel's æsthetic theory had from the first been in a state of unstable equilibrium; only a slight impulsion was needed to turn it upside down. The limitations of 'classicism' were uncongenial to his temperament; and it is frequently manifest—especially in

[22] The essay *Über die Grenzen des Schönen* was finished by April, 1795; that *Über das Studium usw.* was begun in the spring of 1794, finished by December, 1795, but not published until 1797. The footnote referring to *Wilhelm Meister* (*Jugendschriften* I, 106) is evidently a later addition The earlier form of this essay (*Vom Wert des Studiums der Griechen u. Römer*, first printed in *DNL*, 143) was completed by July, 1794; I am not, however, convinced that the *DNL* Text is identical with the original. *Wilhelm Meister* appeared in parts, 1795-6. The first mention of it in Friedrich's letters to his brother is under date of June 16, 1795; the elder brother had not then seen the book.

[23] Especially the first two parts, published in the *Horen* at the end of 1795. The decisive importance of this essay in Schlegel's philosophical development has already been emphasized by Enders (*Friedrich Schlegel*, 1913, pp. 259-263) and Walzel (*Deutsche Romantik*, 1908, pp. 29-31; cf. also his "Schiller als Romantiker" in *Vom Geistesleben des 18. u. 19. Jahrhunderts*). To the arguments presented by these writers I had hoped to add something in this paper, but the attempt must be postponed to another occasion.

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the passages on Shakespeare—that the youthful critic secretly admired much that he felt obliged by the rigor of his creed to condemn. Not only was his nature thus out of harmony with his doctrine; his doctrine was also out of harmony with itself. It contained from the beginning explicit theses or definite admissions—derived largely from Kant—which were, though he was not yet aware of the fact, incongruous with the sort of æsthetic gospel that he was then so ardently preaching. But the analysis of these 'internal strains' in Schlegel's pre-Romantic philosophy of art must also be deferred to some other occasion.

It remains only, in conclusion, to bring all this to bear upon the semasiological question propounded at the beginning of this study. We have seen that the Romantic æsthetics was formulated, I will not say altogether clearly, but about as clearly as it ever was, before the word 'romantic' was definitely chosen as its designation, and also before the doctrine itself was adopted by its formulator. What Schlegel meant by the "romantische Poesie" which he extolled after 1797 was, as has been shown, in all essentials the same thing as he had meant by "interessante Poesie" in 1794-6, *viz.*, the qualities and tendencies which he conceived to be distinctive of modern literature. It can not, therefore, be held (in spite of the apparent testimony of *Ath.-Fgm.* 166 in favor of Haym's view), that the term "romantische Poesie" primarily signified either "Romanpoesie" or "romanartige Poesie," or that it contained an implicit reference to *Wilhelm Meister* as the typical romantic book. It signified from the first, as both Schlegels in their eventual explanations of it testified, "eine eigentümlich moderne, nicht nach den Mustern des Altertums gebildete Poesie," together with the ideals and æsthetic values which they believed to be alien to the spirit of ancient art.[24]

[24] See Pt. I of this article, *MLN*, XXXI, 389-392. Note also the language of A. W. Schlegel when, in 1809, he offered a retrospective summary of the original aims of the Romantic School. He has been speaking of the barrenness of the so-called 'classical' period of modern literature; and continues: "So ungefähr standen die Sachen immerfort, bis vor nicht langer Zeit, einige, besonders Deutsche Denker, versuchten . . . zugleich die Alten nach Gebühr zu ehren, und dennoch die davon gänzlich abweichende Eigenthümlichkeit der Neueren anzuerkennen. . . . Diese haben für den eigenthümlichen Geist der modernen Kunst den Namen 'romantisch' erfunden" (*SW.*, 1846, v, p. 9).

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But it may still be asked: given this as the meaning to be expressed, why should 'romantisch' have been the word chosen to express it? The answer is not difficult. *Modern* would not do, because it suggested a merely chronological distinction, whereas, as we have seen, much more than a chronological distinction was intended. The earlier antithesis *schön vs. interessant* would hardly serve, after Schlegel's change of view, since to most ears it would imply a depreciation of precisely the kind of poetry which he now regarded as the higher. In 1796, in a typically transitional writing, we find him formally urging the adoption of the words "objectiv" and "interessant" as "new technical terms" to distinguish the Sophoclean from the Shakespearean type of tragedy.[25] This proposal soon fell to the ground. Even *interessant*, one may conjecture was open to two objections. While *modern* had too exclusively chronological a connotation, *interessant* had no chronological connotation at all; and it had acquired, through its use by Schlegel himself and by W. von Humboldt, a distinctly dyslogistic coloring. Meanwhile, there lay ready at hand a word, as it seemed, ideally adapted to convey the conception present to Fr. Schlegel's mind. 'Romantisch' had hitherto chiefly meant for the Schlegels (as has been shown in the former part of this study) not, indeed, 'modern' in general, but 'post-classical,' including specifically both the medieval and the early modern. It thus, even in its purely historical or chronological sense, was better fitted than *modern* to express one side of the æsthetic antithesis now in question; for it was in the Middle Ages and in the earlier modern period that the qualities which Schlegel had defined as antithetic to the classical were best represented, while the later modern centuries had been characterized by pseudo-classical revivals and other deviations from type. In particular, *romantisch* was from the first associated in Fr. Schlegel's mind with Dante, Cervantes and Shakespeare; and as we have seen, it was these, especially the last, who, both before and after Schlegel's change of view, were to him the typical representatives of *die interessante Poesie*, of *das Wesentlich-Moderne*. Above all, *romantisch* had a less fixedly chronological import than *modern*, and was therefore more capable of connoting certain æsthetic characteristics, the exclusively modern origin of which was a significant but not the essential fact. Thus no other single word could,

[25] In the *Vorrede* to *Die Griechen u. Römer; Jugendschriften* I, 83.

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from the point of view of Schlegel's own usage, express so well as *romantisch* precisely what he wished to convey. In view of these considerations, we have every reason for regarding, not only the meaning given to *romantisch* by the Schlegels in 1799 and thereafter as the original meaning, but also the grounds then assigned for their selection of the word as the original grounds. Haym's long-current explanation of the signification and origin of the term, as well as the usual account of the genesis of the idea, must accordingly be rejected. Only—one must add, in order to make Haym's error intelligible—it is true that the adjective continued to have at times, for Fr. Schlegel, some obscure association with the noun *Roman,* in a sense of the latter which included the novel as well as the medieval romances; and that in the characterization of *die romantische Poesie* in *Ath.-Fgm.* 116, this association of ideas —either through confusion or, as one suspects, through a desire to mystify his readers—is made conspicuous. But even in this passage, as we have already seen, Schlegel is only secondarily expatiating upon the possibilities of the *Roman* as a *genre;* he is primarily setting forth, as he had often before set forth, the æsthetic aims and temper which to him differentiated truly modern from classical art.

A. O. Lovejoy.

Johns Hopkins University.

THE OLD ENGLISH POEMS ON ST. GUTHLAC AND THEIR LATIN SOURCE

All scholars agree that the 1353 verses in the Exeter Book concerning St. Guthlac form two distinct poems, the first running from 1 to 790 and the second from 791 to 1353. There is less unanimity of opinion, however, with regard to the question as to whether both parts were based on the *Vita* of the saint by Felix.[1] No one denies that the second part, which we may designate as *Guthlac's Death,* depends upon the *Vita;* but such a relationship has been thought by some not to exist for the first poem, which we may call *Guthlac the Hermit.* Since I have, myself, been guilty of expressing conflict-

[1] Ed. *A. S. S.*, Apr. II, 38-49.

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ing views with regard to the matter,[2] I wish to present the evidence on which I base my later conclusions. I believe it will be worth while, furthermore, to examine the relationship between *Guthlac's Death* and the *Vita*, since a comparison between the two is illuminating with regard to the poet's method and has its importance with reference to the question of his identity.

I. Guthlac the Hermit

To pass in review the opinions that have been expressed for and against the dependence of *Guthlac the Hermit* upon Felix would profit us not at all. I must, however, refer to Dr. Forstmann's study, published in 1902, since it is the most recent treatment of the subject, and since it was the means of misleading me for a time by its genuine erudition and its mistaken reasoning. Dr. Forstmann submitted the poem to a close comparison with the text of Felix, and came to the conclusions, (1) that the one was entirely independent of the other; and (2) that the few correspondences noted were due to treatment of the same material or to dependence on a similar source (p. 17). He decided, that is, that the poet drew on oral tradition for his information about the saint.

Dr. Forstmann was misled, I think, by a mistake of method very natural in a young scholar. He compared the poem with the *Vita*, not the *Vita* with the poem. That is, he did not set about investigating whether the *Vita* was the source of the poem, but whether the two ran parallel through their whole course. Thus when passages of the Latin text were omitted, Dr. Forstmann remarked that of these matters there is in the poem "so gut wie gar nichts." On the other hand, he was disturbed by expansions of the Latin by the poet. In other words, he failed to see that in weighing the possible dependence of a poem on a prose source, one must grant a certain latitude of imagination and of phrasing to its author: he would scarcely be a true poet if he merely translated his original, sentence by sentence, into verse.

Let us see, first, what correspondences and what divergences

[2] In a review in *Engl. Stud.*, xxxiv, 95 ff., of H. Forstmann, *Untersuchungen zur Guthlac-Legende*, Bonner Beiträge, xii, 1-40; and in *Saints' Legends*, 1916, pp. 79-85, where I had not space to present my evidence in detail.

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there are between the *Vita* and the poem. After doing this, we shall be in a position to discuss the question in its general bearings.

1-63. These lines form a prologue, for which there is no parallel in Felix's preface. The latter is short and refers wholly to the composition of the work that is to follow. Obviously the poet did not draw upon this source for his somewhat elaborate contrast between the evil times and evil deeds of the world and the lives of the saints, which ends by celebrating hermits more particularly. Yet that he had a literary model seems to me almost certain from the fact that the passage runs along lines sufficiently familiar to anyone who has read much medieval literature. Indeed, 1-8a might almost be taken from Gregory of Tours' *Vitæ Patrum,* where is found a close parallel at least.[3] "Multi variique sunt gradus per quos ad coelorum regna conscenditur, de quibus, ut opinor, et David dicit, quia *ascensus in corde deposuit.* Accipiuntur ergo hi gradus diversorum operum ad cultum divinum profectus, et nullus in his gressum figere potest, nisi fuerit, sicut sæpe testati sumus, Dei adjutorio provocatus." Gregory goes on to say that this aid is ready for anyone who will seek for it "per hos ergo scalæ hujus ascensus tam difficiles, tamque excelsos, tam arduos," ending the prologue he is writing by the remark that St. Friardus, his hero for the moment, sought this aid. The same figure is used by Lactantius:[4] "Nam cum sint gradus multi per quos ad domicilium veritatis ascenditur, non est facile cuilibet evehi ad summum." I am not arguing that the poet of *Guthlac the Hermit* had read Gregory of Tours, but only that he was writing in a vein of literary tradition. There is even the possibility that he used a copy of Felix's *Vita* with a prologue unlike the one extant, but resembling in content the prologue of the Old English poem. We know very little about the textual history of Felix, but we do know that double prologues were not unusual in such works.

64-111 tell how Guthlac, deserting the evil courses of his youth, turned to God. There is then described the battle between the angel of the Lord and the devil for his soul. In § 11 of Felix a similar struggle is pictured, though it is represented as taking place wholly in the saint's mind. In view, however, of the personification used later in the *Vita* and of the poet's constant tendency to

[3] Cap. x. Migne, *Patr. Curs. Comp. Lat.* LXXI, 1055.
[4] *De ira dei,* 2, ed. Brandt, 1893, p. 69.

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dramatize, it is quite natural that he should depict this scene as he does. The passage is freely rendered, that is all.

111b-124 describe in general terms the terrors and temptations that beset Guthlac, and picture his dwelling-place in the Fens and its former devilish occupants. In §§ 14-16 of Felix we have the situation, conditions, and surroundings of Crowland explicitly stated. These paragraphs the poet has used freely. Corresponding rather closely to 117b-120:

Wæs sēo londes stōw
bimiþen fore monnum, oþþæt meotud onwrāh
beorȝ on bearwe, þā se hytla cwōm,
se þǣr hālijne hām arǣrde,

are the following sentences in § 14:

"Ipse autem imperiis viri Dei annuens, arrepta piscatoria scaphula, per invia lustra, inter tetræ paludis margines, Christo viatore ad prædictam insulam, quæ lingua Anglorum Cruland vocatur, pervenit, quæ ante propter remotioris eremi solitudinem inculta et ignota manebat. Nullus hanc ante famulum Christi Guthlacum solus habitare colonus valebat, propter videlicet illic demorantium dæmonum phantasias."

124b-140 tell how Guthlac was tempted after he had renounced earthly joys "in ȝemyndiȝra monna tīdum," who report his fame and the revelations he received, as well as the words he spoke. The first part of this passage corresponds to the beginning of § 16, where Felix states that he had his information from Wilfrid and Cissa, who are also mentioned in the prologue. 129b-130a, "þā hē āna ȝesæt dȳȝle stōwe," correspond to the end of § 14, where it is said that Guthlac "inter umbrosa solitudinis nemora solus habitare cœpit." 134b-140:

þæt hē his līchoman
wynna forwyrnde ond worulдblissa,
sēftra setla ond symbeldaȝa
swylce ēac īdelra ēaȝena wynna,
ȝierelan ȝielplices. Him wæs ȝodes eȝsa
māra in ȝemyndum, þonne hē menniscum
þrymme æfter þonce þeȝan wolde.

These lines revert to sentences in § 11, where the saint's conversion is pictured. Compare, for instance: "Ita enim in illo divinæ gratiæ inflammatio flagrabat, ut non solum regalis indolentiæ reverentiam despiceret, sed parentes et patriam comitesque adolescentiæ suæ contempsit."

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141-152a tell how Guthlac bore in his soul divine hope, how he had an angel guardian, took up spiritual arms, and raised a cross. Something more than suggestions for the lines is to be found in § 15 of Felix, where St. Bartholomew's day is mentioned, "in cujus suffragio omnia ineepta eremi habitandi ex divina providentia inchoaverat"; and where, after one intervening sentence, we are told: "Deinde præeinetus spiritualibus armis adversus teterrimi hostis insidias, scutum fidei, loricam spei, galeam castitatis, arcum patientiæ, sagittas psalmodiæ, sese in acie firmans, arripuit."

152b-185. God gave Guthlac the victory when throngs of devils with darts came against him; in temptation help was near, though his enemies threatened him with burning if he did not return to his kindred. He did not fear, and put his adversaries to shame. In their anger they said that he caused them misery by his pride in taking up his dwelling in the place that had been their retreat. This passage is based on §§ 17, 18, and 19, not being so much a narrative of any particular temptation described by Felix as a general exposition of the saint's trials. 156b-157,

þonne menju cwōm
fēonda fǣrscytum fǣhðe rǣran,

recall Guthlac's adventure with the devil with a bow, in § 17. 161-175 refer to the adventure in which he was threatened by devils with the fires of Hell, which is found in § 19. Vv. 176-185 seem to be based, rather, on § 18, where the devils compare the saint to the prophets and to Christ—to his disadvantage—and lament when put to flight.

186-298. This long section describes the sorrow of the devils at being dispossessed of their place of retreat. With lamentations they threatened Guthlac with future torment, but they were beaten off by his faith. The passage is clearly an expansion of the end of § 19 in Felix:

"Deinde cum solito more matutinas laudes Domino Jesu impenderet, paullisper lumina devertens, a sinistra stantes duos satellites lugentes, sibi præ ceteris aliis notos, conspicit: quos eum interrogasset quid plorassent, responderunt: Vires nostras ubique per te fractas lugemus, et inertiam nostram adversus valetudinem tuam ploramus: non enim te tangere, aut tibi appropinquare audemus. Hæc dicentes, velut fumus a facie ejus evanuerunt."

299-382 give a very general account of Guthlac's life and his

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temptations: how he often said to the demons that he would remain steadfast despite all their efforts. I take it that this is a poetical exposition of part of § 19 in Felix, again. Compare vv. 319-326a.

Symle hȳ sūðlāc in ȝodes willan
fromne fundon, þonne flyȝerċowe
þurh nihta ȝenipu nēosan cwōman,
þā þe onhāle eardas weredon,
hwæþre him þæs wonȝes wyn sweðrade:
woldun, þæt him tō mōde fore monlufan
sorȝ ȝesohte, þæt hē sīþ tuȝe
eft tō ċþle.

with the following: "Inter hæc cum magnam partem umbrosæ noctis in illis afflictionibus exigebant, sistere illum paullisper fecerunt, imperantes sibi ut de eremo discederet."

383-483. This long passage gives the saint's vision of the corrupt monasteries. There is nothing like it in Felix. This curious state of affairs exists, however: the vision of Hell in § 19 of Felix begins with the statement that the devils drew Guthlac into the heights of the air, while the similar vision in the poem (529-704) does not have this detail mentioned till the very end. The vision of the monasteries, however, is introduced by the poet by precisely this detail. There are two possible explanations of the matter, I think, and only two. Either the entire vision of the monasteries was an addition of the poet's from oral tradition, which he embellished by a single detail from Felix; or he used a different text of Felix from the one we possess. In favor of the latter theory, there is this to be said: our knowledge of the textual history of the *Vita*, as I have suggested above, is by no means clear. It is certainly more reasonable that the saint should be carried aloft to view the wickedness of earth than to gaze into the jaws of Hell.

484-528. This passage is general poetic exposition of Guthlac's life and virtues, for which no special parallel appears but for which the whole *Vita* would have furnished the material.

529-704. This is Guthlac's vision of Hell. Anyone who will compare with it the following passage, from § 19 of Felix, will recognize that the poet followed his source as closely as was consistent with imaginative development of the theme. There are, indeed, many similarities of phrase between the two that make the relationship satisfactorily plain. The poet expanded the account, but nevertheless followed the original step by step.

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"Conjunctis itaque in unum turmis, cum immenso clamore leves in auras iter vertentes, supra memoratum Christi famulum Guthlacum ad nefandas Tartari fauces usque perducunt. Ille vero fumigantes æstuantis inferni catervas prospectans, omnia tormenta quæ prius a malignis spiritibus perpessus est, tamquam non ipse paterётur, obliviscebatur: non solum enim fluctuantium ignivomos gurgites illic turgescere cerneres, imo etiam sulphureos glaciali grandine mistos vortices, globosis sparginibus sidera pene tangentes videbantur: maligni vero inter favillantium voraginum atras cavernas discurrentes, miserabili fatu animas iniquorum diversis cruciatum generibus torquebant. Igitur vir Dei Guthlacus, cum innumerabiles tormentorum species horresceret, satellitum sibi, velut uno ex ore, turmæ clamabant, dicentes: Ecce nobis potestas data est te trudere in has pœnas, et illic in atrocissimarum gehennarum tormento variis cruciatibus nobis te torquere commissum est. En ignis, quem in delictis tuis accendisti, te consumere paratus est; en tibi patulis hiatibus igniflua erebi ostia patescunt; nunc stygiæ fibræ te vorare volunt, tibi quoque æstivi Acherontis voragines horrendis faucibus hiscunt. Sed illis hæc et alia plurima his similia dicentibus, vir Dei minas eorum despiciens, immotis sensibus, stabili animo, sobria mente respondens, aiebat: Væ vobis filii tenebrarum, semen Cain, favilla cineris. Si vestræ potentiæ sit istis me tradere pœnis, en præsto sum: ut quid falsivomis pectoribus vanas minas depromitis? Illis vero veluti ad trudendum illum in præsentium tormentorum gehennas sese præcingentibus, ecce S. Bartholomæus, cum immenso cœlestis lucis splendore, medias furvæ noctis infuso lumine interrumpens tenebras, sese ab æthereis sedibus radiantis olympi coram illis, aureo fulgore amictus, obtulit. Maligni vero spiritus, non sustinentes cœlestis splendoris fulgorem, frendere, tremere, fugere, timere cœperunt. Sanctus vero Guthlacus, adventum fidelissimi auxiliatoris sui persentiens, spiritali lætitia gavisus est. Tunc deinde S. Batholomæus catervis satellitum jubet, ut illum in locum suum cum magna quietudine, sine ulla offensionis molestia, reducerent. Nec mora, præceptis Apostolicis obtemperantes, dicto citius jussa facessunt. Nam illum revehentes cum magna suavitate, velut quietissimo alarum remigio, ita ut nec in curru nec in navi modestius duci potuisset, subvolabant."

704b-744 tell how Guthlac was greeted by the birds, which he fed and took into his hands. Comments upon this follow. The whole is undoubtedly based on § 24 of the *Vita*, which differs mainly by mentioning the subjection of fish as well as birds to the saint's holiness. I need not quote the Latin, I think.

745-761 give the death of Guthlac and his heavenly reward. They are based on § 35 of Felix, but recount the facts without detail. This brevity is consistent with the purpose of the poem.

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of course, for it deals with the life of the saint in the Fens rather than with the glories of his transit to eternity. To another poem, and, I believe, to another poet was left the whole story of his death.

762-790 form a lyrical epilogue in praise of holy men. They are based, I think, on § 38 of Felix. In the Latin, to be sure, the praise concerns Guthlac alone; but it has the same manner as the poet's glorification of the "hūsulweras, cempan ȝecorene," by which he rounds out his picture of the particular saint.

The foregoing comparison will have shown, I hope, that *Guthlac the Hermit* is certainly dependent upon the *Vita* for its substance, though by no means for its form. The poet could have got from it all his material except for the prologue (1-63) and for the vision of the monasteries (383-483). These two passages are not sufficient to overbalance the remainder of the evidence. They are, besides, open to the suspicion of dependence upon a text of Felix different from any now extant. The poet used his source freely, selecting what he would and when he would; omitting, condensing, or expanding as seemed to him best.

We must now consider the statements of the poet that have been taken to mean that he based his work on oral tradition. There are four of them scattered through the poem.

Hwæt! wē hȳrdon oft, þæt se hālga wer
in þā ǣrestan ældu ȝelufade
frēcnessa fela. (79-81)

Hē ȝecostad wearð
in ȝemyndiȝra monna tīdum. (124-5)
se ān ōretta ūssum tīdum
cempa ȝecȳðeð, (372-3)

Hwæt! wē þissa wundra ȝewitan sindon:
eall þās ȝeēodon in ūssera
tīda tīman. (724-6)

These passages are exceedingly interesting as perhaps marking the poet's sense that he was doing something unusual—as he was—in taking a native saint as his hero. They clearly indicate that he did not think of Guthlac as someone far removed from his own day. We need not take literally, however, the statements that Guthlac "was tempted in times that men remember" and that "we are witnesses of these wonders." The poet was but recalling, after all, the references of Felix to his informants, and making evident his own place in the line of tradition. Even if it be true

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that he had "heard often" about the saint's wild youth, he would not have been any the less likely to use a convenient Latin *Vita* as the basis for his poem.

It must be remembered that Felix himself was by no means without literary forbears. Although we need not doubt that he wrote at a time when Guthlac was still remembered, and that he obtained information from Wilfrid, Cissa, and Beccel as he said, we have been shown of late that he took whole paragraphs from Bede's *Vita S. Cuthberti*. Dr. Gonser, who has demonstrated this,[5] has also remarked that Felix had as models such writers as Sulpicius Severus, Rufinus, and Gregory the Great. He might have said, also, that Bede's account of Cuthbert was by no means a wholly original work, based as it was on an earlier *Vita* by an anonymous monk of Lindisfarne. I have already indicated that the prologue of the life of St. Friardus by Gregory of Tours has a passage resembling the beginning of *Guthlac the Hermit;* I should add that that whole life belongs in the same class of Latin legends as the lives by Bede and Felix. It is not, indeed, unlikely that the *Vita S. Guthlaci* was a mosaic, pieced together by Felix from various sources to fit the circumstances of the special case. Such a procedure would have seemed a quite proper and normal thing to any writer of the time.

All this has an important bearing on *Guthlac the Hermit*. Felix wrote a rhetorically elaborate *Vita,* based in part on oral tradition but to a considerable extent on literary sources, towards the middle of the eighth century.[6] He was already at one remove from the saint. Subsequently—how long afterwards we cannot tell—an Old English poet fashioned his verses from material that he got from Felix. Even though he regarded himself, in the excitement of composition, as being of the same "tīd" with Guthlac, he was working at two removes from his subject. He was not weaving the raw stuff of life into poetry any more than was Cynewulf in the *Elene*.

Furthermore, though we may deeply regret it, we must be con-

[5] Paul Gonser, *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac,* 1909 (Anglistische Forschungen 27), pp. 10-14.

[6] See Liebermann, "Ueber ostenglische Geschichtsquellen," *Neues Arch. der Gesell. f. ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde,* XVIII, 245-6; and Gonser, work cited, pp. 18-20. Note that Bede's *Vita S. Cuthberti* was not written till about 720.

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tent not to regard *Guthlac the Hermit* as a poem which can be definitely dated. It has been set down, of late, as surely belonging about the middle of the eighth century,[7] but for reasons that I have tried to show are fallacious. The poem, as a matter of fact, allies itself in method and style to the group we call Cynewulfian, and it may well have been the work of a contemporary or follower of that great master.

II. Guthlac's Death

In considering the relationship of *Guthlac's Death* to the *Vita* by Felix, one has in mind a different problem from that relating to *Guthlac the Hermit*. No one denies that 791-1353 were based on the *Vita;* but there is great interest in scrutinizing the nature of this dependence. The poem so insistently recalls the signed work of Cynewulf, by the general impression it makes, that one welcomes any test whatsoever of the truth or falsity of the attribution. The question can scarcely be settled by considering the way the Latin source has been used, but it may be clarified. The test may help us at least to understand what basis there is for the feeling that the poem is similar to those signed by Cynewulf.

To begin with, the entire 563 verses of *Guthlac's Death* are based —except for one passage—on a single chapter of the *Vita* and, indeed, on a single section of that chapter (Cap. v, § 35) as printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Material now contained in a page, folio, sufficed the poet for the whole story.

791-850. This prologue of lyrical fervor, reviewing the creation of the world and the coming of death through the sin of Adam and Eve, is an expansion of only nine lines in the *Vita*, which say merely that all men, of whatever state, must die, since death came with Adam. The hint is given by the Latin—the rest is the poet's own.

850b-904 give a brief review of Guthlac's life and fame: his temptations by devils, his relations with the birds, and the visits paid him by the sick of body or soul. The passage renders the poem independent of *Guthlac the Hermit*. It is, of course, an epitome of certain features of the life of the saint as found in the earlier chapters of Felix.

[7] For example, see Brandl, *Paul's Grundriss*, II, 1034; and Morsbach, *Nachrichten der Gesell. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Phil-hist. Kl. 1906, pp. 273-4.

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904b-953. This passage, which tells of the approach of death to Guthlac, is based on the thirteen lines of the *Vita* that immediately follow those from which 791-850 were expanded.

953b-969 revert to the theme of 791-850, and play upon it in another way.

969b-983 narrate the visit of Guthlac's disciple. The poet, omitting one sentence in Felix that immediately follows the source of 904b-953, expands between six and seven lines of his original. He does not mention the name of the "ombehtþegn," Beccelinus.

983b-995. These verses are an expansion of the question asked by Beccelinus as soon as he entered the cell: "Domine mi, quid novi tibi acciditʔ an forte nocte hac ulla infirmitatis molestia te tetigitʔ" The art with which the poet has developed the simple inquiry compels admiration. The expansion is at once clever and imaginatively just.

996-1020. This passage introduces Guthlac's reply to the servant's question and gives the reply itself. The poet has omitted a short reply and a second question, given by Felix, and has expanded the next five lines of the text. The master's reply, like the disciple's question, is faithful in substance to the original but has been developed with epic breadth.

1020b-1036. These verses, which expand the next sentence of Felix may well be quoted, together with the Latin, as an instructive example of the poet's ordinary procedure.

þā wæs wōp ond hēaf,
ȝeonȝum ȝēocor sefa, . ȝēomrende hyȝe,
siþþan hē ȝehȳrde, þæt se hālȝa wæs
forðsiþes fūs: hē þæs fērspelles
fore his mondryhtne mōdsorȝe wæȝ
hefiȝe æt heortan; hreþer innan swēarc,
hyȝe hrēowcariȝ, þæs þe [hē] his hlāford
ȝesēah ellorfūsne. Hē þæs onbēru
habban ne mealhte, ac hē hāte lēt
torn þoliende tēaras ȝēotan,
weallan wæȝdropan. Wyrd ne mealhte
in fæȝum lenȝ feorȝ ȝehealdan,
dēore frætwe, þonne him ȝedēmed wæs.
Onȝeat ȝæsta hāliȝ ȝēomormōdes
drūsendne hyȝe; onȝan þā duȝuþa hlēo
ȝlædmōd ȝode lēof ȝeonȝran rētan,
wine lēofestan wordum nēȝan.

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" His auditis prædictus Frater, flens et gemens, crebris lacrymarum rivulis mœstas genas rigavit: quem vir Dei consolans ait."

1037-1066 give Guthlac's consoling reply, which contains some of the noblest and tenderest poetry in Old English. They are based on five lines of quite tasteless Latin.

1067-1114 narrate subsequent events up to the seventh day thereafter. They are founded on the next eight lines in Felix.

1114b–1169 tell of the servant's visit to Guthlac on the seventh day, his request that he speak, and the saint's injunction to deliver a message to his sister. The passage is an expansion, again, of the next sixteen lines of Felix. The poet has omitted the name of the saint's sister, Pega, but has otherwise preserved everything in his source up to this point of the speech. The end of it, however, which concerns Guthlac's shroud, is omitted.

1170-1196. The servant questions Guthlac about his mysterious visitors. This is a generous expansion of the eight lines of Felix next following.

1197-1243 give the saint's account of his angelic visitants, which is expanded from the succeeding passage in the *Vita*, about thirteen lines. The statement, found in the Latin, that Beccel may not reveal, except to Pega and Ecgberht, the fact of the angels' visit, is left out.

1243b-1252. How the saint passed his last day, which is from the next four lines of Felix.

1252b-1269 form a poetic description of the oncoming night and of the miraculous light that encompassed the saint's dwelling. This is based on the next five or six lines of Felix.

1269b-1273 should be quoted with the Latin original, which follows straight on after the passage just mentioned. A comparison will show how well the poet understood when to speak at length and when to be terse.

Tīd is þæt þū fēre
ond þā ārendu eal biþence,
ofestum lāde, swa ic þē ār bibēad,
lāc tō lēofre! nū of līce is
ȝoddrēama ȝeorn ȝæst swīðe fūs.

" Fili mi, præpara te, iter tuum perge; jam me nunc tempus cogit ab his membris dissolvi, et decursis hujus vitæ terminis ad infinita gaudia spiritus transtolli malit."

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1274-1278, which briefly report the saint's death, illustrate the same point as the last passage. Five lines in Felix are devoted to the death.

1279-1300 recount the wonders that the servant saw and heard after his master died. The passage is gloriously developed from eight somewhat matter-of-fact lines in Felix.

1300b-1353. This passage wonderfully elaborates upon six and a half lines of Felix, which state baldly that Beccelinus was afraid, went by boat to Pega, and "fraterna sibi mandata omnia ex ordine narravit."

Here our English text unfortunately breaks off, leaving us in doubt as to the poet's identity, but quite ready to accept Wülker's conjecture that the ending may have contained Cynewulf's signature. Certainly, as far as the treatment of the source is concerned, the poem is extraordinarily like the work of Cynewulf. Anyone who will place the foregoing analysis side by side with Glöde's treatment of the source of the *Elene*,[8] or with Professor Cook's of the *Christ*,[9] will see that the method of poetic adaptation in the three works is essentially the same. No writer without the constructive imagination that Cynewulf undoubtedly possessed could have taken a chapter of turgid rhetoric like this one by Felix, and have made of it a great poem. That *Guthlac's Death* is a great poem I have no hesitancy in asserting. It is admirable for its clarity, for its just proportion, and for its sympathetic interpretation of nature and humanity. In all these essentials it is superior to *Guthlac the Hermit* as well as to most Old English poetry. I should be glad if my pedestrian comparison of it with its source made some of its virtues apparent. I think I have shown, at least, that its effects are due not at all to chance, but to manipulation by a poet with a genuine gift for construction. That he was Cynewulf I cannot prove, but that he was Cynewulf's peer seems to me very evident.

GORDON HALL GEROULD.

Princeton University.

[8] *Anglia*, IX, 271-318.

[9] Summed up in the introduction and notes of *The Christ of Cynewulf*, 1900.

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Very briefly, in his general history of English literature, Professor Saintsbury called attention to the indebtedness of Joseph Addison to his now almost forgotten predecessor, Tom Brown. The critic believed that "the great essayist who immediately followed him [Brown] owed more to him than might be imagined."[1] One side of this indebtedness, the relation of Addison's Oriental tales to the Indian traveler of Brown's *Amusements, Serious and Comical*, has since been given entirely satisfactory treatment.[2] But still the full story has not been told. Not only Addison, in more ways than this one, but other prose essayists of his time, derived much from their versatile, but licentious, forerunner that they never acknowledged.

Such influences are hard to trace or estimate. In the communistic literary life of the London journalists and catch-penny pamphleteers, proprietary rights in either thought or phrase were not recognized, and borrowing was universal. Tom Brown, in parts of his *Amusements, Serious and Comical*, is no more than the translator of Dufresny; yet he nowhere mentions his source. So Addison alluded only once, and then disparagingly, to the man from whom he drew so directly, calling him "T—m Br—wn of facetious memory," whose habit it was to gut a name of its vowels that he might "fall most unmercifully upon all the consonants." Swift was a little more frank. His Simon Wagstaffe admits having "read Mr. Thomas Brown's works entire," and having had "the honor to be his intimate friend, who was universally allowed to be the greatest genius of his age."[3] But elsewhere even Swift reflected on Brown's worth. He attributed much of the general incorrectness in every-day speech to the "monstrous productions, which, under the name of Trips, Spies, Amusements, and other conceited appellations, have overrun us for some years past."[4] Does he here refer to Brown, who, on his death-bed, pro-

[1] *Short History of English Literature*, pp. 526-527.

[2] M. P. Conant, *The Oriental Tale in England*, pp. 169-173.

[3] *Polite Conversation*, "Introduction."

[4] *Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue*, ed. 1712, p. 13.

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tested against being held responsible for many of the "lampoons, trips, London spies" that had appeared over his name? Where borrowers speak thus vaguely and misleadingly, the quest of literary relationship grows difficult indeed.

In several of the *Spectator Papers* the views of supposed Oriental travelers in London are expressed.[5] The idea, of course, was derived from Brown. But Steele and Addison owed much more than this to their predecessor. As early as 1705, four years before the appearance of the *Tatler*, Brown published his *Comical View of the Transactions That Will Happen in the Cities of London and Westminster*. It was a weekly publication containing predictions for the week that are full of thumbnail sketches of contemporary London life. Lawyers with their green bags, coughing in church, dinners at the Spread Eagle and meetings at the coffee-houses, public hangings at Tyburn and misbehavior in Covent Garden, all have their place in the quack astrologer's jottings. Some of the sketches are more complete. One might quote, for example: "Great Preparations at the Bear-garden all the Morning, for the noble Tryal of Skill that is to be play'd in the Afternoon. Seats fill'd and crowded by Two: Drums beat, Dogs yelp, Butchers and Foot-soldiers clatter their Sticks: At last the two Heroes, in their fine borrow'd Holland Shirts, mount the Stage about Three; Cut large Collops out of one another, to divert the Mob, and make Work for the Surgeons: Smoaking, Swearing, Drinking, Thrusting, Justling, Elbowing, Sweating, Kicking, Cuffing, Stinking, all the while the Company stays." Equally realistic is the item: "Doleful Procession up Holborn-hill about Eleven . . . Arrive at the fatal Place at Twelve. Burnt Brandy, Women, and Sabbath-breaking repented of. Some few Penitential Drops fall under the Gallows. Sheriff's Men, Parson, Pickpockets, Criminals, all very busie. The last concluding peremptory Psalm struck up. Show over by One." Surely, Steele was not the first to realize the possibilities for journalism of the daily affairs of London; "quidquid agunt homines"—this might have been Brown's motto.

Before reproducing Brown's pictures, Addison and Steele subjected them to a thorough cleaning. Sir Roger's meeting with the merrymakers on the Thames preserves all that is decent from

[5] Nos. 50, 557, 545, 343, 511. See above, M. P. Conant.

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the sketch of the watermen's billingsgate in Brown's *A Walk round London and Westminster.* Addison's interest is in his knight's good-heartedness; Brown's is in the ribaldry of the boatmen. Nevertheless, Steele's fine paper, *A Ramble from Richmond to London,* brings strongly to the mind the sketchy manner of Brown.

At times, also, one finds Brown using the method of presentation that Addison often adopted. In many papers of the *Spectator* the essayist begins with a breezy sketch and ends with a half-serious proposal for reform. So Brown in *A Pleasant Epistle* first describes the subjects dear to the hearts of city poets and then suggests his remedy.[6]

Swift owed at least as much to the work of Brown. He began to torment the astrologer, Partridge, in his burlesque predictions for the year, 1708, and the joke was soon taken up by the wits of the town. Already, however, Brown had been teasing the poor victim. One couplet reads:

> **A Change so monstrous, I cou'd ne'er ha' thought**
> **Tho' Partridge all his Stars to vouch it brought.**

In the same edition, that of 1707, these lines are found:

> **Asaph takes the wisest Course**
> **To prop three sinking Nations:**
> **For Partridge only bribes the Stars,**
> **But he the Revelations.**[7]

A Comical View deals in more extended satire. It was published in 1705, one year after Brown's death. But it professes to be the weekly predictions of an astrological practitioner, Sylvester Partridge, and, since its dates hold good for the year 1700, it may have appeared then each Wednesday for a few successive weeks. At the end of each number Partridge prints an advertisement extolling his remedies and offering advice to the women. Swift had simply to carry on the joke.

Brown also used the fable as the medium of expression for political and religious satire, as Swift did in the *Tale of a Tub* and as Arbuthnot did in the *History of John Bull. Mr. Alsop's State of Conformity* tells of the owner of a large estate who was obliged to go on a long journey. Before departing, he urged his

[6] I, pp. 131-135, ed. 1715.

[7] I, pp. 90, 101, ed. 1707. Partridge is again remembered in Haines' second letter, II, p. 274, ed. 1715.

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tenants to live in harmony and keep up the property. Soon, however, troublesome neighbors from the other side of the Tweed began to disturb the tenants and pilfer from the estate. All was in confusion, and the steward whom the intruders appointed proved more tyrannous than the former lord. Finally, he was driven out, and Harry and Jack were left in control. Then they, too, differed. Jack first wished to tear down all the fences, that everything might be in common, alleging that enclosures were contrary to the landlord's will. Harry, on the contrary, wished to preserve the estate as it had always been. Finally, Jack committed such serious trespass on the property of Harry that he was brought to court and convicted by the judge. "I need not make the application," Brown concludes, "the Pope, the Devil, and the Fanatick will appear thro' the Disguise of the Fable."

This fable, which of course has reference primarily to the dissenting church after King Charles the Second's Declaration of Indulgence, resembles in all respects the story of the will in *A Tale of a Tub* and that of the lawsuit in *Law is a Bottomless Pit*. A more direct source has been found for Swift's allegory,[8] and Brown did no more than contribute to the development of a form of satire used by Swift and Arbuthnot. But in addition to this fable and the joke on Partridge, Brown seems to have suggested other things to Swift. The satire at the expense of the scientists and philosophers in the third book of *Gulliver's Travels* may have been suggested by Brown. He mentions in one satire, among the relics of interest to Papists, "the Quadrant that a Philistine Taylor took the height of Goliah by, when he made his last Suit of Cloaths."[9] And among the "improvers of nature" in his philosopher's country, Brown professed to find "an old Bard cutting Asp-leaves into Tongues, which were to be fastened in the Mouths of Flowers, Fruits, Herbs and Seeds, with design to make the whole Creation Vocal." Another philosopher was engaged in "putting a Period to the Abstruse Debates between the Engineers and Mouse-trap makers."[10] The scientists whom Gulliver found were wasting their time in speculations very similar to these. Evidently, Swift had read the works of Brown entire, as he confessed.

[8] Archbishop Sharp's sermon. See Collins, *Life of Swift*, p. 47.

[9] *Reason of Mr. Bays changing his Religion.* Preface.

[10] *Amusements, Serious and Comical.* The Philosophical, or Virtuosi Country.

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Such correspondences are to be expected between satirical and critical writers of the same age who keep close to the affairs of the day. In *The Mourning Poet* Brown condemned England's way of handling poor debtors; Goldsmith, in a less outspoken way, did the same in the *Vicar of Wakefield*. Brown and Addison held much the same opinion of the Italian opera. In mental power and in temperament alike, Brown was a man whose influence would be felt by his contemporaries in the world of letters. He is forgotten to-day only because his immediate successors, with their finer art and their higher literary standards, improved on all that he accomplished.

ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON.

The State University of Iowa.

NOTES ON *EPISTOLA ALEXANDRI AD ARISTOTELEM*

Professor Klaeber, in *Mod. Lang. Notes* XVIII, 246, suggests two emendations of the Old English version of the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem* as edited by Baskervill (*Anglia* IV, 139-167). As neither the MS. (Cott. Vit. A, XV) nor Cockayne's edition of the text could be consulted by Professor Klaeber at the time he wrote his article, his suggestions, as he himself admits, "have merely the value of guesses." Examination of the MS. itself prompts the following less conjectural corrections:[1]

(1) 584. Baskervill: ða cwæð ic eft (*Fol.* 114b) [to] him and him spæc; liðum wordum co[stnode]. [S]ecgað, la, mec etc.

Klaeber: A simpler and more satisfactory emendation than that offered in the printed text would be: ða cwæð ic eft & him spæc liðum wordum to: Secgað, la, mec etc.

The MS., however, demands the reading: ða cwæð ic eft [to] him & him *spræc* liðum wordum *to*. [S]ecgað, la, mec etc. The *r* of *spræc* is very faint but quite certain.

(2) 760. Baskervill: ond eac (*Fol.* 128b) [þæt]te ecelice min gemynd stonde. [Ic] leonige oðrum eorðcyningum to *by*sne.

Klaeber, rightly rejecting Toller's explanation of *leonige* as a form of *linian, leonian,* 'to leave,' proposes the following conjectural reading: . . . ond eac þætte ecelice min

[1] Bracketed letters in my emendations, are conjecturally supplied. Italicized letters are fragmentary but recognizable. Reference is by line to Baskervill's text.

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gemynd stonde untweonde ge oðrum eorðcyningum to bysne . . . ; in support of which he adds, "In l. ? there occurs (*betweoh*) *tweondan* (*frecnisse*)." The MS., however, clearly reads . . *leonige* and *ce ecelice;* so that the passage should read (and very naturally so): Ond eac (*Fol.* 131b) [swel]ce ecelice min gemynd stonde [& h]*leonige* oðrum eorðcyningum to *by*sne.

In addition to these two emendations the following should be made:

(3) 55. Baskervill: Singeall ne magon elcor beon buton m*in*re gemynde swa geendebyrded.

The reading should be: [þa] ðing eall [so Braun, *Lautlehre der angelsächsischen Version der Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem;* cf. also l. 29] ne magon elcor beon buton mi[cel]re gemynde swa geendebyrded.

(4) 98. Baskervill: f[a]g[e] and fægere
MS.: [h]*wile* & fægere

(5) 114. Baskervill: wildeora, þy[n]e on ða becwomon
MS.: wildeora þy*l*[c] *we* on ða becwomon

(6) 251. Baskervill: hie in þære ea aweollon swa ætmettan ðam eras [!]

Read: . . . swa ætmettan ða nicras (= nicoras)

(7) 290. Baskervill: ic þæt cyðe
MS.: ic *þ dyde*

(8) 321. Baskervill: on ðæm (*Fol.* 122a) b[æ]c geeodon
Braun suggests *hrycge* or *bæcge.*
MS.: on ðæm h[r]icge eodon.

(9) 341. Baskervill: eac tigris us on þære nihte [and b]ar abisgodon.

Read: on þære nihte [þ]ar abisgodon. *þar* occurs elsewhere in this text. The Latin version has no mention of bears.

(10) 369. Baskervill: *e*tan and wundedon
Braun: *etan* steht warscheinlich für *ætan.*
MS.: itan; before which space for one or two letters.

Read: [b]itan, or [ab]itan.

(11) 601. Baskervill: mine geferan bædon þæt hie sweler[e cune] þo bescerede ne wæron. What Baskervill takes for *cun* is merely the *umo* of *wynsumo* showing through the transparent margin.

MS.: swelc*ra me*[r]þo bescerede ne wæron.

Oxford, England. STANLEY I. RYPINS.

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The Life and Letters of Edward Young, by Henry C. Shelley. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1914. vii + 289 pp.

This is not only a very interesting, readable book,—it is also a valuable contribution to the history of English literature in the first half of the eighteenth century. Its special importance to the student lies perhaps in the fact that it introduces to him a very different Edward Young from that of tradition. Genial, witty, full of humor, frequently light-hearted as well as serious when occasion demanded: thus the author of the gloomy *Night Thoughts* of eighteenth century fame appeals to the reader in Mr. Shelley's pages. And this attractive if unexpected picture has been produced mainly by the skilful utilization of Young's own letters. He is made for the most part to tell his own life history. His work as poet, dramatist, and critic is described carefully and entertainingly. No previous writer has told so much in details about Young's poetical and dramatic career,—has evaluated his compositions so justly and thereby assigned to him definitely a far higher place as a poet (especially satirical poet) and a dramatist, that is, writer of tragedy, than he has hitherto occupied in English criticism. Moreover, and particularly, Young the man stands fully drawn before us in all his strength and weakness, his gloom and glory.[1] But Shelley has not, as did the poet's earlier biographers generally, over-emphasized his deficiencies and slighted his virtues. Sometimes, indeed, he might be charged with over-enthusiasm as defender of Young against many charges—perhaps mostly unjust and unfounded ones—that had their origin in the fertile imagination of his first biographer, Rev. Sir Herbert Croft. One feels, however, that Shelley understands the peculiar character of Young, —a compliment which can not with justice be paid any previous

[1] The nine chapters of the book have titles that indicate the scope of treatment: I. Parentage and Education, 1683-1712. II. Courtier and Poet, 1713-1719. III. Dramatist, 1719-1726. IV. Satirist, 1725-1728. V. Holy Orders, 1728-1741. VI. The *Night Thoughts*, 1742-1745. VII. Trelwyn and Elsewhere, 1746-1753. VIII. Moralist and Critic, 1754-1759. IX. Last Years, 1760-1765.

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biographer,—and that he is especially concerned about the transmission of his impression to the reader.

In only one noteworthy respect does the picture fall far short of perfection. And this is in the omission of an account of the influence which Young's work as poet and critic exerted on the literature of foreign countries, particularly of Germany. The long chapter (Chap. VI, pp. 137-198) on *Night Thoughts* has not one word concerning the now well-known fact that this poem exercised an almost phenomenal influence upon the intellectual life of the German [2] people for a generation or more, beginning about the year 1745. Shelley apparently knows nothing, probably has never heard, about Kind's [3] valuable and thorough-going monograph on this subject. And though he does quote M. Joseph Texte's opinion on the relation of Narcissa's burial to that of Young's step-daughter, Elizabeth Temple, at Lyons,[4] he makes no effort to show the reader that the French people, too, in the years around 1760, were powerfully impressed by the melancholy and gloom that pervades *Night Thoughts*. In the chapter (VIII) on Young as 'Moralist and Critic' he gives a sufficient account of the *Conjectures on Original Composition*, but says nothing about the widespread circulation this letter-pamphlet enjoyed in Germany [5] and the determining influence it exerted on German dramatic criticism after 1760.

Young like his good friend Richardson was even more appreciated abroad than at home, as Kind has shown by numerous references. And one interesting testimonial to this popularity in Germany, which Kind has not recorded, is to be found in a letter from Wm. Mason to the poet Gray, written from Hanover, June 27, 1755, which records the following amusing bit of experience: "When I say that Mynheer—is the only erudite person whom I have yet seen, I must be understood to mean in this place, for

[2] And the Swiss also.

[3] *Edward Young in Germany*. By John Louis Kind. New York: MacMillan & Co. 1906. Columbia Univ. Germanic Studies, vol. II, No. III.

[4] Oct. 1736; cf. p. 157.

[5] Cf. Kind, Chap. II, pp. 11-58. Saintsbury (*Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.* vol. X, Chap. VII) writes with equal unconsciousness of the existence of Kind's work, but does say (p. 156) that "Young enjoyed for a long time, great almost European popularity." The *Conjectures* was reprinted with an introduction a few years ago by Prof. Brandl in *Jahrbuch d. d. Shakesp. Gesellsch.*, vol. XXXIX (1903), pp. 1-42.

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when I lately made a tour to Hamburgh, I met with another, tho' of a different sex, her name Madame Belcht. Her person I won't attempt to describe, but will endeavour to give you a Morceau of her conversation, for I was honoured with it. She asked me who was the famous poet that writ the *Nitt Toats*. I replied Doctor Yonge. She beg'd leave to drink his health, in a glass of sweet wine, adding that he was her favourite English author. We toasted the Doctor. Upon which, having a mind to give my Parnassian toast, I asked Madame Belcht if she had ever read La petite Elegie dans La Ciemetere Rustique. C'est beaucoup jolie, je vous assure! (for I had said fort jolie very often before.) Oui Monsieur, replied Madame Belch[t], ja lu et elle est bien jolie et melancholique, mais elle ne touche point la cœur comme mes cheres *Nitt Toats*."[6]

Now, one is not inclined to carp unnecessarily at the defects of a really good and valuable book, but it does seem a pity that the completeness of this work of Shelley's should have to suffer through what seems on the face of it to be inexcusable carelessness.

Among the interesting disputable points of Young's life which are illuminated by Shelley's discussions is the date of his birth. This has been established with measurable certainty as 1683, in spite of Joseph Warton's inscription, *In hoc cubiculo natus erat eximius ille Poeta Edvardus Young*, 1681, left in the room of Upham rectory in which the poet was born. For Dr. Warton "did not become rector of Upham until 1790,"[7] and "doubtless took his chronology from Sir Herbert Croft's biography." The parish register of Upham records the fact "that Edward Young was baptized on the 3rd of July, 1683," and "that the poet was born within a short period of his baptism is a safe inference from the fact that the summer of 1683 accords with the statements as to his age made when he was admitted to both Winchester and New College.[8]

Shelley discusses at considerable length the question as to the part which Young's bereavement played in the dark and gloomy spirit of *Night Thoughts*. Do the poet's son, his step-daughter, and her husband figure in the poem as Lorenzo, Philander, and Narcissa, respectively? Are the three deaths described in the first Night to be considered as having actually occurred in his own

[6] Tovey, *Letters of Thomas Gray*, vol. I, p. 264.
[7] Cf. Shelley, pp. 1-2.
[8] Cf. Sir Leslie Stephen, *Dict. of National Biogr.* art. Edw. Young.

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family circle? "Those three deaths," says Shelley,[9] "are the most puzzling problem of Young's biography, owing to the fact that in his poem he locates them so near to each other. After asking Death why he should exhaust his 'partial quiver' on a target so mean as himself, he continues—

> 'Insatiate archer! could not one suffice?
> Thy shaft flew thrice; and thrice my peace was slain;
> And thrice ere thrice yon moon had filled her horn.'

Now, if those lines are to be interpreted literally there is no escaping the conclusion that the poet had suffered three bereavements within three months. But unfortunately no known facts of his biography correspond with such a deduction.

It is usually supposed that the three deaths Young had in his mind were those of his step-daughter Elizabeth, her husband, and his own wife; but the first of these occurred in the October of 1736, the second in the August of 1740, and the third in the January of 1741. Thus the two bereavements which were nearest in point of time were separated by five months, while the third took place more than four years earlier."

Again he says[10] on this point: "Two of the three most famous characters of the *Night Thoughts,* Lorenzo and Philander, make their appearance in *The Complaint,* a fact which ought to have prevented the formulating of that insane theory which identified the first-named with the poet's own son. It has been seen that Frederick Young was born in the June of 1732, consequently by the date of the publication of *The Complaint* he had just completed his first decade, a somewhat early age for him to have served as the model of so accomplished a profligate as Lorenzo! . . . The most probable theory in the case of the worldly Lorenzo is that Young had the Duke of Wharton chiefly in mind; but the more rational position to assume is that his Lorenzo and Philander were composite portraits embodying traits observed in many men. To assert that the unworldly Philander was drawn solely from Henry Temple is to create new difficulties without solving the old, for whereas in the poem Philander dies before Narcissa, in actuality the reverse was the case."

Some critics have suposed that Narcissa was intended to repre-

[9] P. 146 f. [10] P. 149.

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sent Elizabeth Temple; but whomsoever she represented, it is a fact, that "the chief interest of the third of the *Night Thoughts* consists in its references" to her sad fate. "Her character is sketched in lines which are perhaps the most felicitous of the entire poem.

> 'Sweet harmonist! and beautiful as sweet!
> And young as beautiful! and soft as young!
> And gay as soft! and innocent as gay!
> And happy (if aught happy here) as good!
> For fortune fond had built her nest on high,
> Like birds quite exquisite of note and plume,
> Transfixt by fate (who loves a lofty mark)
> How from the summit of the grove she fell,
> And left it unharmonious! All its charms
> Extinguisht in the wonders of her song!
> Her song still vibrates in my ravisht ear,
> Still melting there, and with voluptuous pain
> (O to forget her!) thrilling thro' my heart!'"[11]

If the poem is to be accepted as literally true, the following facts emerge: Narcissa died after Philander;[12] she was snatch'd in her 'bridal hour'; as soon as the 'lustre languisht in her eye' and 'pale omen' sat upon her cheek, the poet, with 'parental haste,' bore her to a warmer clime; and when death seized her in a foreign land, she, owing to her Protestant faith, was denied Christian burial.[13]

On the theory that Narcissa was Elizabeth Temple, and that the incident described above took place in France, this was, as Joseph Texte has confessed, a serious enough matter to 'cover the French nation with confusion.' He adds: 'The gruesome story of the father burying his daughter in secret went the round of Europe; and a lugubrious engraving representing Young interring Narcissa by the light of a lantern was introduced as a frontispiece to the second volume of Letourneur's translation of the *Night Thoughts*. Such intolerance on the part of the French seemed monstrous. Young, the victim of fate, appeared also to be the victim of fanaticism, and for many a long year English visitors made pilgrimages to the melancholy grotto where this drama had been enacted. Unfortunately for the poet's sincerity, the story is of his own in-

[11] Ll. 81-93.

[12] But in reality both Elizabeth Temple and Lady Young died several years before Henry Temple.

[13] Cf. *Night* 3, ll. 170-178.

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vention. The death of Young's step-daughter did actually occur in France, but at Lyons, as a learned inhabitant of that town has shown, and not Montpellier; she was buried at the former place, not in a nameless grave, but in the enclosure formerly reserved for Protestants, and not by stealth, but with all befitting ceremony. At most it appears that the cost of the interment was excessive, and it was this trifling grievance that was dramatically treated by Young.'"[14]

The *Night Thoughts* itself offers unfortunately no definite solution for the problem of its own mystery. Young, almost painfully reticent about his domestic affairs in his correspondence, is from the nature of the case, that is, the demands of art, more so in his poetry. Judging from the spirit and character of the poem and the time that he began to write it, critics, including Shelley, have asserted that the death of Lady Young was the inspiration which set him to planning and writing the first *Night*. But we do not know exactly when he began his poem. In all his letters of the years 1741 and 1742 there is just one rather playful reference to *Night Thoughts* and not a single one to the death of Lady Young. Writing to the Duchess of Portland, May 3, 1742, he says: "Such is my opinion of your Grace's goodness, that I can choose no subject more agreeable to you than to speak of your friends. Last week a neighbour of poor Dr. Clarke's now in Huntingdonshire called on me; he told me our friend was still living, and that his physician said he might possibly live four or five years longer. . . . Dr. Clarke's behaviour brings to my memory some lines which I have formerly read, whether it be in Fletcher perhaps your Grace can tell. After the author has represented a good man, whose name is Philander, on his deathbed behaving to the surprise of all about him, he adds:

> 'As some tall tower, or lofty mountain's brow
> Detains the sun, illustrious from its height,
> When rising vapours, and descending shades,
> In damps and darkness drown the spacious vale,
> *Philander* thus augustly reared his head
> Undamped by doubt, undarkened by despair;
> At that black hour, which general horror sheds

[14] *Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the Cosmopolitan Spirit in Literature*, 305-6, quoted by Shelley, p. 157 f. Cf. original French ed. (*Jean-Jacques Rousseau et les origines du Cosmopolitisme Littéraire*, Paris, 1895), p. 370 f.

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> On the low level of inglorious minds,
> Sweet *peace*, and heavenly *hope*, and humble *joy*,
> Divinely beamed on his exalted soul,
> With incommunicable lustre bright.'[15]

Now, these are the concluding lines of the second *Night*, and their appearance in this letter would seem to show that the first part of the poem was completed by May, 1742.[16] And the *Complaint* or *Night Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality* was actually published by Dodsley in June, 1742. It is therefore not improbable that Young began the composition of his poem soon after the death of his wife (January 1741). But there is no definite evidence on this point, any more than there is for the assertion that Lady Young (or Elizabeth Temple) was the original of Narcissa. In many respects, indeed, it appears doubtful whether the poet had any particular person, man or woman, in mind while he was writing *Night Thoughts*. He so rarely made his own private affairs the theme of his poems or letters,—he was so impersonal in his writings. Even the preface of the fourth *Night* is not convincing in this connection. "The first of the *Night Thoughts*," says Shelley "was issued to the world without explanation of the melancholy experiences which had inspired its lines, but to the fourth poem the author contributed a preface in which he assured his readers that the occasion of his work was 'real not fictitious.'[17] The poem was begun, he added, "purely as a refuge under uneasiness, when more proper studies wanted sufficient relish to detain the writer's attention to them."

Nothing of Young's so well illustrates his ability to keep his personal sorrows to himself, as well as to appear cheerful and carefree towards his friends, as his letters to the Duchess of Portland. And one of these, written in February, 1741, when his grief over the death of his wife would naturally be most intense, in which however there is not a trace of gloom or melancholy, may be quoted here:

"Money is the devil, and ever doing mischief, but it never did me greater than now, in denying me the honor and pleasure of wait-

[15] See *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath, preserved at Longleat, Wiltshire (Historical Manuscripts Commission)*, vol. I, London, 1904, p. 254, where all Young's letters to the Duchess of Portland were first printed.

[16] Cf. Shelley, p. 146.

[17] P. 146.

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ing on Your Grace before I leave town.'[18] But you, Madam, who can confer undeserved favours with so great facility, will, I hope, find no great difficulty in excusing involuntary faults. I had the delight and reputation yesterday morning of waiting on Mrs. Pendarves,[19] but what followed stands candidate for a place among your Grace's mysteries." "*Postscript*—But your Grace is a naturalist, I will therefore talk with you in your own way. What so flowry and fragrant as the woodbine! What so luxuriant and fruitful as the vine! How they ravish our senses! How they gladden the heart of man! How divinely they inspire! Such, Madam, is your sex; but then, as you are made exquisite like these, so like these, in compassion to poor mankind, you are made feeble too. You were both designed to give a tender twine around something stronger than yourselves. The vine and woodbine were not designed for celibacy, but to mingle their branches with the rough oak, or elm, obliging, and obliged, receiving succour while they confer the most perfect ornament and delight. Now, Madam, a lady of genius, that abounds in arts and accomplishments, she can agreeably employ every hour by herself; she can stand alone; she is free from that weakness which lays other ladies under the natural necessity of an embrace; and I wish that this is not somewhat the case of your friend.

"If your Grace does me the honour of a line, you will assist me in this nice speculation. I should be glad for the sake of mankind to find myself mistaken, about her, for really, Madam, if she is made *only* to be admired, I shall value her no more than an angel. And poor angels, your Grace knows, will meet with many powerful rivals in so wicked a world as this."[20]

There is not the slightest hint of Young's recent sad bereavement in this letter, nor is there any more in either of the two immediately preceding letters, both of which were apparently written in January,—that is to say, in the very month of Lady Young's death. In the first of these, which is largely concerned about Mrs. Pendarves, there is the same jovial spirit of bantering humor noticeable in the one quoted above: "It is my duty to write, though perhaps it would be my prudence to forbear, for what shall I write? Yet I will obey your Grace, and disobey you at the same time, for pray what difference is there between not writing and writing nothing? Since your Grace has laid me under an obligation and a difficulty at the same time by your kind command, I will take my revenge

[18] This letter was written in London.

[19] This is, of course, the later celebrated Mrs. Delaney, who was a frequent visitor in the Portland home and a good friend of Young's.

[20] *Bath* MSS. I, 250 f.

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by being as severe on your Grace's letter as I possibly can. I am as ambitious to find faults in such a correspondent, as your friends, the natural philosophers, are to find spots in the sun: and I think I can do it effectually. You say, Madam, the more knowledge I have of Mrs. P——, the greater esteem I shall have for her. Madam, your are mistaken, my knowledge of her may increase, but I think my esteem for her cannot; at least I do not desire it should," etc.[21]

"But that the poet sorrowed sincerely and deeply over the loss of his wife is proved by more than his son's testimony that he was 'never cheerful' after her death. That bereavement, indeed, cast a sombre shadow over many years of his life; it was not only to make his muse still more melancholy, but to impart a sobriety to his most graceful compliments."[22]

There is one further point that would seem to have considerable weight in the solution of the mystery surrounding the characters of *Night Thoughts*, and Shelley has not touched upon it. Years before Young had even thought of the theme for his masterpiece he had used two or three names of the characters in *Night Thoughts* in a wholly general and impersonal connection. In his satire, *The Universal Passion*, published between 1725 and 1730, the names of Lorenzo and Philander figure to some extent, as the following selections show:

> "On buying books Lorenzo long was bent,
> But found at length that it reduced his 'rent';
> His farms were flown; when, lo! a sale comes on,
> A choice collection! what is to be done?
>
> When terms were drawn, and brought him by the clerk,
> Lorenzo sign'd the bargain—with his mark"[23]

> "I grant at court, Philander, at his need,
> (Thanks to his lovely wife) finds friends indeed.
> Of every charm and virtue she's possest,
> Philander! thou art exquisitely blest,"[24] etc.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

[22] Shelley, p. 137. Kind's remarks (p. 61) that "he did not begin to pour out his inconsolable grief until sometime after the taking off of his spouse whose death he really does not mourn until the *Ninth Night*, almost five years after her death," shows that he had not read the *Ninth Night*; for there is surely nothing about Lady Young's death in this poem.

[23] *Satire* II, *Aldine Edition*, p. 71. [24] *Satire* III, *Ibid*, p. 84.

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Might not we therefore be justified in insisting that the characters of *Night Thoughts* are entirely fictitious and not to be definitely connected with any member of Young's family, nor with any of his friends?

There does not, moreover, seem to have been any real basis for the charges [25] of insincerity made against Young in connection with the death and burial of his step-daughter. Kind's assertion, "They [i. e. the Germans] were touched by his grief, so they overlooked the artificiality of the 'Complaint,' and did not realize the bombast and insincerity of the poet-preacher, who was quite gay and dissipated in youth and was weaned from the world only when age overtook him," [26] appears to be entirely unjust in the light of Shelley's presentation and interpretation of the poet's character. For, while it cannot be denied that Young devoted too large a portion of his time in the first half of his life to the pursuit of fame and made himself somewhat ridiculous by his numerous (and mainly worthless) dedicatory odes to various noblemen (some of them of doubtful characters) in the hope of obtaining influential patronage,[27] there is no reliable evidence anywhere that he was ever dissipated. And after he took orders, sometime between 1725 and 1728, when he was in the middle years of his life, there is absolutely no reason for believing that he did not perform his duties, first as Chaplain to the King, and from 1730 until his death, as rector of Welwyn, with dignity and decorum, if not with distinction and glory.[28]

As has already been suggested, it is by liberal and eminently suitable selections from the more than one hundred of Young's

[25] See Joseph Texte, *op. cit.;* Shelley, p. 158.

[26] Kind, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[27] Saintsbury (*op. cit.*), too, has given a wholly one-sided picture of Young and his work, because he apparently followed slavishly earlier biographers and had not read the poet's letters, tho' they had been accessible for several years. "Throughout each of these long periods [of his life] he appears (except at the moment of his election to All Souls) as a disappointed man, baffled as to regular promotion at school; wandering from college to college; not, indeed, ever in apparent danger of the jail, but incessantly and fruitlessly courting the patron," p. 157. In his recently published *Peace of the Augustans* (London, Bell and Sons, 1916) Saintsbury does refer in passing to Young's Letters to the Duchess of Portland. See p. 61, footnote. On Young's efforts to obtain patronage in the latter part of his life, see Shelley, pp. 150-151; also p. 199 f.

[28] Cf. Shelley, Chap. v.

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letters to the Duchess of Portland, that Shelley makes the poet seem a wholly different man, especially in the last twenty-five years of his life, from the conception of him given by all his previous biographers.[29] The author has also supplemented the story of this period by using letters to Richardson and to several other friends. For the first two-thirds of his life comparatively few of Young's really delightful letters have been preserved, but most of these have been quoted by Shelley.

Never before have the intimacy and importance of Young's relations with the novelist Richardson been so clearly set forth as they are in this book. And it is again through references in his letters to the Duchess of Portland as well as to Richardson, that we are led to see how much encouragement the novelist received from the poet while he was busy with the composition of his works, especially of *Clarissa Harlowe*. Richardson's biographers have done but scanty justice to Young as an inspiring critic of the famous novelist. Though Austin Dobson does say [30] that Young "was probably one of his best critics;" and Miss Thomson tells us that the correspondence between Young and Richardson "dates back to 1740," and that Richardson was the publisher of the *Night Thoughts*.[31] Moreover, she finds the correspondence of these two men not very interesting, and on Young's side, at least . . . tinged with much melancholy." Shelley's extracts, and particularly the references in the Portland letters, seem to show clearly that Young was not only one of Richardson's most highly esteemed critics, but that he was perhaps the one friend besides Aaron Hill to whom the novelist confided most freely his literary plans.[32] There are definite references to his telling Young about the plan of *Clarissa* and sending him parts of the story in manuscript, several years before the book

[29] I have not had access to *Le Poète Edward Young*, by W. Thomas, Paris, 1901; but he could have known nothing of the letters of the Duchess of Portland.

[30] *Samuel Richardson, E. M.* of *L.* Series, p. 75.

[31] Clara Linklater Thomson, *Samuel Richardson, a Biographical and Critical Study*, London, 1900, p. 121-2.

[32] In a letter to Young, Nov. 1747 (see Dobson, *op. cit.*, p. 75) Richardson writes: "What contentions, what disputes have I involved myself in with my poor Clarissa through my own diffidence, and want of will! I wish I had never consulted anybody but Dr. Young, who so kindly vouchsafed me his ear and sometimes his opinion."

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was published,—possibly soon after he began to write. Dobson tells us that Young sent Hill "two specimen chapters" of the novel in 1744, and that "By July 1744 Richardson has sent him the entire design or compendium of the story, with which Hill is in raptures."[33] Miss Thomson says[34] *Clarissa* "was probably begun not long after the publication of the *Tour through Great Britain* [1742], since Hill, in an unpublished letter of February, 1745, alludes to the 'charming Miss Harlowe,' etc." Now if Mr. Dobson and Miss Thomson had looked a little more carefully into the correspondence of Young and Richardson as printed by Mrs. Barbauld, they would have found references to *Clarissa* that are as early as 1744. Shelley reprints[35] one of these letters which bears the date July 9, 1744, and which contains the following interesting paragraph: "Be not concerned about Lovelace: 'tis the likeness, not the morality, of a character we call for. A sign-post angel can by no means come into competition with the devils of Michael Angelo." In another but undated letter, belonging according to Shelley,[36] to the close of the year 1744 Young shows very accurate knowledge of and intimate concern in, the progress of his friend's great work: "Does Lovelace do more than a proud, bold, graceless heart, long indulged in vice, would naturally do? No. Is it contrary to the common method of Providence, to let the best suffer the most? No. When the best do suffer, does it not most deeply affect the human heart? Yes. And is it not your business to affect the human heart as deeply as you can? Yes.

"Your critics on seeing the first two or three acts of *Venice Preserved,* the *Orphan,* and *Theodosius,* would have advised that the innocent and amiable Belvidera, Monmia, and Athenais, should be made happy; and thus would have ruined our three best plays.

"But you ask, how come they then to give this advice? From ignorance, or envy, or affectation of a delicate concern and high zeal for virtue; or from such a degree of infidelity as suffers not their thoughts to accompany Clarissa any further than her grave. Did they look farther, the pain they complain of would be removed; they would find her to be an object of envy as well as pity; and

[33] Dobson, *op. cit.*, 73-4. [34] *Op. cit.*, 41.

[35] P. 180. This notice without reference to the date of the letter *is* printed by Miss Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[36] See p. 184.

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the distressed would be more than balanced by the triumphant Clarissa: and thus would they be reconciled to a story, at which their short-sighted tenderness for virtue pretends to take offence.

"Believe me, Christians of taste will applaud your plan, and they who themselves would act Lovelace's part, will find the greatest fault in it." [37]

It is not until near the close of the year 1747 that we begin to find frequent and significant discussions of *Clarissa Harlowe* in Young's letters to the Duchess of Portland. That there are no earlier references [38] is doubtless to be accounted for by the fact that Young knew the novelist was not an agreeable subject of conversation (or correspondence) to the Duchess. But on Nov. 22, 1747, he had the courage to write: "A second work by the author of Pamela will be published in a fortnight, and I fancy your Grace will find amusement in it, if, I mean, your taste is for a melancholy tale. I have heard it formerly, and not without a tear; but, as I remember, your Grace laughs at fiction; if so, I must visit others to see them weep." [39] Then on Jan. 29, 1748, he says on the same subject: "I heartily hope my friend R—n was a false prophet; prophets of old had two provinces, one was to foretell, the other was to instruct. Though he may have failed in the first, yet he has not in the last. Has your Grace read his Clarissa? What a beautiful brat of the brain is there! I wish your Grace would stand godmother, and give it its name, *Clarissa the Divine*. That romance will probably do more good than a body of Divinity. If all printers could turn such authors, I would turn printer in order to be instrumental in promoting such benefit to mankind.

"And yet, Madam, this excellent offspring of the imagination

[37] This letter, so valuable and interesting in the genesis of the story and the character conception of Clarissa, is not referred to by either Dobson or Thomson.

[38] The first (apparent) reference in the Portland correspondence to Richardson's novels occurs in a letter from Feb. 1742(?), and seems to be about *Pamela:* "As I design myself the honour of waiting on your Grace very soon, I shall not by letter forestall what I have to say as to the authors you mention. Fiction may have a good tendency, and history may have a bad one, which I believe to be the case with regard to these two writers [Richardson and Fielding?], of whom I shall say no more at present." *Bath* MSS., I, 270. Cf. Shelley, p. 141.

[39] *Bath* MSS., I, 308.

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was in danger of having been stifled in its birth; or, at least, of having been made a changeling. I think your Grace knows Mr. Littleton; he, Mr. Fielding, Cibber, etc., all of them pressed the author very importunately to make his story end happily; but does not your Grace think that it is infinitely better as it is?" [40]

Young's enthusiasm for *Sir Charles Grandison* was only a little less pronounced than that for *Clarissa*. But his admiration for the last of Richardson's novels was due perhaps in some measure to the fact that *Grandison* was mainly responsible for the Duchess of Portland's change of heart toward the famous novelist.

The binding, print, and paper of the book are very attractive. It is indeed in outward show what every worthy book should be: its appearance makes one want to read it. The pages are adorned with a few select illustrations, beginning with a frontispiece of the poet "From an engraving by J. Collyer," and concluding with the "Young Memorial Stone, Welwyn Rectory Grounds" (p. 280), all in good taste. The proof-reading was well done, so that typographical errors are few. I have noticed only *Budd* (for *Bubb*) Dodington, p. 62.

WM. H. HULME.

Western Reserve University.

Gottfried Keller as a Democratic Idealist, by EDWARD FRANKLIN HAUCH. New York, Columbia University Press, 1916, x and 96 pages.

Gottfried Keller has in the main been fortunate in his critics. Baechtold confined himself in his three volumes (1897) to collecting a great wealth of biographical material and letters. The *Life of Keller*, by Emil Ermatinger (1915), based upon Baechtold's collectanea, is not as yet accessible. The *Seven Lectures* of Albert Koester (Leipzig, 1900), one of the sanest books on Keller, aimed at no more than 'to unite old friends of the poet more closely, and to gain new ones.' Between these publications falls the more ambitious work of Baldensperger (Paris, 1899), which is greatly concerned with the question, how much of Keller's permanent worth

[40] *Ibid.*, 312; cf. Shelley, pp. 220-21. Littleton, Fielding, Cibber, etc., may be "Your Critics" of the letter from 1744, quoted above.

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(*valeur*) will bear exportation beyond the confines of his native Switzerland. Baldensperger rightly perceives that authors who, like Keller, do not exalt individualism or the instinct of personal force, but rather sport with its deviations and unmask its vanities, do not, as a rule, burst upon other nations as a welcome revelation. He therefore expresses the hope that his exhaustive analyses of the works themselves may serve as a method of indirect approach.

Edward Franklin Hauch takes his stand at the opposite pole. Not the man and his work, but 'Gottfried Keller as a Democratic Idealist' is his theme. One of the most individual of modern poets is to be investigated by the principles of exact science, and technical nomenclature is employed. By means of this 'algebra of language,' Keller's pessimism, romanticism, realism and democracy are weighed in the balance. Hauch maintains that through 'some degree of uniformity of connotation, a great deal of cumbersome and confusing circumlocution can be avoided.' He hopes that by this means he may 'arrive at an intelligent estimate of the literary or philosophical significance' of his author.

One might have expected that a critic intent upon interpreting Keller, as political and philosophic thinker, to the American public would have given us a series of comparisons with characteristic figures in our own historical environment. Gottfried Keller, who stood at the modern parting of the ways in his native country, having lived under three successive cantonal constitutions, offers in many ways partial similarities to early Americans, particularly as seen through the eyes of our own Hawthorne, the one American author whose genius bears any relation to that of Keller. A single word, to the effect that Keller, like Alexander Hamilton, desired 'a historically federalistic, coercive but representative union, with devices to give weight to the influence of education and property, and with no initiative and referendum' would have inspired a home feeling for him; while an additional remark, that Keller occupied a position midway between Hamilton's distrust of the people and Jefferson's complete confidence in their integrity, self-control and good judgment,[1] would almost have served to domicile Keller amongst us as a political thinker. Conrad Ferdinand

[1] With Keller it was more faith than confidence. His confidence was more than once completely shattered, but his faith in the sound instincts of the folk-soul, and in the ultimate political outcome sustained and supported him in every trial.

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Meyer marvelled most at Gottfried Keller's 'attitude as a protecting genius to his country, standing aloof from all men, full of inquietudes, indulging in sermonizings, replete with sage advice, practicing paternal chastisements.' Hawthorne has given us in the following an almost identical judgment of Washington:[2]

'The collection of Washington's recorded traits seems sufficiently abundant, and strictly harmonizes with itself, yet never brings us into intimate relation with the hero, nor makes us feel the warmth and the human throb of his heart. What can be the reason? Is it, that his great nature was adapted to stand in relation to his country, as man stands towards man, but could not individualize itself in brotherhood to an individual?'

All material of this kind is either not thought of at all, or is disdained by Hauch, who chooses instead to erect a series of sterile philosophical-political formulae, and to judge his author by them. His graceful translations from Keller's poems give the lie to this sterility and awaken the wish, that he could have adopted a concrete, that is to say a literary method of presenting his subject as a whole.

Hauch's treatment of Keller's novel *Das verlorene Lachen* supplies a capital example of this fundamental error in plan and method. He finds in the close of the story 'democracy of the most radical kind applied to the problems of the inner life; in the last analysis, each must be his own priest and his own judge.' It is safe to say that Keller had as little intention of producing such an impression, as had Goethe in his *Metamorphose der Pflanzen*, where

> **'Die heilige Liebe**
> **Strebt zu der höchsten Frucht gleicher Gesinnungen auf,**
> **Gleicher Ansicht der Dinge, damit in harmonischem Anschaun**
> **Sich verbinde das Paar, finde die höhere Welt.'**

In Goethe's poem, as in Keller's story, the collectivism of the family is differentiated with the highest art from active but barren individualism, and is emphasized as the 'heiliges Rätsel,' the 'geheimes Gesetz' at the basis of orderly civic society. The scene of the poetic sermon is in the one case Goethe's botanic garden at his house on the 'Frauenplan,' and in the other a Swiss forest-nursery. The impassioned sermonizer pours out his philosophy in either case

[2] 'A Book of Autographs.' *Works*, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., n. d. Vol. IV, p. 153.

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to his life's partner, as symbolizing the world outside of himself and his own relation to that—through her—newly discovered world. The characteristic difference remains, that in Goethe's poem—as always with him, save in the single exception of his relation to Frau von Stein—woman remains the docile and dependent half, while in Keller's stories one woman almost invariably appears—in *Martin Salander* it is a son—who has a greater hold on reality, and through whose surer wisdom, founded on intuition but aided by experience, the hero makes his peace with his destiny. Keller, like Goethe, arrived in his later productions at a highly individualized collectivism, and both poets, notwithstanding fundamental differences of attitude, reached their goal along the same path.

In literary matters also, Keller had his brief period of inconclusive generalization, as when he fancied that out of the Berlin farces with their couplets a new variety of Aristophanic national comedy might arise. But what distinguished him from doctrinaire literary historians like Hettner, who snatched at this Aristophanic idea, was that Hettner never overcame the tendency to baseless philosophical generalization, while in Keller it soon disappears, never to return. These his outgrown associates were the men of the 'uncompromisingly democratic attitude of mind in all things,' a characteristic which Hauch (p. 4) welcomes and exalts in Keller, but from which he energetically shook himself free, as for instance in his little known and seldom cited *Apotheker von Chamounix*. In this travesty of *Romancero*, Heine, after a wordy battle with Börne, is thrust into the great sea of ink, in which Gutzkow, Young Germany's monarch ('der grosse Tinterich') in the great democratic barathrum, is already swimming about.

In the famous toast, in the year 1873,[3] it was again Keller who 'compromised,' by saying that he could conceive of a time in the distant future, when autonomous Switzerland, should it ever forego its life principle of five hundred years' growth and be drawn into the vortex of out and out democracy, might be resuscitated and restored by a union with the land of 'Light and Power,' with modern Germany; and it was the 'uncompromising' German democrat, the then vastly overrated poet Gottfried Kinkel, who opposed him on that historic occasion, and undertook to be more

[3] *Nachgelassene Schriften und Dichtungen*, Berlin, 1893, pp. 358-361.

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Swiss than Keller himself. Gottfried Keller's singular modesty in this and other controversies where it was a question of his country's future, the complete absence of self-seeking and doctrinaire contentiousness in even his most impassioned pleadings and warnings, recall to mind the superb characterization in his *Union of the Valiant Seven*, as that through which he himself would doubtless have preferred to be known and remembered:

'They are unblazed standing timber in the forest growth of the nation. They emerge for a moment into the sunlight of the fatherland's day, only to withdraw again into the shadow, where they rustle and murmur with the thousand other tree-trunks in their native forest glooms, where few claim acquaintance, but where all are familiarly and intimately known.'

HENRY WOOD.

Johns Hopkins University.

European Characters in French Drama of the Eighteenth Century. By HARRY KURZ, PH. D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1916.

The title of the book is too general. It would imply a study of all characters in eighteenth century French drama, the non-European characters being entirely negligible. Yet, as the author explains, "the object of this study is to trace the opinions about foreign nations held by the French during the eighteenth century, in so far as the numerous comic writers of the time reflected these views in their plays." A less ambiguous title, then, would have been: "Foreigners as seen by French theatre-goers of the eighteenth century," a title which would better indicate the wide scope of the subject. In separate chapters, Dr. Kurz investigates how the eighteenth century dramatists treat the Italians, the Spanish, the Germans, the English, and the people of the Minor Nations.

The plays which include Italian characters bring out the latter only in a superficial way. Their only conclusion betraying a real observation of Italian life seems to be that conventions are strict and Italian wives are of the utmost fidelity.

From the study of Spanish characters even less is to be gleaned. The writers, apparently realizing their meager knowledge of contemporary Spain, often bring in historic Spain, though the atmos-

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phere even there (as, for instance, in Destouches: *L'Ambitieux et l'Indiscrète*) is far from being essentially Spanish. A special section is devoted to the Spain of Beaumarchais. Why Dr. Kurz should do this is not clear, especially when, as he himself admits, "Beaumarchais is essentially French in his pictures and utters truths that are no more Spanish than French or English."

The burden of the thesis lies in the chapter on the English. The writer shows how, in 1734, the publication of Voltaire's *Lettres Philosophiques* laid the foundation in France of a lasting admiration for the English, and this in spite of numerous political conflicts, for as Dr. Kurz well points out, no English army ever set foot in France during this period, and the people felt no real animosity toward the English. Practically all the evidence brought forward goes to show how this admiration grew.

One English lord (Boissy: *Le Comte de Neuilly*) is shown devoting his life to the family of an exiled friend; another (Falbaire: *Le Fabricant de Londres*), unlike his care-free French brother, is a stern thinker. Many are represented as philanthropic and optimistic; many take pride in letters. Young Englishmen ape French ways and almost invariably speak excellent Parisian French. Even English actresses are pictured as being models of virtue. Englishmen fight no duels; and if they are taciturn and commonly appear to be suffering from melancholia, that is because they are deep thinkers. This characterization of thoughtfulness is constantly recurring and Dr. Kurz would have done well here to have advanced the explanation offered by Voltaire[1] that men are forced to think when they have the responsibilities of democratic government on their shoulders.

English merchants are represented as brusque but honest and benevolent. In 1727, one Jacques Rosbif (Boissy) makes the significant statement: "Les vrais gentilhommes ce sont les honnêtes gens il n'y a que le vice de roturier." Occasionally we find a quack physician or a deceitful clergyman: but usually Englishmen are portrayed as most virtuous. Jailers are generous and even the servants are absolutely devoted and trustworthy. English women are less coquettish than French women; more faithful as wives. "In England," to judge by Gresset's *Sidnei*, "a girl's conception of love is more basic and sincere."

[1] *Lettres Philosophiques*, XX.

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Dr. Kurz has certainly collected enough evidence to prove that French theatre-goers of the eighteenth century considered England a sort of Utopia; but he is apparently content with presenting the picture. Not once does he inquire how far all this is true. As a matter of fact eighteenth century England was far from being a privileged land of virtue, the nobility was brutal and debauched, the clergy ignorant, the courts corrupt. Witness the depraved condition of high society as pictured by Fielding and other novelists of the time.[2] Recall also what Voltaire had to say about the grossness of the English stage.[3]

Dr. Kurz's findings are significant, then, not so much in showing just what eighteenth century Frenchmen really knew about England, but rather how they were deceived about it. As Joseph Texte puts it: "Les hommes du XVIII^e^ Siècle ont admiré une Angleterre idéale, parce qu'ils ont voulu qu'elle fût conforme à leur rêve."[4] England was a land of liberty whence blew a "vent philosophique." Of course it is far from probable that the writers of these light plays wilfully deceived their audiences about England; most of them wrote with no other motive than to amuse. Dr. Kurz even expresses surprise (p. 301) that the comedies examined by him show so few traces of the "esprit philosophique," whereas the *opéras comiques* of the last part of the century were bristling with it and there were numerous "pièces à thèse" written to spread it.[5] Yet, in so far as these writers did present an ideal picture of England, whether intentionally or unintentionally, they contributed no small part to the development of the "mouvement philosophique," by making the people turn an attentive ear towards England; and consequently they participated in no uncertain way in the formation of that mighty public opinion which was to overturn France. In this way, then, Dr. Kurz's findings may be said to contribute a chapter, by no means unimportant, to the history of "La Philosophie et le Théâtre" in the eighteenth century.

There are one or two faulty details in the book which should not pass unnoticed. For instance, when Mr. Kurz mentions eighteenth century novels characterized by their strong love of nature (p. 121) it is astonishing that he should have omitted *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, though he included *Atala*, which appeared in

[2] Cf. Forsyth, *Novels and Novelists.*
[3] *Lettres Philosophiques*, XIX.
[4] *Le Cosmopolitisme Littéraire*, p. 114.
[5] Cf. Voltaire, *Nanine.*

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1801. Then his argument that Englishmen and Spaniards of that day spoke French without an accent, simply because he finds them using elegant French in these light comedies, seems rather naïve. The typographical errors are remarkably few: (119) Political Psycholoy (for *psychology*): (167) leur sciences (for *science*) les charge; (192) English pays (for *plays*); (303) forcement (for *forcément*).

As to content, Mr. Kurz has amassed an enormous amount of material, having read and analyzed more than 120 plays. It is to be regretted, however, that he did not make more capital out of it by going one step further and inquiring just why eighteenth century French comic writers displayed such great admiration for the English. It is also most unfortunate that the work is not more compact. A considerable part of the material, indeed, seems to have been included only to prove its own uselessness either as an interesting set of documents or as a help to the general thesis.

As to style, while it is true that in this respect the book is not unlike many other doctor's dissertations, still it is deeply to be deplored that good, solid work, worthy of a doctor of philosophy, should be marred by not being presented in uniformly dignified English.

C. F. Zeek, Jr.

Southern Methodist University.

Forschungen zur deutschen Theatergeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, von Max Herrmann. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1914.

This work by Max Herrmann consists of two quite distinct parts, a study in detail of the staging, costuming, and acting on Hans Sachs' stage, and a critical study of the drama illustrations of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. About one hundred and twenty of these are reproduced, a valuable feature of the work, made possible by financial support from the Director General of the Royal Theaters. These two investigations make a book of over five hundred pages with an abundance of interesting conclusions, such an abundance as to discourage detailed review and criticism.

Herrmann's reconstruction of Hans Sachs' stage is only a reconstruction of the stage in the Martha Church, in which his plays

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were performed from 1550 on, and only the plays written in and after this year are used for the reconstruction. The stage directions of these plays are interpreted in terms of the conditions in the church and are fitted to them, to choir, sacristy, pulpit, choir-chair, etc., upon the assumption that Hans Sachs wrote with these conditions especially in mind. But it must be remembered that, in these same years from 1550 on, Sachs' plays were performed also, and apparently quite as often, in the refectory of the Dominican Monastery, a plain rectangular hall with no such conditions as are found in the Martha Church. The city archives inform us definitely that Hans Sachs himself directed performances of his plays here in 1557, and there are reasons for conjecturing that the companies that Hans Sachs himself directed played here more frequently than in the Martha Church. The staging of the plays in these two places, which were for so many years the chief 'theaters' of Nürnberg, may of course have been quite different, but the fact that the refectory stage, whatever its character may have been, would be perfectly possible in the church, while Herrmann's church stage would be quite impossible in the refectory, casts a reasonable doubt upon the rather elaborate and detailed reconstruction of the stage in the Martha Church.

In the study of the costumes Herrmann is able to seek information beyond the scant hints in the stage directions. He studies the medieval costume traditions and shows the probability of their survival to some extent in Hans Sachs' time, especially in his religious plays. He considers carefully the reawakened interest in both native and foreign costumes which developed about this time and resulted in a number of costume books. Some evidence of this interest in foreign costumes Herrmann finds reflected in the Spanish and Turkish costumes which the wardrobe of the Hans Sachs stage apparently contained. In general however the costumes were doubtless the usual costumes of the time for the various classes. Illustrations of some of these, as well as of Turkish and Spanish costumes, are given from the manuscript costume book of Sigismund Heldt, now in the library of the Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum, which had its origin in Nürnberg, probably between 1565 and 1570, and may therefore be assumed to give a pretty faithful picture of the costumes of Hans Sachs' stage.

In the chapter on the art of acting Herrmann goes far afield as usual. He tries to trace the development of this art on the earlier

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medieval stage. He even gives a full but not very fruitful study of the development of gesture in the various kinds of literature and in art from the early Middle Ages on. The bearing of this rather ponderous research upon the acting on Hans Sachs' stage is but slight. It is not for the purpose of supplementing the stage directions, for Herrmann reaches the conclusion (p. 141) that 'except in a few places Sachs' actors are not to make gestures or movements of the body or to give any definite coloring to their speech, unless the stage directions definitely prescribe it.' This seems an extreme conclusion and I do not consider it adequately proved, although there is no doubt that the acting was very declamatory.

The second part of the book, the study of the drama illustrations, concerns itself chiefly with the early editions of Terence, with certain illustrations of living pictures, especially in the Netherlands, and with illustrated editions of Swiss dramas, especially of Gengenbach, Niklas Manuel, Friess, and Ruof. Perhaps the most valuable part of the whole work is Herrmann's careful study of the illustrations of the various early editions of Terence, including the tracing of the ideas underlying the title pictures of the different editions, which regularly represent a total view of a theater. Very interesting also is a series of illustrations of the living pictures in a Brussels procession of the year 1496. It is unfortunate that one of the most important and doubtless the most realistic series of German drama illustrations is not included in this study. These are the illustrations to Johann Rasser's *Spil von kinderzucht,* which appeared in Strassburg in 1574. Five of these may be found reproduced in the *Vorwort* of volume VI of Bolte's edition of the works of Wickram (*Bibl. des Litt. Vereins in Stuttgart,* 236. Bd., 1905), while five more are in an article by Schwabe in Vol. XXX (1912) of *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum etc.* There are also other regrettable omissions in this second part of the work.

Both in the introduction and occasionally in the body of the book Herrmann lays stress upon his work as a concrete example of method, as an attempt at a consistent following out of a line of investigation, one might almost say a line of thought, whithersoever it may lead, into any field of knowledge, however remote, that may throw light upon it, and to whatever results it may lead. It must be admitted that hitherto no one has carried out such an investigation so fully and consistently in the field of the history

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of the early German stage. The first part, that concerning Hans Sachs, leads the author to many positive results, in my opinion at times all too positive. The results of the other investigation are largely negative; little is found in these illustrations that really pictures the early stage and the life on it.

It is greatly to be regretted that an appendix which the work was to have contained had to be omitted to keep the book within reasonable size. The appendix was to give the results of a collation of the Hans Sachs manuscripts with the printed text with reference to the stage directions, the variants of which are given only very incompletely in the Keller-Goetze edition. Herrmann's preface contains the generous promise to put this unpublished material in the manuscript division of the Berlin Royal Library for the use of any one interested.

Neil C. Brooks.

University of Illinois.

CORRESPONDENCE

A Note on *Paradise Lost IX*

An illustration of the truth of at least a part of the assertion that most people believe in the Gospel according to Bunyan and in the Old Testament according to Milton is furnished by the persistence of the tradition of the seduction of Eve by Satan in the guise of a serpent, who during their colloquy stood on his tail. This tradition is Miltonic, rather than Scriptural:

> So spake the enemy of mankind, enclosed
> In serpent, inmate bad, and toward Eve
> Addressed his way—not with indented wave,
> Prone on the ground, as since, but on his rear,
> Circular base of rising folds, that towered
> Fold above fold, a surging maze; his head
> Crested aloft, and carbuncle his eyes;
> With burnished neck of verdant gold, erect
> Amidst his circling spires, that on the grass
> Floated redundant.—*P. L.*, IX, 494 ff.

For thus representing Eve's tempter as possessed of the devil, or in his downsittings or his uprisings as other than an ordinary reptile, *Genesis* affords no justification. Here the tempter is described merely as "subtlest of the beasts of the field."[1]

The ascription of extreme subtlety to the serpent is universal

[1] The traditional wisdom of the serpent had become proverbial by the time of Jesus (*Matt.* x, 16). The saying is quoted as a proverb in the apocryphal *Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp*, I, 8.

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among primitive peoples, and accounts for its association among both the Greeks and the Hebrews with the art of healing. The statue of Aesculapius at Epidaurus represented the god of healing as seated on a throne, holding in one hand a staff with a serpent coiled around it, the other hand resting upon the head of a snake (Paus., II, 27, 2).[2] A striking Hebrew analogy is furnished by the story of Moses's lifting up the serpent in the wilderness (*Num.* XXI, 8-9). Such a reputation for craftiness, rather than for diabolical possession, accounts for the Hebrew author's objectifying the temptation of Eve as a serpent.

Tho the popular identification of the serpent of *Genesis* with Satan is Miltonic rather than Scriptural, it did not originate with Milton. It certainly is as old as the apocryphal *Wisdom of Solomon*, written in the first century B. C., where we read (II, 24), "By the envy of the devil death entered into the world." In the following century the tradition was continued by the authors of the apocryphal New Testament. The author of the *First Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus Christ*, for example, affirms it;[3] and thru these apocryphal gospels it passed into the thought of the Church Fathers.[4] Thus St. Augustine lent to the support of the tradition the great weight of his authority, saying in his *De Civitate Dei* (XIV, xi, 2) concerning Satan, "That proud and envious angel ... chose the serpent, because being slippery and moving in tortuous windings, it was suitable for his purposes."

Nor is the erect attitude of the serpent of the epic, tho unscriptural, without precedent in secular literature. In Aristotle's *History of Animals* (Bk. VIII, iv, 6), we find this amazing bit of unnatural natural history:

> "The serpent swallows any food it can find, for it will eat both birds and beasts, and suck eggs. When it has taken its food, it draws itself up, till it stands erect upon its tail (*ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον*.) It then gathers itself up and contracts itself a little, so that when stretched out, the animal it has swallowed may descend in its stomach. It does this because its Œsophagus is long and thin."

With the work of St. Augustine and of Aristotle Milton was entirely familiar. In the posthumous treatise on *Christian Doctrine* (Lib. I. Cap. VII) he mentions St. Augustine, referring with approval to his belief regarding the creation of souls.[5] Though

[2] The thirteenth constellation *ὀφιοῦχος*, "The Serpent-Holder," was identified as Aesculapius, Ovid, *Fast.*, VI, 735. To the Greeks the serpent was a symbol of prudence, of rejuvenescence, and of prophecy.

[3] Possible even earlier is the reference in the *Book of Enoch* (696).

[4] The relations of the apocryphal gospels were credited by many of the earlier fathers. The Gospels above referred to is quoted by Eusebius, Athanasius, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, and others.

[5] Milton's belief here stated "that souls are propagated from father to son in the natural order" is an echo of St. Augustine's assertion (*De Anima*, Lib. I, Cap. XIX, 55), "Animarum autem novarum sine propagine insufflationem, defendi quidem minime prohibemus," and of *De Civitate Dei*, Lib. XII, Cap. XX, 3.

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he specifically mentions him but once, he evidently had read his works exhaustively, as numerous correspondences amply prove. Milton's identification of the pagan gods with the rebel angels, to mention but a single example he owed to St. Augustine who in the *De Civitate Dei* (Lib. VI and VII) argues at length for such an identification.[6] Tho Milton nowhere mentions the *History of Animals,* he mentions Aristotle six times in his prose writings, and in terms that imply a careful reading. Of these references five are to the political treatises, while the other is to Aristotle's work on the general principles of natural science (*Physica Auscultatio,* Lib. VIII, Cap. I).

While denying the Scriptural authority for Milton's identification of the serpent of "the Fall" with Satan, and for the serpent's attitude as described in the epic, we must admit that neither is unprecedented nor without a venerable antiquity.[7]

EDWARD CHAUNCEY BALDWIN.

University of Illinois.

NOTES ON THOMAS DELONEY

A curious error in Mr. F. O. Mann's valuable edition of the *Works of Thomas Deloney* (Oxford, 1912) has not, I think, been noted. On page vii Mr. Mann remarks that Deloney "appears to have drifted into literature from the more substantial occupation of silk-weaving, and his novels show the most intimate acquaintance with London life, but Nash's epithet 'the Balletting Silke Weauer of Norwich' seems to point to that town as the place of his birth, and it is significant that one of his earliest ballads—*The Lamentation of Beckles* (1586)—was printed 'for Nicholas Coleman of Norwich.'" He refers to *Have With You to Saffron Walden,* in R. B. McKerrow's edition of Nashe's *Works* (III. 84); and on a later page (xii) gives what purports to be Nashe's words: "Thomas Deloney, the Balletting Silke-Weauer, of Norwich, hath rime inough for all myracles."

As a matter of fact the quotation should read, "Thomas Deloney, the Balletting Silke-weauer, hath rime inough for all myracles." Nashe nowhere says that Deloney was from Norwich. Mr. Mann

[6] The idea is really much older than St. Augustine. Justin Martyr makes a similar assertion in his *First Apology for the Christians* (Chap. V). Its last appearance in a theological treatise is in Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* (Bk. I, Chap. 4). "These wicked spirits," says Hooker, "the heathen honoured instead of gods, both generally under the name of Dii Inferi, gods infernal: and particularly, some in oracles, some in idols. . . ."

[7] I must beg leave to refer to the manner in which one of the earliest scholars of England handles the tradition here discussed. Alcuin's words may be read in Ælfric's translation of the *Interrogationes Sigewulfi Presbyteri in Genesin, Anglia* VII, 24-26; Alfred Tessmann's dissertation (1891), p. 30. J. W. B.

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seems inadvertently to have followed J. W. Ebsworth, who in his *Dictionary of National Biography* sketch of Deloney declares that in *Have With You* Nashe wrote: "Thomas Deloney, the balleting silke-weaver of Norwich, hath rime inough for all myracles." This statement was also repeated by Richard Sievers (*Thomas Deloney*, Palaestra, XXXVI, 1) and was evidently accepted as true by Professor Lange (*Gentle Craft*, Palaestra, XVIII, viii-ix).

The argument Mr. Mann builds on this misquotation for Deloney's residence at Norwich and for his Flemish or Walloon ancestry is, it would appear, untenable. There is little significance in the fact that Deloney's *Lamentation of Beckles* was printed for Nicholas Coleman of Norwich. Another ballad with almost exactly the same title as Deloney's and with exactly the same colophon ("At London: Imprinted by Robert Robinson, for Nicholas Colman of Norwich, dwelling in S. Andrewes Church Yarde") was written by D. Sterrie, and is still preserved in the British Museum.[1] Coleman himself licensed one of these ballads—it is impossible to tell which—at Stationers' Hall;[2] and without doubt had simply commissioned Deloney and Sterrie to write them. All the evidence goes to show that in 1586 and for a number of years after, the ten or eleven stationers outside of London did not print ballads but merely sold those furnished to them by London printers. It would have been quite natural for a Norwich printer to order a ballad on a subject that he wanted exploited from a prominent London balladist like Deloney.

J. H. Dixon, editing the *Garland of Good Will* (Percy Society, XXX, vi) wrote: "The elegant and classic Drayton, in an allusion to [Deloney's] 'rhyme,' designates it 'full of state and pleasing.'" Ebsworth repeats this (*D. N. B.*). Neither supports the statement with a reference, but after much searching one will find in *The Legend of Matilda*[3] this passage:

> Bright *Rosamond* so highly that is graced,
> Inroled in the register of fame,
> That in our saincted kalender is placed,
> By him who striues to stellifie her name;
> Yet will the modest say she was too blame,
> Though full of state and pleasing be his rime,
> Yet can his skill not expiate her crime.

This cannot possibly refer to Deloney. Few persons—certainly no poet—would call Deloney's ballad of *Rosamond* either full of state or pleasing; and Drayton held ballads in especial abomination. Sufficient proof of that is his slur at Elderton, a far more famous ballad-writer than Deloney, in his epistle "To Henery Reynolds."[4] Drayton was undoubtedly referring either to the treatment of Rosamond in Warner's *Albion's England* or, more probably, in Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond*.

[1] It is reprinted in Lilly's *Collection of 79 Ballads*, p. 78.
[2] On December 13, 1586 (Arber's *Transcript*, II, 461).
[3] *Poems*, 1605, Spenser Society ed., Pt. II, p. 447.
[4] *Minor Poems*, ed. C. Brett, Oxford, 1907, p. 109.

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In Bishop Hall's *Satires*[5] occurs a passage ridiculing a "drunken rimer" who

> sends forth thraues of Ballads to the sale.
> Nor then can rest: but volumes vp bodg'd rimes,
> To haue his name talk't of in future times,

which has been interpreted by Warton, Ritson, Collier, Grosart, and everybody else who has commented on the passage as an allusion to Elderton. Elderton, however, while notoriously a drunkard, volumed up no rimes, whether bodged or not. On the other hand, Deloney's *Garland of Good Will* seems to have been published in 1592/3,[6] and was certainly well known in 1596, the time at which Hall was probably writing. Accordingly, if Hall had any definite balladist in mind, it was Deloney. Elderton, furthermore, had died in or before 1592.

As allusions to Deloney are extremely hard to find, it seems worth while to add that the *Garland of Good Will* is slightingly referred to in R. B.'s *Whimzies* (1631)[7] and that the following interesting notice of the *Gentle Craft* was printed among Sir John Harington's *Epigrams:*[8]

> 11 *Of a Booke called the Gentle Craft.*
> I Past this other day throvv *Pauls* Church-yard,
> I heard some reade a booke, and reading laught.
> The title of the booke was Gentle Craft.
> But when I markt the matter with regard,
> A nevv-sprung branch that in my mind did graft,
> And thus I said, Sirs, scorne not him that writ it:
> A gilded blade hath oft a dudgen haft,
> And well I see, this Writer roues a shaft
> Neere fairest marke, yet happily not hit it,
> For neuer was the like booke sold in Poules,
> If so with Gentle Craft it could perswade
> Great Princes midst their pompe to learne a trade,
> Once in their liues to worke, to mend their soules.

The *Gentle Craft* was licensed for publication on October 19, 1597,[9] and Harington's verses have some importance as helping to establish the date at which he wrote the *Epigrams*. Deloney did not live to read and be flattered by this notice from a genteel writer; nor has the connection of the passage with his novel been pointed out before.[10]

HYDER E. ROLLINS.

Cambridge, Mass.

[5] Bk. IV, Sat. 6 (*Poems*, ed. A. B. Grosart, p. 131).
[6] Arber's *Transcript*, II, 627 (March 5, 1592/3).
[7] No. 2, "A Ballad-Monger."
[8] Bk. IV, No. 11 (1633 ed., added to his *Orlando Furioso*, 1634, sig, R r 4).
[9] Arber's *Transcript*, III, 93.
[10] Since these notes were written, the collection of essays published by the Oxford University Press as *Shakespeare's England* has appeared. I note that Professor C. H. Firth, in his essay on "Ballads and Broadsides" (II, 512, 513), makes these statements about Deloney: "Nashe terms him 'the ballading silkweaver of Norwich,'" "Drayton found his style 'full of state and pleasing'"!

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Matthew Arnold's *The Church of Brou*

It seems not to have been noticed that the third section of Matthew Arnold's *The Church of Brou* reposes upon a page of Edgar Quinet's essay, *Les Arts de la Renaissance, et de l'Église de Brou,* written in 1834. Some of the best lines of Arnold's poem evidently derive from the following sentences:

"C'est de cette heure seulement que commence pour elle le vrai mariage dans son duché éternel, alors que les fanfares ne sonnent plus pour la chasse, que son époux sur son cheval fougueux ne poursuit plus jamais le sanglier dans la forêt, et qu'elle ne l'attend plus en vain jusqu'à la nuit, en sanglotant à la fenêtre de sa tour. . . . Les voilà qui dorment leur sommeil de marbre. Qui pourrait raconter leurs songes plus blancs que l'albâtre des tombeaux! Quand leurs froides paupières se soulèvent, ils voient les arceaux sur leurs têtes, la lumière transfigurée des vitraux, la Vierge et les saints immobiles à leurs places; et ils pensent en eux-mêmes: C'est ici l'éternité. . . . Quand le vent fait gémir les portes, ils murmurent entre eux: Qu'avez-vous, mon âme, pour soupirer si haut? et quand la pluie creuse le toit sur leurs têtes, ils se disent: Entendez-vous aussi sur votre dais la pluie de l'éternel amour?"

Albert S. Cook.

Yale University.

BRIEF MENTION

The Technic of Versification: Notes and Illustrations, by William Odling (Oxford, Parker & Co., 1916). A Professor of Natural Science, appealing to the example set by his "late eminent colleague and long-while personal friend, Professor J. J. Sylvester," has ventured, by way of recreation for old age, to put pen to paper on a subject that has from an early day been a matter of interest to him. Believing that readers of poetry are not well supplied with encouraging means to become familiar with the art of versification, he hopes to persuade them of the truth of Poe's statement that "in fact the subject is exceedingly simple." If the subject be simple, "exceedingly simple," it must be possible for one not technically equipped for the task to supply "a sufficiently full and particularized setting forth of the Technic of Versification, to afford him [the general reader] some measure of information and of satisfaction with regard to it." This mode of reasoning would be promptly rejected, if applied to any other of the fine arts. Is it valid for versification, with technicalities that are intimately bound up with the essential principles of the supreme art of poetry?

The art of poetry is closely allied to the art of vernacular speech, and it follows that a refined sense for the latter should lead to a

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quick perception of the former; and both the practiced art and the unpracticed but appreciated art should prepare the mind for instruction in the principles governing each. The ordinary experience of acquiring one's vernacular, aided by the grammar of the school-room, does not, however, fit one for a technical explanation of approved usage. Even a skilful French writer, for example, would be unfitted, except by special historic and analytic study, to explain his vernacular use of the article. That is a profound chapter in the philosophic grammar of his language, but he may not trouble himself about it. Nor does the mere appreciation of the effects of rhythmically measured language, assisted by the traditional school-room knowledge of the elements of versification, equip one for an authoritative handling of the subject. So too, to complete the obvious parallelism, the poets conform to and establish conventionalities in the artistic use of language in accordance with a refined perception of the rhythmic permissibilities of their vernacular, and not in obedience to a technical or thoroly scientific familiarity with the more recondite facts concerning their language. It is the character of too many treatises on versification that justifies insistent repetition of the plain truth that the art of versification is based on the laws and conventionalities of the language employed, which, to be accurately understood, must be inquired into by the processes of accurate study.

Mr. Odling's sub-title, "Notes and Illustrations," describes the plan of the book. The first part consists of "Notes," in which the usual description of the externalities of the art is traversed, but not without some less usual observations of importance. His style of writing is, however, unattractive, even reprehensible. To read a treatise composed after the manner of a synoptical enumeration, in which the construction of the independent nominative is used exclusively, is a task that presupposes a degree of sustained interest in excess of what may be normally demanded of the elementary student or of the general reader. A paragraph may be cited. It will be observed, in slight extenuation of the judgment just expressed, that Mr. Odling has no little skill in his method. Under the heading of "Essentials of Verse" he writes: "Recognizability for the most part of even a single isolated line as being not a short line of prose, but a line of verse—that is to say, as being itself a verse. Such recognizability dependent *mainly* on modes of expression—however indefinable—specially characteristic of verse. But further than this, even quite commonplace lines of verse distinguishable from lines of prose by the two conditions of strictly curtailed length and regular sequence of stress" (p. 21).

In the second and larger part of the book (pp. 31-90), Mr. Odling displays his "Illustrations" of the various forms and combinations of lines. The cited passages are marked off into component 'feet' by spaces and bars that give the matter a resemblance to an accountant's columns of figures. The unattractive page is, how-

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ever, a picture of the essential features of Mr. Odling's main contention. He is most specifically concerned with the pauses by which he would mark off the 'feet' of a line, with the pauses that must show the determinative length of a line, and secondarily with the pauses denoted by punctuation. But his columns of 'feet' are sometimes wrongly composed. For example, the rhythm of the alternate lines of Shelley's *When the lamp is shattered* is thus misrepresented: "The light in | the dúst | lies déad;" "The rainbow's | glory | is shed;" "Sweet tones are | remem- | ber'd not;" "Lov'd accents | are soon | forgot" (p. 63). Mr. Odling has recalled from merited banishment the amphibrach. His ample illustrations of the assumed use of this impossible rhythmic unit are, of course, all incorrectly scanned.

Mr. Odling, with but minor vacillation, adheres to 'rontine-scansion,' or, as it may be expressed, scansion according to the rhythmic signature. This is his chief merit. That this is the true method of scansion should, however, be shown by a discussion of the character of the rhythmic elements of the language,—a technical matter, which would be more than appropriate in a work entitled *The Technic of Versification*.

J. W. B.

Casas Cervantinos que tocan a Valladolid, por Narciso Alonso Cortés. Madrid, 1916 (Junta para ampliación de Estndios e investigaciones científicas Centro de Estudios históricos). In this work Sr. Cortés, whose investigations in the archives of Valladolid have brough to light so much important information concerning the lives of Spanish men of letters, has made a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the family of Cervantes. It is especially interesting for the new data it furnishes in regard to the licentiate Juan de Cervantes, the grandfather of the author of *Don Quixote*. Sr. Cortés thinks that, until the contrary be demonstrated, "en Talavera estaba el solar de Miguel de Cervantes," and that the branch from which he descended had settled in Seville before 1488. The author also thinks it quite probable that Cervantes may have taken the name Saavedra from the Saavedras of Seville. From Seville the ancestors of Cervantes went to Córdoba, where we find his great-grandfather "el bachiller Rodrigo de Cervantes" in 1488. Here Rodrigo married Doña Catalina de Cabrera, and here probably the licentiate Juan de Cervantes married Leonor de Torreblanca. This marriage took place in 1505 or earlier. About this time the family must have moved to Alcalá de Henares, of which Juan de Cervantes was *corregidor* in 1509. In 1528 we find him, as "oidor del Consejo del duque del Infantado," living in Guadalajara with his four children: Juan, Rodrigo (father of Miguel), doña María and Andrés.

The story of these days, the relations of doña María with the archdeacon of Guadalajara and Talavera, D. Martín de Mendoza, and the *pleito delicado* which followed, are not very edifying read-

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ing. Speaking of Da. Magdalena de Cervantes, sister of the author of *Don Quixote*, Sr. Cortés observes: "Como casi todas las mujeres de esta misteriosa familia,—no hay por qué ocultarlo,—ofrece en su vida episodios sobradamente sospechosos." The book contains much other matter of importance concerning personages more or less closely connected with Cervantes and his works, and worthily supplements the publications of Pérez Pastor and Rodríguez Marín.

H. A. R.

Morte Arthure, mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Glossar, hrsg. von Erik Björkman (Alt- und Mittelenglische Texte, hrsg. von L. Morsbach und F. Holthausen. Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1915). The Middle English alliterative *Morte Arthure*, which is preserved in the unique Thornton MS. of the Lincoln Cathedral Library, has been edited several times before but never so well as in this edition by Professor Björkman. Here is supplied a complete critical apparatus—introduction, notes, and glossary—to say nothing of an abstract of the story of the poem. As is well known, the vocabulary of the *Morte Arthure* presents many problems of difficulty, and it is perhaps from this point of view that the present edition marks the greatest advance upon its predecessors. The labor which Professor Björkman has expended on this side of his work is apparent not only in his excellent glossary, but in the numerous discussions of rare and difficult words in his notes. The annotations, however, on textual and other questions are also much more numerous than in the previous editions, and they exhibit the qualities of succinctness and accuracy, which distinguish all the editor's work.

As regards the subjects dealt with in the introduction, it should be observed that Professor Björkman rejects the ascription of the *Morte Arthure* to Huchown. He accepts apparently the English origin of the poem. Doubtless owing to the plan of the series in which this edition is published, he gives us no discussion of the interesting problem of the source of the romance. He expresses his approval, however, of Imelmann's conclusions on this head, which nowadays no one will be inclined to dispute, namely, that the source in question is ultimately a French expanded version of Wace's *Brut*. Perhaps the poet's immediate original was a modification of this expanded version.

J. D. B.

Snorri Sturluson's triad of poetic apprenticeship has never been completely done into English. Bishop Percy, G. W. Dasent, of *Njáls Saga* fame, R. B. Anderson, I. A. Blackwell, and S. Laing rendered only parts of it, preferably the *Gylfaginning*. The latest translation, A. G. Brodeur's *Prose Edda* (Publ. of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, New York, 1916, xxii + 266 pp.), is also still incomplete. The *Gylfaginning*, that treasure-house of

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Odinic cosmogony (a Danish translation of which, by Finnur Jónsson, 1902, seems to have escaped Dr. Brodeur's attention), and the *Skáldskaparmál,* the book of scaldic lore, are printed in a combination of careful work and attractive type, but the *Háttatál,* Snorri's *Clavis Metrica,* has again received a step-motherly treatment. It would have been especially praiseworthy to present its paraphrase of *Kenningar,* because the technical nature of the latter militates against their accessibility.

Critical probes and comparison with the Old Norse text prove the translation to be far superior to Anderson's, which has thus far been the best version. Translating the Eddic literature cannot be considered a matter of routine readiness. Wilhelm von Humboldt held that there was no golden medium between violating an original and outraging the vernacular. But then a perfect translation would be the original itself, and we can demand no more than that the translator conform to a reasonable extent to the genius of both languages. Dr. Brodeur's version, clear-cut and terse, happily avoids the enticing possibility of the paraphrase and sentence-completion so characteristic of the earlier translators. With a material which cannot, by its very nature, avoid the 'fatal impression' of translation, he has done well. A deeper study of the reciprocal relations of rhythm and exactness of meaning in the poetical insertions would, however, have improved his work.

The mechanical appearance of the book is a pleasure to the eye. The Foundation should by all means encourage the translation, preferably a collaboration of several scholars, of the *Elder Edda* as well. Vigfússon and Powell's version is in prose; Thorpe's is not composed in alliterative verse; and Miss Bray's is both incomplete and ambiguous for the sake of literary effect.

A. G.

Walter C. Bronson's *American Prose* (University of Chicago Press, 1916) is a companion volume to his *American Poems.* The two books constitute the most comprehensive and serviceable anthology available for college courses in American literature. Nearly one-third of the closely printed text of the *Prose* is given to the colonial and revolutionary periods. Such emphasis upon the early writers, most of whom have little significance for literature, is justified by their historical importance and by the fact that the originals are mostly inaccessible to students. Works in the nineteenth century are restricted to the period ending with the close of the Civil War. They include, in speeches by Calhoun, Webster, and Lincoln, a representation of American oratory in the fifties. A valuable feature of the notes is the inclusion of generous excerpts from contemporary criticism of the works selected. It is unfortunate that a desire to give complete works should have led to the omission of so important a writer as Charles Brockden Brown.

J. C. F.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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PRÉCIOSITÉ AFTER THE 17TH CENTURY

The true history of *préciosité*, when finally written, will discount the efforts of patriots to pin on some neighboring nation the responsibility for what has been a periodically fashionable indisposition. A seeking of causes rather than of material for recrimination would have made for a more equable literary temperature in Spain, Italy, England, France, whenever Gongorism, Marinism, Euphuism, *préciosité* came under discussion. It would, likewise, have saved the critical reputation of some worthy literary figures from a slight amount of unnecessary strain. It would, for instance, have spared somewhat Ménage's authority as an observer of *préciosité*,[1] done no harm to Chapelain's standing as a student of medieval French,[2] and obviated an excusable inaccuracy on the part of Professor Tinker.[3]

A brief inquiry made elsewhere[4] has indicated the existence of mature *préciosité* long before the 17th century. To point out that,

[1] *Ménagiana*, II, pp. 65-66: " . . . dès cette première Représentation (of the *Préc. Rid.*, Nov. 18, 1659) l'on revint du galimatias, & du style forcé."

[2] Chapelain, *De la Lecture des Vieux Romans*, MDCCXXVIII, pp. 328-329: " Premièrement, la manière de converser entre ces chevaliers et ces Dames, c'est-à-dire, selon ma supposition, celle du tems où ce Livre (*Lancelot*) fut écrit, étoit *simple & naïve, sans gentillesse et sans agrément*, mais de bon sens, claire, & laconique à ne rien dire que de nécessaire, & à dire tout ce qu'il falloit, *morata* plutôt qu'*urbana*, telle à peu près que celle des Romains du tems de Numa, en un mot peu galante et fort solide."

[3] Tinker, *The Salon and English Letters*, 1915, p. 29: " It is no less true that the women of the salons were not permanently *précieuses ridicules*. Preciosity had its day; it did its work (which was by no means contemptible); and it was laughed out of existence. There were no *précieuses* in 1750."

[4] *Recurrent Préciosité*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXI, p. 129.

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in spite of Molière and Boileau, *préciosité* has had an uninterrupted and fruitful career between the age of Louis XIV and our day may prove not uninteresting to those who see in the affectation something much more vital than a fancy bred in the Hôtel de Rambouillet and passing away with that "cour choisie," as Fléchier calls it.

The words *précieux, précieuse, préciosité* are applied so frequently by French writers to the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries that no doubt can be entertained as to the capability of the disease to survive strong hostile treatment. M. Bastide, for example, finds in the style of Pierre Coste "au début du XVIIIe. siècle, comme un *dernier* et faible écho de l'Hôtel de Rambouillet et de la société des précieuses," and rightly terms touching the attempts of Mlle Suson de Brun to imitate this style, which had greatly impressed her.[5] Voltaire scorns as "trop précieux pour lui" the society at the Marquise de Lambert's salon.[6] None too complimentary to the Marquise Céliante, "cette petite précieuse," is the maid in Poinsinet's *Cercle* (1764).[7] The *précieux* phrases of La Motte in the 18th century differ in nothing from the circumlocutions of the 17th century *précieuses*.[8] Having developed an individual method of expression, Marivaux, whose name became almost synonymous with *préciosité*, was doomed to hear "Fontenelle l'excuser de son style précieux,"[9] and, what was probably more galling, to suffer Prévost's "croirait-on qu'il fût possible de faire l'apologie du style précieux?"[10] But Marivaux did not invent his mannerism: "Il avait pour autorités La Bruyère quelquefois, Dufresny et Hamilton souvent, Fontenelle presque toujours."[11] At the end of the 17th century, characterized by a rejuvenation of fine writing and refined speaking, the affectation appears in the most eloquent ser-

[5] Bastide, *Anglais et Français du XVIIe. Siècle*, 1912, p. 318.

[6] Mary Summer (Mme Charlotte Filon Foucaux), *Quelques Salons de Paris au XVIIIe. Siècle*, 1898, p. 20.

[7] Poinsinet, *Le Cercle, ou La Soirée à la Mode*, in *Répertoire général du Théâtre Français*, vol. XII, MDCCCXVIII, p. 228.

[8] Livet, *Dict. des Préc., préf.* pp. xxxi-xxxii: e. g., *l'oracle roulant du destin* for *un dé à jouer, les chambres garnies* for *l'hypocrisie des gens au doux parler, le suisse d'un jardin* for *une haie.*

[9] Fleury, *Marivaux et le Marivaudage*, 1881, p. 241.

[10] Brunetière, *Études Critiques*, 3e série, 1904, p. 173.

[11] Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

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mons of Massillon; and that it must have had a tremendous vogue in the early part of the succeeding century, its presence in Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* and *L'Esprit des Lois* [12] and Le Sage's stinging persecution of the contemporary *précieuses* demonstrate with sufficient force.

The best as well as the worst underwent contamination. Even the most celebrated poets of the nineteenth century were not exempt from the malady, though, in the opinion of so many historians and critics, the plague had long before been utterly stamped out. Among others, Victor Hugo was peculiarly susceptible to it, and Barat is correct in commenting thus on his poem, *A Mes Odes:* "C'est joli, mais précieux plutôt que pittoresque; tout le monde d'ailleurs est précieux de 1823 à 1826." [13] Musset, though rarely, is occasionally guilty of rather flagrant *préciosité:* [14] and as for Théophile Gautier, he espoused its cause fearlessly and with warmth.[15] More recently, in the words of Gustave Kahn, Huysmans "enseignait la préciosité, et tentait à dire rien avec pittoresque," [16] and Saint-Pol Roux combined, frequently to excess, the characteristics of both the *précieux* and the Gongorist.[17]

Without any question, Voltaire saw the thing in the right light in his own day when he declared that the style of the *précieuses* had been revived because of the ambition to shine,—though that single reason would not explain the entire subsequent course of *préciosité.* The hankering for invidious distinction seems, in all countries, to have been the opening wedge for *préciosité,* affecting manners as well as speech.[18] The noblemen who, in the sixteenth century, innovated in language by means of such phrases as *j'allons, je ferions,*[19]—and thereby did a fairly permanent injury

[12] Brunetière, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[13] Barat, *Le Style Poétique et la Révolution Romantique*, 1904, p. 115.

[14] Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

[15] Du Camp, *Théophile Gautier*, 1895, p. 100: " . . . il estimait le précieux et ne s'en cachait pas: 'La préciosité, cette belle fleur française qui s'épanouit si bien dans les parterres à compartiments des jardins de la vieille école, et que Molière a si méchamment foulée aux pieds dans je ne sais plus quelle immortelle mauvaise petite pièce.'"

[16] Kahn, *Symbolistes et Décadents*, 1902, p. 35.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 323.

[18] Cf. the dictionary definition of *préciosité:* "Affectation dans les manières, dans le langage . . ." (*Petit Larousse*).

[19] Diancourt, *Atlas litt. de la France*, 1878, p. 90.

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to the grammatical purity of the speech of many rustic communities,—were inspired by motives similar to those which, in the process of time, furnished the *précieuses* with a highly variegated repertory and enlarged the conception of *préciosité*.

It was to be expected that the men and women who favored unusual practices in language should be members of a select, exclusive group in either a social or a literary sense. This fact, not so clear in the seventeenth century, because so many historians have beclouded the premises, is evident in later periods. It can be seen that the people of the salons in the eighteenth century were the *précieux* of whom we hear, and that they formed a close corporation which influenced language and style very definitely. There is practically no escape from the conclusion that Marivaux's mannerisms are the mannerisms of the coterie to which he belonged.[20] This group, restricted at first, attracted imitators through its social and literary powers, again put *préciosité* on the boards,[21] and once more drew a line between the elect and the herd. De Pure's definition of *précieuse* (1656) applies anew.[22] In recent years the principle of exclusivism for literary purposes has been reiterated, especially among the Symbolists.[23]

Naturally, one of the first results of this self-inflicted exclusiveness has been the formation of a "finer" language. To talk like everybody else was to be commonplace. It was in order to

[20] Brunetière, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128.

[21] Cf. Mary Summer, *op. cit.*, p. 213: "Enfin, dans la précieuse Araminte, (in Poinsinet's *Cercle*, 1764) chacun voulait voir le portrait frappant de la maîtresse du logis. Cette satire mordante, qui fut représentée au Théâtre Français, décida de la vogue du salon de Mme de Beauharnais: on était curieux de juger *de visu* ce qui avait soulevé tant de railleries."

[22] Roederer, *Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire de la Société Polie en France*, MDCCCXXXV, p. 136: "Aussi de Pure dit-il dans ce même roman, publié en 1656, que le mot de précieuse est un *mot du temps*, un *mot à la mode*, qui a cours aujourd'hui comme autrefois celui de prude ou de feuillantine, et qui s'applique à certaines personnes du beau sexe *qui ont su se tirer du prix commun*, et ont acquis une espèce et un rang tout particulier. Elles sont, dit-il, une secte nouvelle."

[23] Cf. Kahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 and 42; Beaunier, *La Poésie nouvelle, MCMII*, p. 90 (where mention is made of Laforgue's dictum, "Pour éloigner le bourgeois, . . . se cuirasser d'un peu de fumisme extérieur . . ."), and p. 241 (concerning Viélé-Griffin's refusal to "reconnaître à 'tous les épiciers' le droit de contempler, dimanches et fêtes, la Vénus!").

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evade this stigma that Marivaux indulged in his fine-spun verbiage and in his pretentious metaphors.[24] Just as ordinary expressions were esteemed vulgar in the seventeenth century, so, in the eighteenth, such words as *cruche, choux, foin, pois, noisette, couloir, claie,* were declared taboo in some gatherings;[25] and when, in the nineteenth, Rimbaud's sonnet on the vowels is interpreted by the young Symbolists, or Moréas explains the need of "impollués vocables, la période qui s'arcboute," [26] and the like, or Laforgue speaks his own particular dialect, some very peculiar and almost unintelligible language ensues.[27] To such an extent were plain, familiar words excruciating at times to the more sensitive natures among the women and the poets that even Julie de Lespinasse, the *grande amoureuse,* a woman of acumen and solid qualities, nearly fainted at Buffon's "c'est une autre paire de manches."[28] In Saurin's *Les Mœurs du Temps* (1760) the Countess cries: "Eh! fi! monsieur, c'est un plaisir ignoble. Le soleil n'est fait que pour le peuple."[29] With an avowedly deep purpose,—which can be accepted without too great a reduction,—Gustave Kahn and Stuart Merrill shun every-day words, stringing together rare terms, meaningful for themselves, and perhaps for themselves only.[30] The atmosphere in which they live is an upper, ethereal region. An extension of this reaction to "higher" influences placed good, robust health, in the days of Mme du Deffand (who lived to the age of eighty-three years), among the vulgar, indelicate incidents of life.[31] The acute sensibilities of well-bred ladies required indulgence in hysterics and other nervous fits on notable occasions, as when august literary lions like Laharpe and Mar-

[24] Cf. Brunetière, *op. cit.*, pp. 172 and 273.

[25] Mornet, *Le Romantisme en France au XVIIIe. Siècle,* 1912, p. 238: These "et d'autres rusticités se trouvent dans la traduction de Gessner par Huber . . .; mais Huber s'en excuse, et Clément de Dijon s'en indigne. On peut traduire Homère, mais on ne doit pas l'avilir."

[26] Cf. Moréas, *Prem. Armes du Symbolisme,* 1889, p. 34.

[27] Cf. Beaunier, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 83, 141.

[28] Mary Summer, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.

[29] Saurin, *Les Mœurs du Temps,* in *Répertoire Général du Théâtre Français,* vol. XII, MDCCCXVIII, pp. 188-189.

[30] Beaunier, *op. cit.*, pp. 317-318.

[31] Mary Summer, *op. cit.*, p. 65: "Elle (Septimanie d'Egmont) a mis aussi à la mode les vapeurs, les attaques de nerfs, les évanouissements, tout l'arsenal des coquettes pour conquérir et attendrir."

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montel recited their extraordinary compositions in some drawing-room. Acquainted with the requirements of true decorum, Lisette, in the *Cercle*, affirms: "Vraiment, c'est que vous ignorez encore, mademoiselle, que rien n'est moins décent, dans le grand monde, que de jouir d'une santé parfaite . . ." [32] She might have added that a sturdy physical constitution was incompatible with the ability to appreciate beauty or to enjoy culture. Delicacy, fragility, extreme sensitiveness,—which were not nearly so much the rule in actuality as they are in the paintings of the period,—most readily gained invidious distinction for those who seemed to have them.

Later it was, indeed, "une autre paire de manches." The *précieux* fashion had changed. In 1845 bagnio types and slang were the fad among the Four Hundred.[33] By 1866 *argot* had become firmly intrenched in sections of French society. Villars found it worth while to play Molière to his fellow-Parisians in *Les Précieuses du Jour*,[34]—though so faithfully as to render his play almost illegible to us today,[35]— and Sardou included specimens of the new and hardier *préciosité* in his *Famille Benoiton*. The mode owed much to the English turf, to English *high life*, to English military men, and to the seamy side of the English stage,[36] just as the *précieux* mode of Lilly's and Voiture's epoch had leaned on the languishing and pretty proceedings in Italian drawing-rooms; just as the enthusiasm for things English in the eighteenth century dominated not the speech alone of French society and literature, but even the architecture and the household arrangements.

[32] Poinsinet, *Cercle*, p. 220.

[33] Diancourt, *Atlas litt.*, p. 129.

[34] Villars, *Les Précieuses du Jour*, 1866, pp. 9-10: "Je l'ai dit et je le répète, mes Précieuses sont sorties toutes armées de la grossièreté du langage moderne, comme celles de Molière naquirent du langage alambiqué de l'hôtel Rambouillet."

[35] Cf. Larroumet, *Ét. de litt. et d'art*, 1893, pp. 29-30.

[36] An example of the English influence: Villars, *Les Préc. du Jour*, p. 22: "Marthe, *câlinant le général*. Bon! . . . la soupe au lait qui monte . . . ça va renverser! . . . Voyons, tonton chéri . . . Zizine a raison . . . je crois qu'ils voulaient nous faire poser . . . et puis, ils ne sont pas drôles ces pèlerins-là, ils ne parlent ni worth, ni sport, ni turf, ni box, ni bock, ni boock, ni match, ni pick, ni pic, ni ring, ni stik, ni stock . . . Sont-ils seulement éleveurs, coureurs, entraîneurs, cricketteurs, highlifeurs?"

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The history of the variations in *préciosité* shows that what is *précieux* is most often likely to start out as an imitation of foreign practices,—since what is foreign is to us abnormal and hence affected,—and that those who seek the repute of singularity or of superiority in this direction will in the majority of cases choose as the object of their idolatry the foreign country most,—or least,—in the public eye at the time.

Now, England, during the eighteenth century and a large part of the nineteenth century, was like a land recently opened up to French men and women. Anglomania was rife, and Voltaire, in 1764, took occasion to defend the current craze[37] which Saurin, for one, had, with the best of intentions, of course, held up to ridicule.[38] The influence of the magic shibboleth "English" apparently had no limit. Vocabulary, philosophy, dress, the drama, landscape gardening,—everything was copied after English originals.[39] British melancholy invaded the tranquil gaiety of the most gently nurtured of the French. Commerce with Young, Ossian, Thomson filled many imaginative Gallic minds with lugubrious visions of majestic mists, awful depths, impetuous streams, secular trees, delicious and fatal disorders, eternal abysses,[40] and there was in the experience a decidedly pleasurable and rather voluptuous sensation which was soon communicated to the leaders of the rising Romantic School. The Ossianic *précieuses* took up their abode by rushing rivers and shuddering chasms,—while over in England, as may be gathered from the poems of Mrs. Aphra Behn, the comments of Walpole, the activities of Mrs. Montagu, some of the Johnsonian dicta, and the phraseology of Mrs. Carter,[41] the

[37] Cf. Tinker, *op. cit.*, p. 12, note 3.

[38] Saurin, *L'Anglomane*, MDCCLXXIII, *avertissement*, pp. iii-iv: ". . . je n'ai voulu attaquer que cet enthousiasme aveugle de nos Anglomanes, que cette espèce de culte qu'ils rendent aux Auteurs Anglais, peut-être moins pour les exalter que pour rabaisser les nôtres."

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 10: "On s'habille, on se coeffe & l'on *toste* à l'anglaise . . .": also, p. 14, 30; p. 13:

> Suivant l'usage Anglais, j'ai voulu, ce matin,
> Qu'on fît, d'un grand Parterre, un petit Boulingrin;
> J'y veux avoir de tout, des vallons, des collines . . .

[40] Mornet, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-176.

[41] Cf. Tinker, *op. cit.*, pp. 225, 95, 108, 119, 134, 140.

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reigning preciosity aped the social and literary mannerisms of the French salons of the seventeenth century.

From such evidence as happens to be at hand, it would seem that the feminine and masculine rôles in *préciosité* have diverged in the history of the movement. The association of *précieux* manners with *précieux* speech has occurred generally on the initiative of the women, whereas for the men *préciosité* has been mainly a linguistic or artistic endeavor. The *précieuse* both spoke and dressed the part. The male of the species only spoke it. If, in addition, the ladies could dazzle in other ways, no hesitancy was shown in assuming the necessary attitudes, gestures and verbal idiosyncrasies. Even learning was incurred; and the *femmes savantes,* who constituted merely another sect of *précieuses,* abounded as well after the seventeenth century as before. Voltaire's friend, the Marquise du Châtelet, and Mme de Staël ought not, perhaps, to be reckoned within this group, since, as in the case of modern scientific women, their interest in research was sincere and abiding. But Mme Geoffrin's disciple, Mme Necker,[42] Bachaumont's eldest daughter,[43] Jeanne de Montesson,[44] at intervals, Mme de Lambert, and many more carried the banner of erudition with an air not exempt from pomp and vanity. In the first decades of the eighteenth century Paris could have furnished all the factors for an incisive continuation of the *Femmes Savantes.*[45] Latterly, the brand of infamy has been conspicuously absent in those instances in which women have gone in for learning. The pursuit of erudition has been made hard and exacting, even for men; and the women who have won scholarly distinction have earned it on a fair field where no favors were shown, and have found it of very little invidious social value.

In general, then, just as in the age of Marie de Champagne or

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[43] Cf. Goncourt, *Portraits intimes du XVIIIe Siècle,* I, p. 16.

[44] Cf. Mary Summer, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-187.

[45] Cf. Goncourt, *Port. int.*, II, p. 238: "Paris était devenu la maison de Philaminte. Il avait des "femmes savantes," et il avait des "hommes savants." Le grec et le latin régnaient, les traducteurs gouvernaient, les restituteurs de textes florissaient, les annotateurs passaient grands hommes, les conseilleurs de sens hommes célèbres. Le latin était la passion, il était la mode du temps. Les Ninons ne se faisaient plus lire des comédies, mais du latin mis en français. La contagion passait les mers et gagnait Londres."

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of Julie d'Angennes, the symptoms of *préciosité*, recurring repeatedly, have comprised exclusivism, a craze for the foreign or the distant, a passion for sentimental metaphysics, scorn for the *bourgeois*,—especially among *bourgeois*,—extravagance and affectation in deportment, dress, and speech, along with the feminization of the social and literary environment. There has also been a genuine, earnest, honest desire to increase the possibilities of the French language and of French diction,—above all, in recent days.

The inadequacy of customary French for work or discussion in which the imaginative and the picturesque are prominent has been felt from the Renaissance on. Dissatisfaction with the common mode of expression has been particularly noticeable among women-writers, and the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have had their literary Madelons as well as the seventeenth. We have only to read at random in the works of Myriam Harry, Mme Tinayre, Gérard d'Houville, the Comtesse de Noailles, in order to become conscious of the transmigration of Mlle de Scudéry's spirit,[46] modernized, it is true, and intensified in effort, but weak in execution because of a too evident seeking for effect. That same tendency to create a special language had become marked in the somewhat enervating style of the Goncourt brothers, which, in Bourget's opinion, belongs in the ranks of decadent literature,—fated to be understood after a while only by a clique.[47] In Victor Hugo it had taken the form of an unceasing stream of metaphors, the number of which can best be ascertained through Duval's *Dictionnaire des Métaphores de V. Hugo*;[48] and in 1801 Morellet had deemed it

[46] Cf. Bertaut, *La Litt. féminine d'aujourd'hui*, 1909, pp. 281-282: "Il leur (women-writers) faut leurs paysages exotiques, leurs sensations imprévues, leurs spectacles inattendus, elles en sont ravies, car elles savent trouver dans cet imprévu qui déroute souvent l'observateur de l'autre sexe, une mine d'épithètes nouvelles, d'adjectifs inemployés, de curieuses rencontres d'expression, qu'elles se hâtent de s'approprier."

[47] Cf. Bourget, *Essais de Psychol. Contemp.*, I, pp. 22-23: "Le Psychologue que j'imagine raisonnerait de même à l'endroit des littératures de décadence. Il dirait: "Ces littératures non plus n'ont pas de lendemain. Elles aboutissent à des altérations de vocabulaire, à des subtilités de mots qui rendront le style inintelligible aux générations à venir. Dans cinquante ans, la langue des frères de Goncourt, par exemple, ne sera comprise que des spécialistes."

[48] Mabilleau, *Victor Hugo*, 1911, p. 166.

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wise to counsel Chateaubriand to *démétaphoriser*.[49] Delille's periphrases hid the want of personal warmth,[50] and very often those of Hugo concealed the absence of thought. Judged by the so-called Somaize of the seventeenth century,—the author of the dictionary of the *précieuses*,—the imaginative language of these men would have been rated as undoubted *préciosité;* and their contemporaries have so estimated it in many instances.

What the Romantic writers were undertaking to accomplish differed slightly from that which had been attempted previously. The real object of the *Pléiade*, in enunciating principles which developed into *préciosité*, had been to enrich and reanimate the language by adding to the number of usable words and rhetorical devices. In the eighteenth century the more or less conscious aim of *préciosité* was an increase in the stock of ideas or a multiplication of clever or subtle ideas. Without inventing much in the way of vocabulary, the Romanticists achieved *préciosité* by alliances of words and ideas which stirred the imagination, superinduced revery, and left in the lurch the regular French directness. The Symbolists, in turn, harking back to the Renaissance and the period of Louis XIV, and using as their text Fénelon's statement about the impoverishment of the language since the 16th century,[51] confess that they mean to increase the vocabulary and force rhetoric to meet their needs. When Moréas, in his manifesto, exhorts writers to employ "impollués vocables, . . . les pléonasmes significatifs, les mystérieuses ellipses, l'anacoluthe en suspens, tout trope hardi et multiforme,"[52]—he is simply repeating the program of the *Pléiade* and of the *précieuses* lashed by Molière. When Gustave Kahn asserts the right of authors to anticipate usage,[53] he is following one of the first laws of *préciosité*, which consists in holding

[49] Cf. Barat, *op. cit.*, p. vi.

[50] Cf. Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 288: "On connaît sa définition du cure-oreille et du cure-dent:

La merveille
Qui sert à rendre pure ou la bouche ou l'oreille,

et celle d'une fabrique d'où sortent

. . . ces milliers de dards dont les pointes légères
Fixent le lin flottant sur le sein des bergères,

vulgairement des épingles."

[51] Cf. Beaunier, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

[52] Cf. Moréas, *Prem. Armes du Symbolisme*, 1889, p. 34.

[53] Cf. Beaunier, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

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itself above the common law,—as the earlier *précieux* well understood,—and in coining expressions at will: and when he favors the use of adjectives and infinitives as substantives, and vice versa, and would, with slight changes, clothe every word with the power of serving as noun, adjective, adverb, verb, he is at one to a surprising degree with the older *précieux* and the *Pléiade*. When, too, Verlaine speaks of the 'enormous and tender Middle Ages,' 'a slow landscape,' 'a gilded perfume,'[54] he is broadening the scope of poetry by a process which, often esthetically effective and much more ancient than the Renaissance,[55] has invariably, under a misguided conception or through sheer carelessness, degenerated into the most paltry of conceits.

That, nevertheless, the Symbolists have with set purpose exploited the latent artistic powers of metaphor and periphrasis,—the two rhetorical contrivances which formed the chief stock in trade of the 17th century *précieux*,—places their endeavors above the efforts of their predecessors by as much as the thinking reed is above the mere reed. Between Saint-Amant's "encens de Bacchus" (tabac), or Berthod's "un postillon d'Éole" (le vent), or the *précieuses'* "les commodités de la conversation," "le conseiller des Grâces," and Saint-Pol Roux's "sage-femme de la lumière" (le coq), "lendemain de chenille en tenue de bal" (papillon), "mamelle de cristal" (carafe), "coquelicot sonore" (chant du coq),[56] the poetic or literary attitude has altered considerably. What was formerly nothing more than the impulse to say something striking, pretty, clever, or strange has grown into a rather earnest wish to augment, by means of association and analogy, the amount of esthetic enjoyment to be derived from a poetic situation. To the Symbolist, metaphor and periphrasis, because they cause meditation and introspection, are the very essence of poetry itself. To the 17th century *précieuse*, they were an ingenious pastime. Similarly, what was for Somaize a satiric diversion in the compilation of his *Dictionnaire des Précieuses*, has become, for example, in Paul Adam's *Glossaire de Plowert*, a fairly serious means of influencing the language.[57]

[54] Cf. Nordau, *Degeneration*, 1896, p. 126.

[55] Cf. the classical literatures, as also Old Norse (see Nordby, *The Influence of Old Norse Lit. upon English Lit.*, 1901, p. 15).

[56] Cf. Van Bever et Léautaud, *Poètes d'Aujourd'hui*, II, MCMX, p. 189.

[57] Cf. Kahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62: "Tel qu'il est et malgré l'abondance de ses fautes d'impression le petit volume, qui ne contient que nos néolo-

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In a previous paper,[58] it has been shown that *préciosité*, even technically speaking, flourished in almost every period of French literary history prior to the 17th century. The present inquiry suggests its later continuance. It might, then, perhaps, be extremely undesirable to look on 17th century *préciosité* as a sudden, spontaneous and unique ailment,—as has been done in the past with a resultant wrench to the student's sense of real values. Possibly a more accurate notion of its ravages in the days of Molière and Boileau and of the importance of the onslaught on it by these and other writers may be obtained through a study of its progress in other epochs in French history and of the continual variation of the factors of which it is composed. If it is, in reality, a phase of human behavior rather than a purely literary trait,—as Roederer evidently held in making it the nucleus for his history of polite society in France in the 17th century; if it manifests itself in every country, in every age, and in every climate as one of the most practical and convenient means for distinction among the more pretentious in general education, artistic appreciation, social attributes; if it has served an especially good purpose in France through enrichment of vocabulary, quickening of imagination, toning-down of customs and manners;[59] then it presents a much wider and a much more interesting field for investigation than has heretofore been thought to exist, clearly points to the unity and family-relationship of similar manifestations, wherever they may occur, and finally sets at rest the heated arguments of Tiraboschi and his successors as to who started *préciosité*.

University of Missouri. J. WARSHAW.

gismes alors parus . . . offre cet intérêt, qu'en le parcourant on pourra voir que tous nos postulats d'alors ont été accueillis, et *sont entrés dans le courant de la langue* et ne dérangent plus que de très périmés dilettantes." This is one of a series of remarkable coincidences which suggest that the Symbolists apparently devoted much time to the study of 17th century *préciosité*.

[58] *Recurrent Préciosité*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXI, p. 129.

[59] Cf. Brunetière, *Études Critiques*, III, p. 131: "Ne nous étonnons pas non plus si les œuvres sorties, pour ainsi dire, de l'inspiration plus ou moins prochaine de Mme de Lambert offrent des traits frappants de ressemblance avec celles qu'avait autrefois dictées l'influence de Mme de Rambouillet, puisque l'influence de l'une et l'inspiration de l'autre s'efforçaient de diriger la littérature et les mœurs vers un même idéal social."

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ZUM GOTISCHEN DATIV NACH *WAÍRÞAN* MIT INFINITIV

Diese dem Gotischen scheinbar eigentümliche Konstruktion, die zur Übersetzung des griechischen ἐγένετο mit Infinitiv und Akkusativ der Person dient, ist schon von Köhler, Winkler und anderen[1] behandelt worden. Jedoch fehlt es meines Wissens noch immer an einer einigermassen gründlichen Vergleichung der betreffenden Konstruktion im Gotischen mit den syntaktischen Verhältnissen der übrigen germanischen Sprachen,[2] besonders mit denen des Nordgermanischen, das im allgemeinen dem Gotischen syntaktisch näher verwandt[3] ist als das Westgermanische.

Es ist an sich ganz klar, dass der gotische Dativ mit Infinitiv nach *waírþan* der germanischen Syntax treu bleibt, denn sonst hätte Wulfila statt des Dativs den zum griechischen Original stimmenden Akkusativ gesetzt, vgl. L.16, 22. *warþ gaswiltan þamma unlêdin*, ἐγένετο ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πτωχόν, ebenso L. 6, 1. 6. Mc. 2, 23 und II. Kor. 7, 7 *swaei mis mais faginôn warþ*, ὥστε με μᾶλλον χαρῆναι.

Sonst ist nur *ein* Fall belegt (vgl. Köhler, S. 290), wo nach *waírþan* (ἐγένετο) der Akkusativ statt des Dativs der Person mit Infinitiv vorliegt; nämlich L. 4, 36, *jah warþ afslauþnan allans*, ἐγένετο θόμβος ἐπὶ πάντας. Ich nehme hier mit Grimm (*Grammatik* IV, S. 115, Anm.) und mit Köhler (S. 290-291) gegen Streitberg (*Die Gotische Bibel*, der *ana* (gr. ἐπὶ) vor *allans* lesen will)

[1] Köhler, A., *Über den syntaktischen Gebrauch des Dativs im Gothischen*. Dresden, 1864; *Germania* XI, 285-292, 1866. Nachtrag, *Germania* XII, 63-64, 1867.

Winkler, H., *Germanische Kasussyntax*, I. *Der Dativ, Instrumental, örtliche und halbörtliche Verhältnisse*, S. 17 f. Berlin, 1896.

J. Grimm, *Grammatik*, IV, S. 115, Anm.

[2] Vgl. hierüber Streitberg, *Gotisches Elementarbuch*, § 234, 2. "Selbstverständlich ist, dass auch die Vergleichung der syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Gotischen mit denen der übrigen germanischen Sprachen wertvolle Aufschlüsse und Bestätigungen zu geben vermag. Sie ist namentlich dort von Wert, wo das Gotische zum Griechischen stimmt, nur sie kann hier lehren, ob sklavische Nachahmung oder zufällige Übereinstimmung vorliege."

[3] Dies tritt besonders deutlich beim Dativ hervor; vgl. zum Beispiel den Gebrauch des Dativ-Instrumentals nach Verben, die im Westgerm. den Akkusativ regieren, den absoluten Dativ mit *at*, usw.

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an, dass nach *warþ*,[4] der Akkusativ ebenso gut berechtigt wäre wie der Dativ mit Infinitiv, da sich der Akkusativ mit Infinitiv nicht nur im Anord., sondern auch im Westgerm. (vgl. besonders das Ahd. bei *Notker*) so häufig zeigt, dass man diese Konstruktion nicht für Nachahmung der klassischen Sprachen, sondern als dem Gemeingerm. eigentümlich halten muss.

Dass man aber dem Gotischen einen Dativ, gerade wie den Akkusativ, mit Infinitiv nach unpersönlichem Verbum zuschreiben, d. h. den Dativ zum Infinitiv in engere Beziehung setzen darf, leugnet Köhler (S. 291) gegen Grimm, indem er den Dativ hier einfach als indirektes Objekt (Dativ des entfernteren Objekts) nach *wairþan* ansehen will, gerade wie bei dem selbständigen Verbum mit einem Substantiv im Nominativ als Subjekt; sowie z. B. Mc. 4, 11 *jainaim—in gajukom allata wairþiþ, ἐκείνοις δὲ —— ἐν παραβολαῖς τὰ πάντα γίνεται.*

Das wäre nun an sich ganz einleuchtend, wenn Köhler[5] nicht durch diese Auffassung gezwungen wäre, den Infinitiv nach *wairþan* als substantivisch aufzufassen, wobei das Verbum *wairþan* dann nicht unpersönlich, sondern als Prädikat für das infinitivische Subjekt stehen soll; vgl. z. B. Mc. 2, 23 *warþ þairhgaggan imma*, wo nach Köhler *þairhgaggan* für ein nicht existierendes Substantiv für *Durchgang* steht, "das etwa **þairhgaggs* heissen müsste," ebenso **gaggs* für *gaggan* (L. 6, 1), **swults* für *gaswiltan* (L. 16, 22), usw.

Zwischen dem Dativ des entfernteren Objekts und dem Dativ in engerer Beziehung zum Infinitiv—d. h. dem Dativ der Beteiligung —ist manchmal keine scharfe Grenzlinie zu ziehen; sie lassen sich sogar manchmal nicht unterscheiden, und gegen Köhler's Erklärung des Dativs mit Infinitiv nach *wairþan* wäre nichts einzu-

[4] Vgl. auch entweder den Dativ oder den Akkusativ der Person nach sonstigen unpersönlichen Ausdrücken, wie z. B. *góþ ist, azētizō—raþizō ist, aglu ist;* hier laufen Dativ und Akkusativ neben einander, es liegt der Dativ doch manchmal gegen den griechischen Akkusativ vor, gerade wie nach *wairþan* (*warþ gaswiltan þamma unlēdin, ἐγένετο ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πτωχόν*), wie z. B. L. 18, 25 *raþizō allis ist ulbandau—þairhleiþan, εὐκοπώτερον γάρ ἐστι κάμηλον —, εἰσελθεῖν*, Mc. 10, 24 *hwaiwa aglu ist þaim hugjandam—galeiþan, πῶς δύσκολόν ἐστι τοὺς πεποιθότας —— εἰσελθεῖν.* Vgl. auch Curme, "Is the Gothic Bible Gothic?", *J. E. G. Phil.* x. S. 362 ff.

[5] Vgl. auch Köhler's Aufsatz, Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs im Gothischen, § 1. Der substantivierte Infinitiv, *Germania* XII, S. 421 f.

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wenden, wenn es schon festgestellt wäre, dass im Gotischen der Infinitiv *nicht vom Verbum finitum abhängig ist*, gerade wie im Griechischen. Es liegt aber kein zwingender Grund vor, dem gotischen Infinitiv ein anderes syntaktisches Verhältnis zum Verbum finitum (*warþ*) als dem griechischen Infinitiv zum Verbum finitum (ἐγένετο) zuzuschreiben. Weiter steht es schon fest, dass die Konstruktion des unpersönlichen Verbums mit Infinitiv echt germanisch ist, da sie sich nicht nur sonst im Gotischen, sondern auch im Nord- und Westgerm. aufweisen lässt.[6] Daher geht es nicht an, diese im Griechischen vorliegende unpersönliche Konstruktion dem Gotischen auf Grund des Umstandes abzusprechen, dass Wulfila für den griechischen Akkusativ (Subjekt vom Infinitiv) den Dativ benutzt.

Gegen den Gebrauch von unpersönlichem *warþ* mit Infinitiv und *Dativ der Person* könnte man aber einwenden, dass sich diese Konstruktion sonst nicht im Germanischen aufweisen lasse.[7] Dass aber ähnliche syntaktische Verhältnisse in den übrigen germanischen Sprachen, namentlich im Anord., tatsächlich vorliegen, werde ich hier darzulegen versuchen.

Im Anord. wird *verða* häufig als unpersönliches Verbum mit Part. Prät. zur Umschreibung des Passivs gebraucht, z. B. *varð gengit, talat*, ebenso wie auch im Deutschen—*es wurde gegangen, gesprochen*, usw. Bei solchen intransitiven Impersonalien im Anord. wird ferner die handelnde Person immer durch den Dativ der Beteiligung ausgedrückt (z. B. *varð honom gengit*), was auch bei den transitiven häufig geschieht;[8] z. B. *varð honom hefnt, þrándi* ok *þorgrími varð mart talat* (*Flat.* I, 556, 5), *því á legi mér litt steikt etit* (*H. H.* II, 9), *rád er þér ráðit* (*Fáfn.* 21, 1). Es fragt sich nun, ob diese Konstruktion nach *verða* (*vera*) nicht zur

[6] Vgl. got. II. Kor. 12, 1 *hwópan binah*, καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ; anord. *lítils mun við þurfa* (*Flat.* I, 551, 36), *mik fara tíðir* (*Vþm.* 1); ahd. *wio mag sin* (*Otfrid* I, 25, 5), *giuuerdan mohta siu* (Akk.) *ee thô* (*Otfrid* II, 8, 9).

[7] Vgl. Grimm, *Grammatik* IV, S. 116, Anm. "In keinem anderen deutschen dialect die spur einer solchen construction, wie sie auch im goth. nur nach *varth* vorkommt." Vgl. aber Dativ der Person nach adjektivischen Impersonalien mit Infinitiv im Gotischen, s. oben Fussn. 4. Hier ist der Dativ der Beteiligung mit Infinitiv vorhanden, gerade wie bei der in Rede stehenden Konstruktion.

[8] Vgl. Nygaard's *Norroen Syntax*, § 100, A. 2. Falk-Torp *Dansk-Norskens Syntax*, § 8.

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gotischen Syntax stimmt, wo nach unpersönlichem *warþ* ein Dativ der Person mit Infinitiv (wie in *warþ þairhgaggan imma*, s. oben) vorliegt. Die Auffassung von *warþ* im Gotischen als unpersönliches Verbum bedingt die Annahme des Dativs (*imma*) als Dativ der Beteiligung[9] (gerade wie im Anord.). Dass aber im Anord. das Verbum finitum durch das Part. Prät. anstatt des Infinitivs (wie im Gotischen) ergänzt wird, stört nicht im geringsten die syntaktische Übereinstimmung der beiden Sprachen in der Verwendung von unpersönlichem Verbum finitum (**werþan*) mit Dativ der Person. Im ersteren Fall wird der Dativ in engere Beziehung zum Part. Prät., im letzteren Fall zum Infinitiv gesetzt.

Um die syntaktische Übereinstimmung des Anord. mit dem Gotischen noch deutlicher zu erkennen, braucht man nur die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des anord. *verða* als Verbum finitum zu betrachten.

Als selbständiges Verbum mit Dativ der Person heisst das anord. *verða* "(einem) zustossen, ereignen, geschehen," z. B. *Od.* 11, *slíks dœmi kvaztattu síðan mundu meyju verða nema mér,—ähnliches würde keinem anderen Mädchen zustossen als mir allein;* eine Bedeutung,[10] die man auch für das gotische *wairþan* mit Dativ der Person annehmen darf, wie schon Grimm (*Grammatik* IV, S. 116, Anm.) erkannt hat (*warþ—imma* = "es geschah ihm, begegnete ihm, dass—").

Weiter liegt im Anord. das Verbum finitum *verða* 1) mit abhängigem Infinitiv oder 2) mit einem durch *at* eingeleiteten Nebensatz in derselben Bedeutung ("es geschieht einem, dass") vor, gerade wie im Gotischen (*wairþan* 1) mit Inf. oder 2) einem durch *ei* eingeleiteten Nebensatz):—

[9] Vgl. Grimm (*Grammatik*, IV, S. 115, Anm.) Winkler (S. 17), Streitberg (*Gotisches Elementarbuch* § 318) u. a. Bei Streitberg heisst es: "Der Dativ hat natürlich ursprünglich zum Verbum finitum gehört, es ist jedoch, wie schon Grimm erkannt hat, eine Verschiebung des Abhängigkeitsverhältnisses erfolgt; der Dativ steht fast ausnahmslos *hinter dem Infinitiv*, wie im Griech. das Subjekt des Akk. m. Inf., ist also wahrscheinlich zum Infinitiv in engere Beziehung gesetzt. Am besten dürfte man wohl mit Winkler S. 17 das Verhältnis so charakterisieren, dass der Dativ von der Verbindung *warþ* m. Inf. abhänge, *warþ gaswiltan þamma unlēdin*, ἐγένετο ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πτωχόν L. 16, 22 demnach heisse 'es kam zum Sterben für den Armen.'"

[10] Ebenso bedeutet im Ahd. *werdan* mit Dativ der Person oft *geschehen, zustossen*, z. B. *Otfrid*, III, 18, 24 *ni wirdit in thaz ungimah*, vgl. Erdmann, *Untersuchungen über die Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, II, § 239.

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1) Vgl. anord. *þat verðr*[11] *mörgum manni at um myrkvan staf villisk* (*Egliss.* Vers), "es geschieht manchem Manne, dass"—, "er kommt in den Fall, wird genötigt"—usw. mit got. *warþ þaírhgaggan imma*, "es geschah ihm, dass"—, "es begab sich, dass er hindurchging." Im Anord. steht (gerade wie im Gotischen) die Person, die an der Verbalhandlung beteiligt ist, im Dativ.

2) Vgl. anord. *ef svá verðr, at ek deyja* (*Egilss.* 34), "wenn es geschieht, dass ich sterbe," mit got. *jah warþ—, ei usiddja Iêsus,* (L. 6, 12) und *bi þamma waírþiþ—, ei sunus mans andhuljada* (L. 17, 30). Im Anord. kann aber, selbst wenn der Nebensatz folgt, die an der Verbalhandlung beteiligte Person, gerade wie bei der infinitivischen Konstruktion, im Dativ stehen; das Subjekt des Verbums finitum im Nebensatz wird dann pronominal; vgl. *Lokas.* 40, 2 *þat varþ þinni konu, at hon átti mǫg við mér,* "es geschah deiner Frau, dass sie mit mir einen Sohn hatte," d. h. "sie fehlte darin, sie beging das Laster, mit mir einem Sohn zu haben."

Ähnlich liegen auch die Verhältnisse im Westgermanischen, wo zum Beispiel im Ahd.[12] Otfrid *uuerdan* entweder mit einem durch *thaz* eingeleiteten Substantivsatz oder mit *zi* und Infinitiv mit Dativ der Person gebraucht; vgl. z. B. ahd. (1) *uuard ouh thaz, theih irstarb* (*Otfrid* v. 20, 79) mit anord. *ef svá verðr, at ek deyja,* und mit got. *ja warþ—, ei usiddja Iêsus,* und ahd. (2) *iz uuirdit ethesuuane iu zi wizanne* (*Otfrid* iv. 11, 28) mit anord. *þat verðr mörgum manni—at villisk* und mit got. *warþ þaírhgaggan imma.*

Dass dieser Dativ im Gotischen ein andrer ist als im Nord- u. Westgerm. lässt sich kaum annehmen. Diese Konstruktion von unpersönlichem **werþan* mit Infinitiv und Dativ der Person im Nord- u. Westgerm. deutet darauf hin, dass die gleiche Konstruktion im Gotischen nicht dem Einfluss des Griechischen zuzuschreiben ist, sondern als eine echt germanische gelten darf. Dass im Nord- u. Westgerm. der Infinitiv mit Präposition, im Gotischen dagegen der einfache Infinitiv nach unpersönlichem *waírþan* vorliegt, stört den syntaktischen Parallelismus nicht, da der Infinitiv mit Präpo-

[11] *Verða* liegt auch als *persönliches* Verbum gerade in diesem Sinne vor, vgl. z. B. *verð ek nu* (*at*) *flýja,* "ich komme in die Lage, soll, muss fliehen."

[12] Beispiele aus Tatian führe ich nicht an, weil die Tatian-Übersetzung bekanntlich unter dem Einflusse des Lateinischen steht; daher habe ich überall, wo es sich um das Westgerm. handelt, Otfrids Sprache für die ahd. Syntax gelten lassen.

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sition dem Nord- u. Westgerm. viel geläufiger war als dem Gotischen (vgl. Delbrück, Das Gotische *du* und das Westgermanische Gerundium, *I. F.*, XXI, 355-357). Im Gotischen begegnet nämlich der Infinitiv mit Präposition sonst niemals nach Impersonalien, ausser wenn der Infinitiv substantiviert ist, also nur wo er das griechische **τὸ** + Inf. vertritt (vgl. Köhler, Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs im Gotischen, Impersonalia (*Germania*, XII. S. 432-435). Im Nordischen hingegen steht nach Impersonalien am häufigsten *at* mit Infinitiv, vgl. *mik tidir. fýsir, langar* (*at*) *fara*, auch manchmal nach den eigentlichen Hilfsverben *kunna, verða* (vgl. Nygaard, § 222). Ebenso gewinnt im Ahd. die Präposition *zi* mit Verbalnomen einen weit ausgedehnteren Gebrauch als das syntaktisch entsprechende *du* mit Infinitiv im Gotischen (vgl. Erdmann, *Untersuchungen über die Sprache Otfrids* I, § 347 f.); vgl. z. B. II, 14, 76, *duet iz mir zi wizzane* mit dem einfachen Infinitiv, der im Gotischen überall nach *taujan* vorliegt, z. B. Matth. 5, 32 *taujiþ þô hôrinôn*, **ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχᾶσθαι.** In allen drei Sprachen liegt jedoch die *infinitivische* Konstruktion nach unpersönlichem **werþan* vor; ob auch die Präp. hinzukommt, hängt davon ab, ob die Idee der Tätigkeit oder des Ziels bei der betreffenden Sprache hervorgehoben wird.

Der Grund, weshalb Wulfila an den oben angeführten Stellen (L. 16, 22. 6, 1. 6. Mc. 2, 23) nach *warþ* den Infinitiv [13] statt des durch *ei* eingeleiteten Nebensatzes benutzt, ist nur dem Bestreben zuzuschreiben, nicht unnötigerweise vom griechischen Original abzuweichen, denn sonst liegen überall (vgl. Köhler, S. 290) die zu dem Griechischen stimmenden Konstruktionen nach unpersönlichem *wairþan* vor; entweder 1) koordinierter Satz mit *jah* eingeleitet (gr. **ἐγένετο** mit **καὶ** und Verbum finitum—Matth. 9, 10. Mc. 2, 15 usw.), oder 2) asyntlietisch (gr. **ἐγένετο** mit Verbum finitum ohne Konjunktion—Matth. 7, 28. Mc. 1, 9 usw.) oder 3) subordinierter Satz mit *ei* eingeleitet (gr. **ἐγένετο** mit **ὅτι** oder **ὡς** mit Verbum finitum, L. 6, 12. 17, 30 usw.).

[13] Dass aber der Gebrauch des Inf. hier im Gotischen eine echt germ. Konstruktion ist, geht aus dem oben angeführten Parallelismus mit dem Nord- u. Westgerm. hervor. Es liegt also kein zwingender Grund vor, ihn dem griechischen Einfluss zuzuschreiben, wie es Streitberg tut (*Elementarbuch*, § 312, "Ganz und gar unter dem Einfluss der griech. Konstruktion stehn Fügungen wie L. 16, 22 *warþ—gasaiwiþan þamma unlêdin*").

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Man muss weiter bedenken, dass eben auf diesem Wege, (d. h. durch unpersönliches *verda* (*vera*) mit Dativ der Beteiligung) das unpersönliche Passiv mit dem blossen Dativ Agentis im Anord. entstanden war. Erst als unpersönliches *verda* zur Umschreibung des Passivs diente, wurde der Dativ der Person zum Dativ Agentis. Wenn dem so ist, fragt es sich natürlich, warum das Gotische nach dem Medio-Passiv oder nach der passiven Umschreibung mit *wairþan* oder *wisan* kein Beispiel von dem blossen Dativ Agentis aufzuweisen hat, denn es ist ja noch nicht festgestellt worden, dass sich der blosse Dativ unter diesen Umständen im Gotischen als Dativ Agentis erklären lässt. Die drei Stellen bei Wulfila, wo der blosse Dativ nach dem Medio-Passiv vorliegt: Matth. 6, 5 *ei gaumjaindau mannam*, ὅπως ἂν φανῶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις —, Matth. 6, 16 *ei gasaihwaindau mannam fastandans*, ὅπως φανῶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις —, ebenso Matth. 6, 18 *ei ni gasaihwaizau mannam fastands* beweisen nichts, da sich nicht feststellen lässt, ob diese Verba (*gaumjan, saihwan*) hier ihre eigentliche Bedeutung, "beobachtet, bemerkt werden" (also echtes Passiv) bewahrt haben, oder in die intransitiv-mediale Bedeutung, "sich zeigen, erscheinen" (=dem 2. Aorist des Griechischen—φανῶσι) übergetreten sind. In Ermangelung anderer Beispiele vom blossen Dativ der Person nach dem Medio-Passiv im Gotischen scheint es wohl geratener zu sein, wie schon Grimm [14] es tut, diese Verba als intransitiv-mediale (ganz in Übereinstimmung mit dem griechischen 2. Aorist—φανῶσι) aufzufassen, wobei der blosse Dativ dann natürlich als Dativ des entfernteren Objekts zu erklären ist. Auch sonst weicht [15] Wulfila von der griechischen Konstruktion nicht ohne besonderen Grund ab, falls es im Gotischen eine dazu stimmende gibt.

Ganz ebenso wird die Stelle Matth. 6, 1 *du saihwan im*, πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς, zu beurteilen sein, denn der Infinitiv, der sonst auch passiven Sinn haben kann, darf bei der eigentlichen Bedeutung diese Verbums, gerade wie bei den oben angeführten Medio-Passiven, als intransitiv-medial aufgefasst werden, also *apparêri, vidêri*.

[14] Vgl. Grimm, *Grammatik* IV, S. 699, der übersetzt "appareant, videantur hominibus," ebenso Köhler, S. 287 f. Hierher sind auch die Fälle vom fast gleichbedeutenden Passiv von *ataugjan* 'vor die Augen bringen' (Passiv = 'erscheinen') mit blossem Dativ, z. B. Mc. 9, 4. I. Tim. 3, 16 zu stellen,—vgl. Köhler, Nachtrag, *Germania* XII, S. 64.

[15] Vgl. Curme, "Is the Gothic Bible Gothic?," *J. E. G. Phil.* X, S. 359-377.

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Auffallend sind aber die Stellen, wo beim Verbum *bigitan* "finden" der blosse Dativ nach der passiven Umschreibung mit *wairþan*, sowohl als nach dem Medio-Passiv vorliegt (vgl. Köhler, Nachtrag, *Germania* XII, 64 f.); Röm. 7, 10 *jah bigitana warþ mis anabusns, sei was du libainai, wisan du daupau, καὶ εὑρέθη μοι ἡ ἐντολὴ ἡ εἰς ζωὴν, αὕτη εἰς θάνατον*, und II. Kor. 12, 20 *jah ik bigitaidau izwis swaleiks swê ni wileiþ mik, κἀγὼ εὑρεθῶ ὑμῖν οὐ θέλετε.*

Es fragt sich nun, ob der blosse Dativ in diesen Fällen als ein echter Dativ Agentis mit dem Verbum finitum oder als Dativ der Beteiligung (Dativus Ethicus) mit Substantiv oder Adjektiv im Prädikat aufzufassen sei.

Röm. 7, 10 kann man *mis* als Dativ der Beteiligung auffassen und statt mit dem passiven Verbum *bigitana warþ* (dem er in Übereinstimmung mit der griechischen Wortfolge unmittelbar folgt) mit dem Prädikat *wisan du daupau* "mir zum Tode zu sein" verbinden,—vgl. Luther, "Und es befand sich, dass das Gebot *mir zum Tode* gereichte, das mir doch zum Leben gegeben war." Mit *mis – wisan du daupau* vergleiche man z. B. Gal. 4, 16 *swê fijands izwis warþ, ὥστε ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν γέγονα*, wo Wulfila für den griechischen Genitiv (*ὑμῶν*) den Dativus Ethicus *izwis* im Gotischen benutzt. Angesichts dieses syntaktischen Verhältnisses darf man nicht behaupten, *mis* sei als Dativ Agentis nach dem Passiv *bigitana warþ* aufzufassen.

Ebenso lässt sich II. Kor. 12, 20 *izwis* statt mit dem passiven *bigitaidau* mit dem Adjektiv *swaleiks*, "ein solcher für euch," "euch ein solcher" auffassen, wie dieser Dativ oft nach Adjektiven gebräuchlich ist,—vgl. *gadôb, gôþ ist* usw., z. B. Mc. 9, 43 *gôþ þus ist in libain galeiþan.*

Da sich somit an den oben angeführten Stellen die vermeintlichen blossen Dative ganz gut auf anderem Wege erklären lassen, ist in Ermangelung anderer Beispiele der Dativ Agentis bei Wulfila zu verwerfen.

Es fragt sich nun, weshalb sich der Dativ Agentis im Gotischen nicht mehr vorfindet, während er in dem viel jüngeren Nordischen noch in voller Blüte bewahrt ist. Da der Dativ Agentis im Anord. nur nach dem *unpersönlichen* Passiv die Regel ist, viel seltener aber bei dem *persönlichen* Passiv (wo man statt dessen die Präposition *af* mit Dativ gebrauchte) sich vorfindet[16] (vgl. *Akv.* 31—*í garð*

[16] Vgl. Nygaard's *Norroen Syntax*, § 100, Anm. 2.

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þann, er skriðinn var innan ormum), darf man wohl annehmen, dass er beim unpersönlichen Passiv entstanden war und auch vorwiegend auf diese Konstruktion beschränkt blieb.

In Gotischen hingegen war das ältere unpersönliche Passiv schon fast ganz und gar aufgegeben; bei der jüngeren Umschreibung mit *wairþan* oder *wisan* trat dafür die persönliche Konstruktion überall ein, und selbst beim alten Medio-Passiv war sie schon zur Regel geworden. Nur an zwei Stellen liegt noch die ältere zum Nordischen stimmende unpersönliche Ausdrucksweise vor: vgl. Matth. 9, 17 *bajôþum gabairgada*, ἀμφότεροι συντηροῦνται, Joh. 6, 12 *ei waihtai ni fraqistnai*, ἵνα μή τι ἀπόληται,—vgl. anord. *er lokit var guðspjalli*, wo das anord. *lúka* den Dativ regiert, ebenso wie die oben angeführten gotischen Verba.

Auf Grund der syntaktischen Verhältnisse beim Passiv im Anord. darf man den Schluss ziehen, dass es auch im Gotischen (aber wohl vor der Zeit Wulfilas) den Dativ Agentis gegeben hatte, welcher beim alten *unpersönlichen* Medio-Passiv entstanden war; da aber die unpersönliche Ausdrucksweise schon fast durchweg in die persönliche übergetreten war, so war der blosse Dativ Agentis schon völlig durch die Präposition *fram* (vgl. anord. *af*) mit Dativ ersetzt worden.

Im Nordischen hingegen, wo das unpersönliche Passiv noch in voller Blüte fortlebte, blieb der blosse Dativ Agentis immer noch bestehen. Erst allmählich wurde er beim persönlichen Passiv durch *af* mit Dativ verdrängt.

Es sei noch bemerkt, dass selbst beim aktiven Verbum die unpersönliche Ausdrucksweise im Nordischen eine viel ausgedehntere Rolle [17] spielt als im Gotischen. Es ist also nicht zu verwundern, dass bei der passiven Verwendung des Verbums die unpersönliche Konstruktion im Nordischen viel länger bestehen blieb als im Gotischen.[18]

Beim persönlichen Passiv findet man im Anord. in der Regel

[17] Vgl. Nygaard's *Norroen Syntax*, § 16.

[18] Man beachte, dass im Gotischen auch bei der passivischen Verwendung von *mahts* und *skulds* (Part. Prät. zu *magan*, *skulan*) mit Infinitiv durchweg die persönliche Ausdrucksweise vorliegt, z. B. Joh. 3, 4 *hwaiwa mahts ist manna gabairan*, πῶς δύναται ἄνθρωπος γεννηθῆναι, Mc. 8, 31 *sunus mans—uskiusan skulds ist*, δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι; was wieder darauf hindeutet, dass die persönliche Ausdrucksweise bei passivischen Wendungen im Gotischen besonders beliebt war.

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statt des blossen Dativs Agentis die Präposition *af* mit Dativ. Man darf also den Vorgang so auffassen, dass der Dativ Agentis im Germanischen beim unpersönlichen Passiv entstanden war, und dass er der Präposition mit Dativ in dem Masse nachgab,[19] wie das persönliche Passiv das unpersönliche ersetzte. Nach dem Schwund des älteren unpersönlichen Passivs schwand auch schliesslich der ältere Dativ Agentis. Dies erklärt den syntaktischen Zustand des Gotischen, wo das unpersönliche Passiv nicht mehr üblich zu sein scheint.

Dem Nord- u. Westgerm. dagegen blieb das unpersönliche Passiv geläufig, obwohl diese Sprachen das altgerm. Medio-Passiv (abgesehen vielleicht von anord. *heite*, vgl. Noreen [3] § 532, Anm. 2) schon längst verloren hatten. Sie bewahrten also bei den jüngeren Umschreibungen des Passivs immer noch den alten syntaktischen Zustand des Germ., welcher sich im Gotischen nur ausnahmsweise (Matth. 9, 17. Joh. 6, 12) beim alten Medio-Passiv vorfand. Syntaktisch muss man also in dieser Beziehung das Ostgerm. für jünger als das Nord- u. Westgerm. halten. Dass aber das Gotische hier auf dem Gebiete der Syntax jüngere Zustände als das Nord- u. Westgerm. aufweist, ist doch nicht so auffallend, wie auf dem Gebiete der Formenlehre die fast völlige Verwischung des sogenannten grammatischen Wechsels, der im Nord- u. Westgerm. weit weniger durch Analogiewirkung gestört wurde; eine Tatsache, die doch jedermann zugeben muss, trotzdem in anderen Beziehungen die gotische Formenlehre viel älter ist, als die des Nord- u. Westgerm.

Dass der Dativ der Beteiligung mit Infinitiv nach unpersönlichem Verbum finitum, wie er im Gotischen (Mc. 2, 23) in *warþ þaírhgaggan imma* vorliegt, eine echt germanische Konstruktion ist, folgt nicht nur aus dem Umstand, dass Wulfila hier den Dativ für den griechischen Akkusativ benutzt, sondern auch daraus, dass

[19] Es soll aber damit nicht gesagt sein, dass sich der Dativ Agentis solange bewahrte, wie das unpersönliche Passiv gebräuchlich blieb. Die neueren skandinavischen Sprachen sowohl wie die westgerm. beweisen, dass sie schon längst den blossen Dativ zu Gunsten der Präp. mit Dativ aufgegeben hatten. Selbst im Ahd. existierte er nicht mehr; die Stelle bei Tatian 197, 3 *niowiht wirdic tôde ist imo gitân, nihil dignum morte actum est ei*, muss sicherlich dem Einfluss des Lat. zugeschrieben werden, denn sonst liegt im Ahd. der blosse Dativ Agentis nicht vor (vgl. Erdmann, *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, 1, § 135), obwohl das unpersönliche Passiv im Ahd. ganz üblich war.

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ähnliche syntaktische Verhältnisse in den übrigen germanischen Sprachen,[20] *namentlich im Nordischen, vorkommen.* Dass sich hingegen der *blosse Dativ Agentis* (der Dativ der Beteiligung) nicht im Gotischen, wie im Nordischen, aufweisen lässt, beruht auf den *verschiedenen* syntaktischen Verhältnissen dieser beiden Sprachen, d. h. *auf dem Gebrauch des unpersönlichen Passivs.*

Das Studium der gotischen Syntax leidet immer noch daran, dass man geneigt ist, sich ausschliesslich auf das Gotische zu beschränken, statt auf die Syntax der übrigen germanischen Sprachen gebührende Rücksicht zu nehmen. Dieses Verfahren wäre in der Formenlehre doch unerhört.

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT.

Kansas University.

FRENCH ARMY SLANG

Among many other things, the present war in Europe will be responsible for an enrichment of the already large French slang vocabulary. All trades develop their slang, and after two years war has become a trade. All along the front the irrepressible humor of the French soldier has created new words and new meanings for old words which he uses in connection with his trade of soldiering. Many of these words are common to the whole front, but each sector has its own localisms just as small communities develop their own particular slang and colloquialisms. In the region occupied by the English in France, a veritable 'Lingua Franca' is growing up, with such changes as Arm-in-Tears for Armentières and the universal 'Napoo' (*il n'y a plus—n'a p'us*) which means negation.

In *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXI, 180, Mr. Atkinson[1] gives a list of words which he says have not existed in the language before the war, in a meaning at all similar to that in which the soldiers now

[20] Gegen Grimm, *Grammatik* IV, S. 116, Anm., vgl. oben Fussn. 7. Auch gegen Köhler, Über den syntaktischen Gebrauch des Dativs im Gothischen, *Germania* XI, 290: "Die Construction des Dat. c. Inf. wäre eine ganz unerhörte." Nirgendwo in seinem Aufsatze scheint K. auf das Anord. und nur flüchtig auf das Westgerm. Rücksicht genommen zu haben.

[1] Criticisms of Mr. Atkinson's article were also received from Professor Joseph E. Gillet, of the University of Illinois, and from Professor Maurice

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employ them. Of this list *amoché, as de carreau, babillarde, bacchante, balancer, se barber, se bomber, botter, cabèche, carré, chien du quartier, fortif, fromgi, là (être), moche, plume, sèche, se tirebouchonner,* may be found with exactly the same meaning in Aristide Bruant, *L'Argot au XX^e Siècle,* 2^e éd. Paris, 1905. *Moulin à café* and *rouspeter* are given by Georges Delesalle, *Dictionnaire Argot-Français & Français-Argot,* Paris, 1896. *S'en faire* is merely *se faire de la bile* or *du mauvais sang* (Delesalle, 36), and I suspect *couane* of being an old extension of the meaning of *se faire gratter la couenne* (Delesalle, 78) and not a new usage. *Cafard* has long been in use in the *Légion Etrangère* with the meaning *ressentir de la mélancolie, s'ennuyer,* sometimes to the point of 'running amuck' under the hot African sun. From there it was brought to France where I heard it before the war, as well as *canard, cran, godasse, salaud* and *zigouiller,* which is from the vocabulary of the 'Apache,' where it means to kill, to stick a knife into.

I herewith append a list of words that I have collected since the beginning of the war, some of which are doubtless open to the same criticism as those mentioned above from Mr. Atkinson's list, as I have at hand no dictionary of recent civilian slang with which to control them. The difficulty of studying slang is that one must depend so much on oral transmission, dictionaries being out of

Adam, of the Louisiana State University, from which are taken the following excerpts:

Professor Gillet: *Piou-piou* and *galette* were very common, *kif-kif* less. *Se barber* (*la barbe*—accompanied with the movement of shaving`, *cran, fortif, moche, sèche* were quite familiar before the war even to Frenchmen who would not be inclined to use them. I am not sure whether *ripaton* was also used for *leg,* instead of *shoe* only. *Salaud* as a low-comic form of address or exclamation I have repeatedly seen in print years ago. I have doubts about some of the other words. *Babillarde* has always meant *letter* in the 'langue verte.' If *cabèche* stands for *caboche* it is, of course, an old acquaintance. I suppose *couane* is meant for *couenne.*

Professor Adam: The following expressions (with the meaning attached to them by Mr. Atkinson): *Bacchante, Balancer, se Barber, Botter, Cabèche* (also *caboche*), *Canard, Carré, Couane, Cran, Cuistot, s'en Faire, Fortif, Godasse, Moche, Moulin à Café, Plume* (*a*), *Riflard, Rouspeter, Salaud, Saucisson, Sèche* (griller une sèche = fumer une cigarette), *Singe, se Tirebouchonner, Zigouiller,* have been known to me for more than 12 years; some of them having brought back to me sweet recollections of my schooldays.

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date almost before they are published. Many of the words of the present list have already occurred in print during the progress of the war; others I have heard used by the men themselves. The words and their definitions followed by X come from a list prepared by a *poilu* from a sector in the Vosges. The *Avertissement* is from the same source. Those followed by R, I have taken from *Rigolboche,* one of the newspapers edited by the men in the trenches. Several words in this list date from before the war, but I have included them for the sake of the *poilu*'s definition of them, and I have also repeated several from Mr. Atkinson's list.

Le Poilu Tel Qu'on Le Parle
Avertissement

La langue poilue est née de circonstances particulières; on ne la parlait pas avant la guerre, et tout porte à croire que, la paix signée, elle sera reléguée parmi les langues mortes: le latin, le grec, ou le sanscrit. Sans doute, au Collège de France, érigera-t-on une chaire de Poilu. En attendant, il nous a paru bon d'établir pour les troufions qui ne sont pas encore allés au front et aussi pour les infortunés ciblots qui n'iront jamais, un petit lexique poilu qui servira aux uns à se faire comprendre et surtout à comprendre, quand ils iront dans les tranchées, et aux autres à goûter toute la saveur des lettres de nos braves soldats.

Abri, lieu découvert où l'on reçoit plus de pruneaux que partout ailleurs. (X).—*Abri-métro,* un système de caverne revêtu intérieurement d'une carapace blindée en acier cintrée qui ressemble à une galerie du Métro.—*Agent de liaison,* on appelle ainsi l'homme qui sert de communication à deux corps de troupe; ce nom d'agent de liaison lui vient de ce qu'en général il ne les observe jamais. Ex. Mon Capitaine, j'ai t'été z'à la 35e qui z'aurait besoin d'trente hommes. (X).—*Aiguille à tricoter,* baïonnette.—*Ange blanche,* infirmière.—*Anses de panier,* ouvrages de défense en fils barbelés.—*Aramon,* vin à partir de 30 centimes le litre. (X).—*Arrière,* se dit de tout ce qui n'est pas sur le front; l'arrière est le domaine des Epilés, comme le front celui des Poilus. (X).—*As,* pilote-aviateur dont le 'cran' n'a d'égal que l'habileté, et dont le courage, allié à une connaissance parfaite du maniement de son appareil lui permet de vaincre toutes les traîtrises de l'air et . . . toutes celles du Boche. (Fantasio, nº 232, 15 sept. 1916).—*Auxiliaire,* pauvre bougre d'infirme qui n'aura jamais l'honneur d'être amoché. (X). —*Bagnolle,* disrespectful term for anything on wheels, preferably a Ford.—*Bailler,* passer. Baillez-moi un bout de barbaque (viande). (X).—*Baldingue,* équipement du cavalier.—*Barbue,* la

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femme du Poilu. "J'ai reçu une babillarde de ma barbue." (X). —*Bardin*, équipement du fantassin.—*Bavard*, canon.—*Becquetance*, brouet dont la composition varie par l'alternance de ses deux éléments; le matin, riz et singe; le soir, singe et riz. (R).—*Berlingot*, avion.—*Bide*, estomac.—*Bluet*, ceux de la classe 1917.—*Bocherie*, le pays où gîtent les Boches. (X).—*Bochisme*, *bochaille*, *bochonneries*, les actions des Boches. (X).—*Bonhomme*, synonyme des Poilus à l'usage des gens du monde et des jeunes filles qui sortent des oiseaux. (X).—*Bosser*, travailler.—*Bourguignotte*, le nouveau casque d'acier.—*Bouzillage*, the striking the earth and smashing of an aeroplane.—*Boyaux*, communicating trenches.—*Bras-cassé*, infirmier militaire.—*Brouette*, small two-wheeled pushcart (for the transport of wounded) holding a single stretcher.—*Cabot*, vieillot; signifiait caporal, mais n'est plus guère employé que par les vétérans; d'ailleurs, on reste si peu longtemps caporal que l'on n'a pas éprouvé le besoin de trouver un terme nouveau. (X).—*Cafouiller*, donner mal (en parlant d'un moteur).—*Cage à poules*, avion.—*Cagibis*, abri. (Terme d'argot usité en Algérie).—*Cagna* ou *cania*, petit abri creusé dans la terre. Importé de l'Indo-Chine, ce mot viendrait de l'annamite caghna qui signifie maison.—*Caisse*, faire caisse, chute de cheval.—*Calendrier*, torpille.—*Calleboule*, lanterne. —*Camouflet*, small counter mine.—*Camoufleur*, celui qui camoufle. —*Carlingue*, nacelle d'avion.—*Se caroler*, le mot reste, bien que la chose soit complètement ignorée des Poilus. (X). S'enfuir.—*Cercueil volant*, avion.—*Chat*, le 75 français.—*Ciblot*, tout ce qui n'est pas poilu.—*Cicasse*, eau-de-vie.—*Cirlo*, civil.—*Clancer*, casser sa pipe.—*Claque à fond*, n'a pas que la signification française: 'claquer à fond' comme un fouet. En argot militaire belge, un 'claque à fond' est un soldat doué d'une robustesse d'appétit inimaginable, avec un bon moral inébranlable, comme sous-entendu logique. (Les Annales Politiques et Littéraires, nº 1735, 24 sept., 1916).—*Cloche*, la bourguignotte.—*Coco*, essence pour moteur d'avion.—*Convalo*, convalescence.—*Coton*, nuage.—*Coucou*, avion à sept cylindres.—*Crapand*, small trench mortar.—*Cuistance*, cuisine.—*Dégouiller*, amocher, mais d'une façon plus définitive. Quand on est amoché, on peut en revenir, tandis que lorsque l'on est dégouillé, c'est pour longtemps. (X).—*Descente en cheminée*, en rond, en spirale d'un avion.—*Dessalé*, débrouillard.—*Diables bleus*, chasseurs alpins.—*Distribe*, grand mystère nocturne auquel ne sont admis que quelques privilégiés qui en reviennent, au petit jour, dans un grand état d'excitation. (R). La distribution des lettres.— *En écraser*, dormir.—*Ecumeur*, nettoyeur des tranchées avec des grenades après une heureuse affaire.—*Effleurer la marguerite*, atterrir, d'un avion.—*Enfants des Boches*, rats. *Entonnoir*, excavation caused by a heavy shell.—*Epilé*, ne pas confondre avec l'embusqué. L'épilé est le contraire du Poilu, mais il peut rendre des services. (X).—*Engène*, le canon de 75.—*Faucheuse*, mitrailleuse. —*Filocheur*, débrouillard.—*Fléchette*, bombe.—*Flotte*, boisson

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commune des Poilus, formant la base de pinard. (R).—*Fourchette*, baïonnette.—*Fritz*, 1. Animal sauvage vivant sous terre, en société, et impossible à apprivoiser; synonyme = Boche. (R). 2. Le 77 allemand.—*Front*, un endroit où il fait chaud, même en hiver, qui part de la mer du Nord pour aller en Suisse; un mur derrière lequel il se passe quelque chose. (X).—*Gadin-gadouille*, chute de cheval; s'emploie avec faire.—*Garde-punaises*, sergent.—*Gaufre*, chute de cheval; s'emploie avec ramasser.—*Gazer*, aller vite, d'un avion.—*Gourbi*, abri souterrain des tranchées.—*Graine de torticolis*, poux.—*Grand-père*, petit nom d'amitié que les Poilus donnent au Généralissime, ce roi des Poilus. On l'appelle aussi le Vieux ou le Poilu. (X).—*Gratouillette*, see *Totos*.—*Grenadier*, lanceur de grenades.—*Guignol*, abri souterrain des tranchées. Cette expression désigne, en Algérie, les abris formés de six toiles de tentes individuelles.—*Guitare*, torpille.—*Guitoune*, abri souterrain.—*Inapt*, mot péjoratif qui aggrave le cas des *récupérés*. (X). —*Josse*, soldat; argot belge.—*Jus*, décoction noirâtre que l'on additionne de cicasse et que les Poilus boivent le matin pour se donner du cœur au ventre. (X). Café.—*Juteuse*, pipe.—*Juteux*, adjutant.—*Kibour*, képi.—*Lattes*, chanssures.—*Liquette*, tunique.—*Louis-Philippe*, mortier de tranchée.—*Marie-Louise*, bleu de la classe 1916.—*Marmite*, récipient boche destiné à donner un bon bouillon aux Poilus, mais ils en sont pour leurs frais. (X). Obus de gros calibre.—*Marron*, balle.—*Mésange bleu*, gendarme.—*Mettre*, verbe bien français qui exprime l'action des Poilus. On en mettra tant qu'il faudra, jusqu'au bout. (X).—*Miole*, mulet.—*Moral*, vin.—*Moulin de rata*, mitrailleuse.—*Ours noir*, artilleur.—*Pâle*, malade.—*Paname*, Paris.—*Panard*, pied.—*Panasse*, Paris.—*Paxon*, mets formant le fond de l'alimentation des Poilus. Pour faire un bon paxon, vous prenez de l'huile, du vinaigre, du chocolat, une demi-boîte de homard et une paire de chaussettes tricotées. Faire cuire à feu doux et servir très chaud. (R).—*Paxon maous soi-soi*, colis rempli de bonnes choses. *Pépère*, on dit: être pépère. Tranquillité d'esprit du Poilu dans les tranchées. (X).—*Perco*, Tuyau qui sert à faire chauffer le jus et à donner des nouvelles des cuistots. (R).—*Perlot*, 1. Troncs d'arbres que le gouvernement des Poilus, dans sa sollicitude, ignifuge par crainte d'incendie, et distribue aux sauvages qui passent naïvement des heures à essayer de les faire entrer dans de minuscules fourneaux de pipes. (R). Tabac. 2. Pipe.—*Pèse*, chaise.—*Pet-de-lapin*, le 77 allemand.—*Pinard*, vin. From a letter by Louis Schneider in Les Annales Politiques et Littéraires, nº 1723, July 2, 1916. Je lis dans les Annales que l'excellent Sergines cherche l'étymologie de pinard; et je vois qu'un bon latiniste se surexcite les méninges pour trouver à ce mot une origine latine. Ne serait-il pas plus simple d'attribuer au pinard une naissance plus vraisemblable? Pinard est, à mon avis, un terme de métier. On greffe la vigne avec des ceps qui s'appellent des Pinot ou des Gamay (noms de viticulteurs sans

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doute). Les soldats, dont quelques-uns sont des vignobles bordelais ou bourguignons, auront appelé ' pinard ' le jus divin qui vient du Pinot. Et ce nom de baptême aura sans doute été adopté par toute une compagnie, tout un régiment, tout un corps d'armée, toute l'armée.—*Pistolet,* urinoir d'hôpital.—*Piston,* instrument de musique qui ne s'emploie qu'à l'arrière et avec quoi l'on fabrique les embusqués. (X). Pull, in American slang.—*Planquer,* quand un Poilu est bien planqué, ils peuvent venir, on ne le fera pas remuer d'un pouce. C'est parce qu'ils se sont bien planqués que les Poilus ont gagné la bataille de la Marne. (X).—*Poilu,* soldat.—*Pot-de-fleurs,* képi.—*Protte,* fantassin. Argot de l'armée belge.—*Pruneau,* bullet.—*Queue-de-rat,* bombe.—*Rab,* merveille. Synonyme de merveille inconnue. Superlatif: Rab de rab. (R). Rab is probably a shortened form of *rabiot,* which means food left over after the distribution has been made; therefore a supplement, an extra.—*Raffut,* faire du raffut, protester.—*Raquette,* engin de tranchée.—*Récupéré,* individu qui se croyait bien tranquille chez lui et à qui le Ministre a fait le grand honneur de collaborer à la défense de la patrie. (X).—*Rosalie,* baïonnette. La bonne amie du Poilu; celle dont il ne se sépare jamais;

> **Connaissez-vous Rosalie**
> **Du Poilu la vraie amie?**
> **Elle a le teint clair,**
> **Et la santé de fer,**
> **Et elle ne craint pas**
> **Les courants d'air.** (X).—

Rubiquer, protester.—*Saucisse,* ballon cerf-volant.—*Sauterelle,* lance-bombes. Resembles the ballista of the ancients.—*Scribouillard,* secrétaire. Synonyme: chieur d'encre.—*Soixante-quinze,* le Poilu des Poilus. (X).—*Tasse,* ne s'emploie que dans cette expression: prendre la tasse. S'applique aux Boches quand, le 75 ayant parlé, Rosalie entre dans la danse. (X).—*Taxi,* avion.—*Terrible-torial,* soldat de l'armée territoriale.—*Tête-à-Guillaume,* hand grenade.—*Totos,* les poux qui donnent la gratouillette. (X).—*Tranche,* ensemble de tranchées placé sous le commandement d'un officier supérieur.—*Tricoter les gambettes,* courir.—*Trois-pattes,* avion ayant un moteur réduit à trois cylindres.—*Troufion,* candidat poilu.—*Turlutine,* mitrailleuse.—*Tuyau-de-poêle,* trench grenade, made of a copper tube about sixty centimeters long.—*Valise,* engin de tranchée.—*Youyou,* bombe.—*Zigomar,* sabre.—*Zigouiller,* blesser avec la baïonnette.—*Zinc,* avion.

MILTON GARVER.

Yale University.

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A TOT, ATOT, AND *OTOT*

In the glossary to his edition of the *Chanson de Roland* (Paris, 1880), Gautier defines *atut* (*atot*) as follows: "Prép. qui, étymologiquement, doit s'écrire *a tut* (*ad totum*). Ce mot, qui signifie *avec,* est devenu, aux siècles suivants, d'un usage universel: *Par uns e uns les ad pris les baruns.—A l'arcevesque en est venuz atut.*" It will be observed that, while Gautier defines *atut* as a preposition, the only passage that he cites to illustrate its use is one in which it is used as an adverb. *Tot* was doubtless first combined with *a* and *o* in constructions where *a tot* (*atot*) and *otot* were used as adverbs:

Tristran prist l'arc, par le bois vait;
Vit un chevrel, ancoche et trait,
El costé destre fiert forment:
Brait, saut en haut et jus descent.
Tristran l'a pris, *atot* s'en vient.
(*Le Roman de Tristan* par Béroul, ed. Muret, 1289.)

Du mal que cil ot fait li menbre:
A s'espee tot le desmenbre;
Le chief en prent, *atot* s'en vet.
(*Ibid.*, 1711.)

Dui damoisel l'ont cheschaucié.
Li malades les sorchauz prent,
Otot s'en vet isnelement.
(*Ibid.*, 3738.)

Se li François euissent eu leurs chevaus, il s'en fuissent parti a leur honneur et en euissent mené des bons prisonniers, mais il n'en avoient nulz, car li garçon, si com ci dessus est dit, en estoient fui *a tout.* (Froiss., *Chron.*, II, 204.)

Des ennemys qui de longtemps ne pensoyent a austre chose qu'a prendre les plus cheres personnes et plus precieux meubles qu'ils eussent, pour s'enfuyr *a tout* es deserts de la Scythie. (Amyot, *Vies,* Crassus, ed. 1567.)

It will be observed that in the examples just cited *a tot* occurs after verbs of motion (*s'enfuir, s'en aller, venir*).[1]

The second stage in the syntactical history of the forms under

[1] Cf. Il a pris mon manteau, et il s'en est allé *avec.*

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consideration was the change from an adverb to a preposition.[2] The following examples will suffice to illustrate the use of *a tot* (*atot*) and *otot* as prepositions:

> Or s'an vont nos François a Baufort lor chemin,
> Et l'amirans les suit *a tot* ·M· Sarazins.
> (*Floovant*, 1815, ed. Michelant et Guessard.)

> Et li jaianz li vient le cors
> De l'autre part *atot* son pel.
> (*Yvain*, 4199.)

> Et li bons maires isnelement en vint
> *O tot* le bras que il ne vot guerpir,
> Qu'il en aporte de son seignor Garin.
> (*Chrestomathie de l'ancien français*,
> par Karl Bartsch, Leipzig, 1904, 68, 5.)

[2] Compare the development of the adverb *ensemble* into a preposition (= *avec*). In this connection Meyer-Lübke (*Grammaire des langues romanes*, III, § 207) says: "Dans des phrases comme l'a.-franç. *li dis Girarz ala en exil sanz paour, ensemble sa femme* (Gir. Rouss. 11), on distingue encore clairement l'adverbe dans *ensemble*: il exprime une action simultanée de deux êtres sans que le verbe soit répété avec le second, mais la forme de sujet y est ou du moins peut y être maintenue. Or, dans une classe nombreuse de substantifs, l'identité de forme au cas sujet et au cas prépositionnel rendait presque inévitable une altération du rapport qui existe entre *ensemble* et *femme*. Celle-ci s'est produite jusqu'à un certain point dans *vait s'en li reis Willame voc son grant barnage* (Jord. Fant. 630), en ce que *son grant barnage* a revêtu la forme du cas prépositionnel; mais cette altération n'est tout à fait accomplie que quand le mot accompagnant *ensemble*, *avec* ne désigne pas un être animé agissant par lui-même, mais que c'est un terme abstrait ou un nom de chose: cf. *et s'entorna ensemble grant joie de victoire en son chastel* (Gir. Rouss. 59), où l'on voit qu'il ne peut plus être question d'une action commune, ce qui détruit le rapport de *ensemble* avec le verbe." It is interesting to compare in this connection the use of the preposition *quant et* (cf. *Nous emportons nos fers quant et nous*, Mont., *Ess.*, l. I, ch. XXVIII, p. 141) along by the side of the adverbial phrase *quand et quand* (cf. *Ainsi vous ne cherchiez que l'honnêteté, et vous avez trouvé quand et quand le délectable*, Balz., liv. V, lett. 15). The history of the development of the adverb *quand et quand* into the preposition *quant et* is doubtless similar to the change of the adverb *ensemble* into the preposition *ensemble*. Both of these prepositions mean *avec* and both of them are also derived from adverbs. They therefore furnish interesting parallels to the development of the preposition *a tot* (= *avec*) out of the adverb *a tot*. With reference to the use of *quant et* in modern dialects, Godefroy (see *op. cit.*, under *quant*) says: "Cette locution s'est conservée dans le langage populaire des provinces. On dit aussi *à quant et, à tout*

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With reference to the meaning of these prepositions and the period during which they were in use, Meyer-Lübke says:[3] "Il est à remarquer qu'en vieux français notamment *atout* et *otout*, de *apud totu*, sont employés entièrement au sens du simple *ad*: *il s'en vaut atout moi fuir* (Chev. II esp. 7313) et de même encore au XVI^e^ siècle,[4] en partie jusqu'à nos jours dans les patois,[5] spécialement avec un régime instrumental."

The history of *a tot* (*atot*) and *otot* is the same as that of *porueč* (*pruec*) and *aruec*, with reference to which Gaston Paris says:[6] "Or il est arrivé à *poruec*, *pruec*, la même chose qu'à *aruec*. On a perdu de vue la valeur de la seconde partie du mot, qui en faisait nécessairement un adverbe,[7] et on en a fait une préposition,[8] ayant à peu près le sens du simple *por*, comme *aruec* a pris par l'usage le sens de *od*."

OLIVER M. JOHNSTON.

Leland Stanford Jr. University.

ON THE SOURCES OF THE *FATA APOSTOLORUM*

Although many attempts have been made to determine the source of Cynewulf's *Fata Apostolorum*, none has been wholly successful. Sarrazin (*Anglia* XII, 380 ff.) was the first to point out that Cynewulf might have found all his material in a martyrology which must have been nearly related to that of Jerome and the one known to Venantius. He thinks it probable that the source is the lost *Liber passionum duodecim apostolorum* which Bede used as the basis of his martyrology, and notes further that the content of the *Breviarium Apostolorum* as given by Lipsius agrees closely with the *Fata*. Since the former text was not accessible, he confined himself to a comparison with Bede from which he concludes

quant et (Norm.), *à tout quant et mei* (arr. de S. Brieuc). A Alençon on dit *aquatele moi*."

[3] See *op. cit.*, III, § 444.

[4] For examples of *atout* in the sixteenth century, compare Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, *Le Seizième Siècle en France*, Paris, 1889, p. 274.

[5] See D. Behrens, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XIII, 410-11.

[6] See *Romania*, VI, 589.

[7] Jo irai *pruec* e tu chi atendras (*Alisc.* 3748).

[8] Alés *pruekes* le parkemin (*Le Dit de l'Empereur Coustant*, 397).

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that Bede and Cynewulf used the same source (p. 381). Holthausen reaches a different conclusion, namely that Cynewulf used a Latin text which was a combination of Bede and the *Breviarium* but which had added a few facts from the legends of the individual apostles.[1] Bourauel [2] adds to the two sources proposed by Sarrazin and Holthausen: Jerome, *Notitia de locis apostolorum*, and Isidore, *De vita et obitu utriusque testamenti sanctorum*. After comparing the *Fata* with these four texts,[3] he concludes that Cynewulf certainly used Isidore, Bede and the notes of Jerome, and probably the *Breviarium Apostolorum* and Πράξεις Θωμᾶ; and that all the sources were Latin with the possible exception of the account of Thomas. Krapp,[4] after comparing these same four texts, concludes that Cynewulf had before him the list or lists which Bede used in his martyrology, since all the incidents of the *Fata* might have been derived from Bede with the exception of the account of the death of James, son of Zebedee, which agrees with that of the *Breviarium*, and the awakening of Gad, which is found in neither.

A difficulty in accepting Krapp's conclusion lies in the fact that there are three more points, not mentioned by him, which Cynewulf has in common with the *Breviarium*, but which are lacking in Bede. These are the following: that Philip was crucified; Thomas "lanceis transfixus"; and that Bartholomew was "in Albano." Furthermore all of the facts which are found in Cynewulf and the *Breviarium* and not in Bede are found also in Isidore, who agrees almost verbatim with the *Breviarium* throughout, adding or elaborating slightly occasionally. They cannot, then, be considered two sources, and since we know that Isidore was widely known, it seems probable that Cynewulf used Bede (or Bede's sources?) and Isidore for his *Fata*.

Were it not for the story of Gad, which Cynewulf relates in connection with Thomas, we should now be satisfied, but neither Bede nor Isidore makes any mention of this legend. Bourauel (p. 105) and Krapp both accept as fairly satisfactory Sarrazin's statement (p. 382), that the story of Gad may have been in the common

[1] *Herrig's Archiv*, vol. 106, p. 344. [2] *Bonner Beiträge*, vol. 11, p. 119.

[3] The edition of Bede's *Martyrology* quoted by Bourauel is the *coloniensis*, printed by Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. 94, col. 797, ff. Migne prints also the *editio bollandiana* but this is of little value for the present discussion, being very brief.

[4] *Andreas and Fata*, Int., p. xxxii.

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source of Bede and Cynewulf, and merely omitted by Bede, or that Cynewulf added the legend from some other source. Light is thrown on the question by the great English breviaries—York, Sarum and Hereford—which have not heretofore been considered in this connection. A garbled version of the story is found in the thirteenth century manuscript of the Hereford Chapter Library,[5] and the whole story, agreeing almost verbatim with the account of the York Breviary, where it is also found,[6] occurs in the fifteenth century small Hereford Breviary of Worcester.[7] Though the Hereford Breviary agrees in general with that of Sarum, in certain points it agrees with York rather than with Sarum. Thus, in portions of the lessons for James, son of Zebedee, and Matthew, and notably in the story of Gad.

It is significant that the story occurs in the two northernmost breviaries since Cynewulf lived in the north. We know that the Irish missionaries were active in the region of Yorkshire, and that the Gallican Rite was used there at least up to the time of the Synod of Whitby. Brightman says,[8] "The Gallican Rite must have continued for a while after the Synod of Whitby by English disciples of St. Colman and only gradually have given place to the Roman, possibly leaving behind it traces like those which later on were left by the Gallican Rite on the continent after it had been gradually superseded by the Roman." In the *Breviarium Gothicum*[9] we find the story with close verbal resemblance in many points to that of York and Hereford, and the Mozarabic Liturgy[10] has the story also, though Gad occurs there as Bat(!). There seems strong likelihood, then, that the *Fata* goes back to an Irish-Latin tradition, current in Northern England. Dr. Carleton Brown (*Eng. St.* XL, 1-30) has already pointed out that Cynewulf shows Irish-Latin influence, and one of the proper names which he adduces in proof of his point occurs in the Asseum of the *Fata*. This may serve to strengthen the likelihood of the above assumption concerning the source of the *Fata*.

RUTH PERKINS.

Bryn Mawr College.

[5] *Hereford Breviary*, vol. 2, p. 73, Henry Bradshaw Society Publications, vol. 40.
[6] *York Breviary*, vol. 2, col. 124-126, Surtees Society, 1882.
[7] *Hereford Breviary*, pp. 72-4.
[8] *The English Rite*, Int., p. xiv.
[9] Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. 86, col. 1302.
[10] Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. 85, col. 181.

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REVIEWS

A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1400. By JOHN EDWIN WELLS, M. L., M. A., Ph. D. Published under the auspices of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1916. Pp. xv + 941.

Every serious student of the Middle English literature will find this *Manual* an indispensable work of reference, for the reason that it assembles information not hitherto contained in any single bibliography or handbook. The aim of the book may best be indicated by quoting the author's own statement in the Preface:

> This manual makes the first attempt to treat all the extant writings in print, from single lines to the most extensive pieces, composed in English between 1050 and 1400. At times, as with the Romances, the Legends, and the Drama, a desire for greater completeness has led to the inclusion of pieces later than 1400.

In point of fact, the chronological limits here set up are somewhat misleading. No reason appears for taking as the starting point such an early date as 1050, unless possibly it be a desire to include the four-line song of King Canute (p. 490), and even this has come down to us in a text of the second half of the twelfth century. Such texts as the continuations of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (p. 190) and *Peri Didaxeon* (p. 428) and the Charters and Wills in Thorpe's *Diplomatarium Angl. Ævi Saxonici* (p. 441) seem out of place in a "Manual of Writings in Middle English" and might better have been left to the bibliographer of Old English. If, on the other hand, it was the intention to include *all* English texts written subsequent to 1050 one would expect to find reference to such texts as the Old English Vision of Leofric (ed. A. S. Napier, Philol. Soc. Trans., 1908).

Nor does the year 1400 fairly represent the lower chronological limit of the *Manual,* even when one notes the exceptions stated by the author. For not only in the case of Romances, Legends and Drama, but in the field of lyrical and didactic poetry as well, he extends his limits to include a large body of fifteenth-century material. Such collections of songs and carols, for example, as those in Sloane MS. 2593 and Bodl. MS. Eng. poet. e. 1 belong

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wholly to the fifteenth century. Again, numerous poems by Lydgate and Hoccleve have been registered though many others (which so far as one can judge have an equal claim to inclusion) have been omitted.

To draw a dividing line through Middle English literature at the year 1400, every one will agree, is difficult if not impossible. But the proportion of the fifteenth-century material in this *Manual* is surprisingly large in view of the limits which the author announces. To be sure, the student will not complain because he receives generous measure, but he may be perplexed to understand the principle of selection; and when he seeks information concerning a particular fifteenth-century text he cannot be sure whether he will find it or not.

The material is arranged topically rather than chronologically. Some idea of the comprehensiveness of the *Manual* may be gained from the list of chapters into which it is divided: 1. Romances, 2. Tales, 3. Chronicles, 4. Works Dealing with Contemporary Conditions, 5. Homilies and Legends, 6. Works of Religious Information and Instruction, and Aids to Church Services, 7. Proverbs and Precepts, and Monitory Pieces, 8. Translations and Paraphrases of the Bible, and Commentaries, 9. Dialogues, Debates, Catechisms, 10. Science, Information, Documents, 11. Rolle and his Followers, 12. Wycliffe and his Followers, 13. Pieces Lyrical in Impulse or in Form, 14. Dramatic Pieces, 15. The *Pearl* Poet; Gower, 16. Chaucer. The value of the *Manual* is further increased by the addition of 130 pages of Bibliographical Notes, and an Alphabetical Index covering 57 pages.

Of these sixteen chapters the last is the one which could most easily have been spared, since it was manifestly impossible for the author in a single chapter (even though it runs to 149 pages) to treat the Chaucer literature as thoroughly as Miss Hammond has done in her *Manual*. Nevertheless, many important Chaucer studies have appeared since 1908, so that Professor Wells's chapter serves a useful purpose in supplementing Miss Hammond's bibliography.

The chapter on Romances, on the other hand, is far more complete and thorough than Miss Billings's *Guide to the Mid. Eng. Metrical Romances,* which has long been out of date. Some few omissions—comparatively unimportant—may be noted: *Amoryus and Cleopes* (see *Pol. Rel. L. Poems,* pp. 301-8); *Apollonius of*

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Tyre, fragmentary metrical version (printed by Halliwell, *New Boke about Shakespeare* and reprinted by A. H. Smyth, *Shak's Pericles and Ap. of Tyre,* 1898); *Bevis of Hamtoun*—Matzke's paper, "The Oldest Form of the B. Leg." mentioned as "promised in M. Phil." (p. 766), appeared July 1912 (*Mod. Phil.* x. 19 ff); *Guy of Warwick* (no reference to F. N. Robinson, "Irish Lives of Guy of W. and Bevis of Hamton," *Zt. f. Celt. Philol.* VI); *Childe of Bristowe* (no mention of the version entitled 'The Merchant and His Son,' Halliwell, *Nugae Poeticae,* and Hazlitt, *Remains* I. 132 ff.); *Sir Eglamour* (no mention of Chepman and Myllar's print or the reprint by Laing in 1827); *Sir Fierabras* (no reference to the Irish version, ed. W. Stokes, *Revue Celtique* XIX—another Irish MS. of this romance, not noted by Stokes, is preserved in MS. Egerton 174, fols. 62-137 and 140); *Florian and Florete,* ed. Roxburghe Club 1873; *Peare of Provence and the Fair Maguelone* (see *Pol. Rel. L. Poems,* pp. 293-300). In the discussion of the Breton Lais in English (p. 124) a reference should be added to the important paper by L. Foulet (*Zt. f. rom. Philol.* XXX, 698-711.)

Although undertaking to treat only Middle English material which has already appeared in print, Professor Wells adds in the case of each piece a list of the manuscripts known to him. These lists of manuscripts, however, are the least satisfactory feature of the *Manual,* for the reason that they are compiled from secondary sources. Even a collation of the printed Catalogues of MSS. would have added materially to these manuscript lists, and would have saved the author from a number of errors. The "Fillingham Otuel," for example, which he states "has been lost" (p. 92), was purchased by the British Museum in 1907 and is now Addit. MS. 37492. In his account of the Northern Homily Cycle he speaks on p. 289 of "MS. Br. Mus. Additional 38010 (c. 1450)," and on the following page of "MS. Phillipps 8254 (Northern; 1400-1450)"—evidently unaware that they are the same. Among the fifteenth-century MSS. of "Marie, Modur and Mayden, euere wel þe Be" (p. 533) he lists "British Museum C, 11, a. 28 f. 97," which is not a manuscript but a printed book. The reference should be to *page* 97. On pp. 308, 313, and 314 references are given to "Durham Cathedral Libr. 5. 2. 14" and also to "Cosin's Library MS. v. ii 14." These are not two manuscripts but one: it is preserved in the library of Durham *University.* Under the head of "The Primer or Lay-Folks' Prayer-Book" (p. 356) mention is made only of Camb.

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MS. Dd. 11.82, which was edited for the EETS. Other manuscripts of the Primer have also been printed, e. g. B. M. Addit 17010 by Maskell (*Mon. Ritualia Eccl. Anglic.*) and St. John's Camb. G. 24 by Littlehales (*The Prymer or Prayer-Book of the Lay People in the Middle Ages,* Lond. 1891-2), with collations of still others. "The Wise Man's Proverbs" (p. 378) occur not only in MS. Bodley 9 but also in MS. Rawl. poet 32, from which this piece has been printed by Zupitza (*Archiv* XC, 243 ff.).

Very surprising is the confusion of Phillipps 8336 with Porkington 10—the former being a manuscript written by William Herebert about 1330 and the latter a miscellaneous manuscript of about 1460. The source of this error is to be found in Patterson's *Mid. Eng. Penit. Lyric,* where three of Herebert's hymns are reprinted with an erroneous reference to Porkington MS. 10. Wells, however, makes matters worse by attempting to harmonize Patterson's mistaken reference with the correct designation of this manuscript as given by Wright (*Rel. Antiq.* II, 225). Thus Herebert's hymns are referred to "Porkington 10, now Phillipps 8336 (c. 1460)" (p. 489; cf. also pp. 502 top, 532, and 853). It will be noted that the date of the Porkington MS. is here transferred to the Phillipps MS. *Per contra,* in speaking of "The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage," which actually is preserved in the Porkington MS., he adds in parenthesis: "Phillipps 8336; c. 1460" (p. 381).

Occasionally texts are entered in the *Manual* as separate pieces which are really portions of poems elsewhere described. Thus "A Definition of Robbery" (p. 439) is merely an extract from William of Nassyngton's *Speculum Vite;* and "The Efficacy of Ave Marias" (p. 169) is a fragmentary text of the poem, "How the Psalter of Oure Lady was Made" (see p. 168). The "Song of Joy on the Coming of Christ" (MS. Laud 622) is inaccurately described as consisting of "172 seven-stress verses in couplets" (p. 503): actually it consists of just half this number of lines. And instead of being a separate piece, it occurs in Ashmol. 43 and Egerton 1993 as the Prologue of the poem on the Birth of Christ (Horstmann, *AELeg.* 1875, pp. 64 ff.), though no cross reference is made to this text. More serious is the confusion created by entering the "Lay Folk's Catechism" (p. 355) and "Don Jon Gaytryge's Sermon" (p. 348) as distinct pieces. For this error the Early Eng. Text Society is originally responsible, though a comparison of the two

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texts as there printed would have been sufficient to establish their identity.

Typographical errors, in a book crammed as this one is with bibliographical data, are not surprising. I note only a few which have chanced to come to my attention: P. 348 (8th line from top) —for "Ii. 36" read "Ii. 1. 36": delete "Ll. I. 8." P. 438— Instead of "Rawlinson 939" (cited twice) read "Rawl. D. 939." P. 490—in the third line of the song of Canute for "Roþeþ" read "Roweþ." On p. 781 (third line from bottom) and p. 787 (sixth line from bottom), for "Perrould" read "Gerould." P. 789 [14] —for "E St 13. 165" read "E St 14. 165." P. 819 [35]—the reference for "Seven Questions to be Asked" appears to be wrong. P. 823 [11]—"The ABC of Aristotle" in Harl. 1304 is printed in EETS. *Ex. Ser.* 8. 65. P. 823 [24]—"King Solomon's Book" will be found in EETS. 69. 81, *not* in 43. 81.

A startling slip, for which the printers can hardly be held responsible, appears in the statement on p. 502 (13th line from bottom): "the poet shows that Christ wrote the charter of His love with the *inkhorn* [italics mine] of His wounds." What the poet actually said was:

> Vor love the chartre wrot,
> And the enke orn of his wounde.

The detection of errors in small matters is always the most ungracious part of the reviewer's function; though in the case of a bibliographical manual one cannot evade a painful concern for the references and notes. Nevertheless, a positive injustice would be done to Professor Wells's book by a failure to recognize at the same time the great service which he has rendered to Middle English scholarship by opening a path through the wilderness. In proportion as one appreciates the difficulties involved in such an undertaking one will value Professor Wells's *Manual* as a contribution to Middle English bibliography.

In his Preface the author drops a hint that a second edition of the *Manual* may possibly be undertaken. In view of this possibility one ventures to suggest that the reader's convenience would be greatly increased if the Bibliographical Notes could be arranged at the foot of the page immediately below the text to which they relate, instead of being massed at the end of the volume. At present much turning of the leaves is required.

University of Minnesota. CARLETON BROWN.

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The Soliloquy in German Drama. By ERWIN W. ROESSLER, Ph. D. New York, Columbia University Press, 1915.

After defining the monolog or dramatic soliloquy, Dr. Roessler gives the following classification: (1). Expositional or information soliloquies (introduction, self-identification, self-characterization, narrative, descriptive, intentional); (2). Introspective soliloquies (thought and emotional). The Introduction then closes with the following statement of the scope and purpose of the author's investigation: "1). What rôle does the soliloquy play in the technic of the various German dramatists? 2). Is dramatic technic improved by the elimination of the soliloquy?"

In the main body of the work there are six chapters: I. Early Indigenous Drama [(1). Medieval Church Plays; (2). Shrovetide Plays of the Fifteenth Century; (3). Drama of the Reformation; (4). Hans Sachs; (5). Herzog Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig; (6). Jakob Ayrer]; II. The Pseudo-Classic Drama [(1). Gryphius; (2). Lohenstein; (3). Christian Weise; (4). Gottsched and his Followers]; III. The Era of Lessing, Goethe, Schiller [(1). Lessing; (2). Storm and Stress; (3). Schiller; (4). Goethe]; IV. The Romantic Movement [(1). Heinrich von Kleist; (2). Grillparzer]; V. Forerunners of Modern Realistic Drama [(1). Friedrich Hebbel; (2). Otto Ludwig; (3). Ludwig Anzengruber]; VI. Recent Developments [(1). Hauptmann; (2). Sudermann]. Then follows the Conclusion.

The book of 121 pages contains, too, a table of contents, a bibliography, and an index.

Considering the separate chapters in detail, one finds the technic of the soliloquy in the early indigenous drama very crude. Before Hans Sachs real soliloquies, except a few of emotion, do not occur. With him there came a change, for in his plays the expositional, the moralizing, and the emotional monologs abound everywhere. And there is some improvement in technic; the words of explanation or information are no longer simply addressed to the audience, and stage directions are, at times, added to make the production somewhat more realistic.—In the dramas of Herzog Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig English influence becomes evident. Moralizing and ranting monologs are preferred to all others; the technic is still quite crude, but stage directions receive more attention.—Jakob Ayrer again falls below the standard set by Hans Sachs.

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The Pseudo-Classic drama shows various changes in the use of the monolog, much depending in each case upon the foreign model or influence. In the tragedies of Andreas Gryphius dramatic soliloquies, tho long and full of bombast, ranting, dejection, and pessimism, are not of frequent occurrence. An effort seems to be made to wrap expositional matters in an emotional coating.—As to technic, Lohenstein is much like Gryphius, showing the same fondness for philosophic reflections and florid rhetoric. In his dramas, however, the monolog occurs less frequently and is not so full of ranting.—Christian Weise, on the other hand, uses very many soliloquies and of the crudest type; in respect to technic he stands but little in advance of the 15th and 16th Centuries.—Hostile to all but short soliloquies of emotion, Gottsched, in his turn, caused the avoidance of the convention in the drama of his pupils and followers, tho himself using a few in *Cato*.

In his chapter on the era of Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe, Dr. Roessler first discusses the technic of the soliloquy in Lessing's early comedies. It stands on a much lower plane than in his later dramas. In the early plays the monologs served, for the most part, a mere mechanical purpose, a linking of scenes; in the later, they form essential parts of the dramatic structure, having direct bearing on plot or characterization. At first, there is a scarcity of realistic touches, emotional outbursts, apostrophes, and the like; the soliloquies are undramatic, full of philosophic and moralizing reflections, and of bits of self-characterization: later, the language is simple and natural; there are apostrophes, questions and answers, various emotions, reflections, or deliberations that often end with the revelation of a plan or intention. There is but little self-characterization, philosophic reflection or moralizing; the speech, in each case, is made to appear, as much as possible, like thinking aloud.

The use of the soliloquy in the Storm and Stress drama resembles Lessing's technic. There is, to be sure, more ranting, but, at the same time, also more stage directions together with pantomime or silent expression of emotion.

In Schiller's dramas a change of attitude toward monologs becomes evident. Before *Don Carlos*, he used them in great numbers and embellished them with rhetorical phrases; later, they occur less frequently and are more natural in language and construction, more and more attention being paid to pantomime and realistic stage directions. Expositional soliloquies, when present, usually

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form a small part of some other type; thought monologs are more numerous than the emotional.

Goethe, for his part, made no attempt to avoid using soliloquies. In his later dramas the convention is, in fact, used more freely than in his earlier works; and, according to Goethe's nature, it gradually becomes more and more lyric and elegiac. The various types are represented; among them the descriptive and the emotional appear most frequently. Monologs full of violent inner conflict are more numerous than the calm and purely deliberative. In fact, an emotional admixture is found in all types. In style and structure Goethe aimed more and more at greater formal beauty.

When discussing Kleist as a representative of the Romantic drama, it seems hard for Dr. Roessler to give him any claim to distinction. Recognizing the weakness of the confidant, Kleist refused to make use of this expedient. And for this, in my mind, he deserves credit. Nor should it, according to Dr. Roessler, be ascribed to Kleist's power that he used soliloquies sparingly, their absence being due to the fact that Kleist's characters were full of action. But who saw the dramatic possibilities in these characters, and who elected to treat them? The question is then asked, whether Kleist would have written *Tasso* without soliloquies. But he never would have chosen Tasso as a subject for a stage production. Again, it is claimed that the scarcity of soliloquies in some of Kleist's dramas is off-set by the "undramatic form and crudity" of the monologs in *Käthchen von Heilbronn*. But the weakness and crudity of one play do not annul the beauty and power of the others. Poets are not always at their best. Finally, the style of the soliloquy does not find favor, either. And yet it is the very style of the soliloquies that are now being introduced into the drama of today.

In his use of the soliloquy, Grillparzer was much like Goethe and Schiller. Like the latter he made use of stage directions and gradually diminished the power of the monolog in his plays. The various types of soliloquy are represented; the style improves thruout, a trend toward beautiful expression being evident. According to Dr. Roessler, Grillparzer "does not reach the level set by Schiller and Goethe in the technic of the soliloquy, firstly because of the numerous narrative and descriptive soliloquies" (p. 86); but on page 81, one reads concerning Grillparzer that "nar-

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rative passages in soliloquies are rather infrequent," and in Goethe's dramas "descriptive soliloquies are of frequent occurrence" (p. 64.) So the difference is not very great. The accounts of what is going on off the stage, mentioned on page 83, belong under narrative rather than descriptive soliloquies.

In the chapter on the Forerunners of Modern Realistic Drama, Friedrich Hebbel is shown to be fond of soliloquies. This is justified by Hebbel's introspective and self-analyzing nature. The monologs have some virtues, such as apostrophes, exclamations, questions and answers, etc.; but their weakness far outweighs their strength, for Hebbel's technic stands on a lower level than Goethe's or Schiller's. In coming to this conclusion, Dr. Roessler does not, however, contrast the early with the later plays.—Otto Ludwig's technic of the soliloquy is excellent, the speeches being short, dramatic, and well applied. But Dr. Roessler does not consider him an innovator, merely true to classical tradition. Ludwig Anzengruber does not receive full treatment. His technic is merely declared that of the classical period, altho he eschews purely expositional monologs and "reminds one of Ibsen's technic."

The chapter on Recent Developments shows that Hauptmann and Sudermann do not use soliloquies to any great degree in their realistic dramas, but accept the convention in their idealistic plays. In his revitalized Greek dramas, Hofmannsthal uses soliloquies that are rather dramatic. And in the Romantic dramas of Hardt and Stucken, the monologs are good and not very numerous.

In the Conclusion, the second part of the aim and purpose of the author's research is taken up: "Is dramatic technic improved by the elimination of the soliloquy?" And the answer, in brief, is: dramatic technic has suffered by avoiding the monolog; for its substitutes, facial expression and pantomime, cannot reveal a character's attitude, the conflicting emotions of his heart, nor his inner thoughts.

Viewed as a whole, the treatise is full of interest and quite instructive, but calls for various comments. For a doctor's dissertation it contains too much that is elementary and extraneous. Why tell us from Froning, for instance, that the medieval church plays had their origin in four Latin sentences of the Catholic ritual? And a work on the soliloquy should not devote so many pages to discussion of the medieval stage, the rise of the Reformation plays, and the history of English influence on the German

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drama. The treatise was not to be a history of German dramas and dramatists. Again, it seems doubtful whether it was necessary to characterize the Storm and Stress movement and Otto Ludwig, as they were; above all, when all is already known from any history of German literature. Furthermore, too much mere quoting from such histories appears, for example, under Anzengruber and in the description of Ibsen's influence upon the German drama. And much of this material is not always to the point. Some remarks, moreover, are out of their proper place. The discussion of the fact, for instance, that "the classification has been made with reference to the predominating element" should appear in the Introduction and not on page 74.

The style of the book is in some respects peculiar. Many phrases appear to be rather out of place, somewhat racy and familiar: e. g., "the soliloquy has . . . been ruthlessly ousted from its comfortable throne," p. 1; "getting the story across is the main object of the author," p. 28; "and finally perforce resort to a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde theory to account for the exuberant humor and the genuine tomfoolery," p. 38; "our old friends, the self-identifying and self-characterizing soliloquy," p. 40; "the soliloquy is compelled to slink off the scene of its former triumphs," p. 41; "to transmute a convention into a 'slice of life,'" p. 42; "to produce weird excrescences upon the tree of sane expression," p. 51; "a battlefield covered with the disjecta membra of the combatants," p. 52; "a choice assortment of emotional outbursts," p. 52; "he regales us with an allegro furioso on the theme Spitzbube," p. 60. Many words and phrases are often repeated: e. g., bald, baldly, ranting, tear passion to tatters, ad spectatores.

Of misprints there are a few. The chief ones follow: role = rôle, p. 1; techinc = technic, p. 2; Escarbagnes = Escarbagnes, p. 9; Ayres = Ayrers, p. 33 (note); Benfy = Benfey, pp. 76-78 (twice); Silbergklöckchen = Silberglöckchen, p. 82; deflective = reflective, p. 83; is = ist, p. 104; Meyer = Meyer-Benfey, p. 114 (if one is to judge from the juggling of Meyer-Benfey's name, Dr. Roessler was not very familiar with his work on Kleist); III = II, p. 48; III.6 = III.7, p. 57; IV = V, 11 = 12, 16 = 17, p. 64 (note); 3581-3620 = 3587-3619, p. 73; III = II, p. 83 (note); 3677-86, Faust I, is not a soliloquy; here and there some commas should have been added.

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Dr. Roessler's problem was not a difficult one. The way for its solution had been well prepared by Arnold, Berger, Düsel, Franz, Matthews, Paull, and others. Nor did anything very troublesome present itself; the work is, to a large extent, a tabulation, epoch by epoch, type by type, of the soliloquies of some representative German dramas. There was but little racking of the brain required; for classification, based on "the predominating element," is, on the whole, quite easy. And some problems were avoided: e.g., the difference between comedies and tragedies in regard to the technic of the soliloquy in the case of Gryphius, Lessing, and Ludwig. The author should have noted and examined this characteristic.

G. C. L. Riemer.

Bucknell University.

The Use of the Infinitive Instead of a Finite Verb in French, by B. F. Luker. New York: Columbia Press, 1916. 115 pp.

In this Columbia dissertation, Mr. Luker, restricting his investigation to the French field, takes up the four types of infinitive used in place of a finite verb and interprets them all as due to ellipsis. Two of the four do not to-day need a rediscussion to carry conviction: ellipsis of a verb of necessity is back of the modern French infinitive in brief notices and directions; and from the time Gaston Paris named the verb to be supplied with the *or del bien faire* group, it has hardly been worth questioning that the omitted form is the imperative of *penser.* In the latter case Mr. Luker's extensive collection of examples for the non-elliptical and the elliptical phraseology is of interest and value in showing the completeness of the parallel between the two.

There remain the Old French infinitive in the place of the imperative in prohibitions, and the so-called historical infinitive. Ellipsis is by no means self-evident in these instances, and if it furnishes the solution, a definite demonstration of this is to be welcomed.

In the prohibitory infinitive (*amis, nel dire ja*) Mr. Luker sees ellipsis of *vueilles* or *voilliez,* and believes the construction to be derived from the Latin *noli, nolite* + inf., which would account for its restriction to prohibitions. The only positive argument ad-

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vanced in support of this view is chronological and is based on the French psalters. In the Cambridge Psalter, of very early date, the prohibitive infinitive occurs only once; the frequent *noli* + inf. of the Latin psalter is regularly translated by *ne vueilles* + inf. In the Metz Psalter, of the middle French period, *ne vueilles* + inf. is still a common translation, but a rendering by *ne* + inf. is not rare. In the *Psalterium gallicum vetus,* of yet later middle French, while *ne vueilles* + inf. is still common, *ne* + inf. is very frequent. This, Mr. Luker thinks, points to the development of *noli* + inf. into *ne vueilles* + inf., and of this by ellipsis into *ne* + inf.

But if the situation in the psalters is of any value as light on the origins, it can only be so if the construction arises as a learned development of the middle French period. Otherwise this interesting series of examples is simply an indication that the two late translators of the psalter took kindly to a French form the aptness of which made it ready to their hand.

Now the infinitive for the imperative is a widespread phenomenon. It seems Indo-European, occurring in Sanskrit and Greek, tho in its restriction to prohibitions it is peculiar to Romance territory, where it is very general. In France the indications point to its early origin and thoroly popular character. If an ellipsis, it was a pre-literary, general Romance ellipsis.

Note, however, that the Latin itself took none too kindly to the simple negated imperative form for prohibitions, which it tended to render by now one, now another of a half-dozen paraphrases. These competing forms of expression were reciprocally enfeebling, so that the way was open for the entrance of a new competitor. That this new competitor arose thru an ellipsis is not absolutely excluded, but it is quite as natural to consider that in the construction there is a simple naming of the activity in its broadest content by means of the infinitive, so that the negative adverb joined to the infinitive brings about an exclusion of the activity in any and all of its manifestations (cf. English *No smoking!*). We thus obtain a sweeping and brusk prohibition and this will account for its far greater frequency when accompanying the familiar or contemptuous *tu* than when associated with the suaver *vous.*

It should be added that later in his discussion (p. 19 and p. 77) the author weakens his own case by conceding that other verbs than *vouloir* may also contribute to the background of the ellipsis, and so

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undermines the one virtue in his *noli*-ellipsis theory—that it accords well with the Romance restriction to prohibitions.

The fourth and last theme treated is the "historical infinitive" (*il s'éloigna tout honteux et nous de rire*). Here the supposition of ellipsis of some form of the verb *penser* in no wise furnishes an explanation of the two characteristic traits of the construction—the introductory *et* and the change of subject. In the midst of lively narration, we desire to mark a sudden, unforeseen consequence of an act just recounted. The infinitive—a mere naming of the new activity stripped of restrictions in time, person, or number—constitutes a sudden syntactical break that serves excellently to bring about the effect desired.[1] The unanticipated infinitive, as Kalepky would say, takes on almost the value of an interjection.

In an appendix the author summarizes some of the preceding discussions of the constructions he treats. The list of texts consulted should have been better co-ordinated with the nomenclature employed in the book. Not infrequently texts referred to in abbreviated form in the body of the work are either listed under a different word in the bibliography or omitted altogether.[2]

The absence from the bibliography, and evidently also from Mr. Luker's reading, of two items has cost him several of the earlier examples of the historical infinitive, one of which ("Cil pasent outre et il dou eeminer, Tout un sentier se prent a regarder, Voit les lions," *Bueve de Hantone*, continental version, 3781) is the earliest yet adduced and furnishes an indispensable link for those disposed to look upon the ellipsis theory with favor. The missing references are: Ebeling, *JBRPh.*, v, 235-36, and Anderten, *Der verkürzte Hauptsatz im Frz.*, Göttingen, 1912.

The ellipsis theory had previously been proposed for all of the cases discussed in this work. The author's collection of examples from the Old and Middle French is a welcome supplement to our information, but it is doubtful that it adds, in the case of the two constructions for which there is any present tendency to question the correctness of the explanation, any strength to the hypothesis.

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG.

The Johns Hopkins University.

[1] See Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik*, III, § 529.

[2] So p. 14, "*Altfr. Bib.*, Foerster, vol. 5"; p. 15, "*Guillelme*"; p. 17, "*Louis.*"

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The Poetry of Giacomo da Lentino. Edited by ERNEST F. LANGLEY. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1915. (Harvard Studies in Romance Languages, Volume I.)

Giacomo da Lentino, Imperial Notary to Frederick II, and Governor for a time of the Sicilian fortress of Carsiliato, was the leader of the first group of Italian poets, and was, in all probability, the inventor of the sonnet.

Fifty poems—gathered now in Professor Langley's excellent edition—have come down to us as certainly or probably his. They would win him honor even though their historical position were less conspicuous. Dante, to be sure, groups him with Guittone and Bonagiunta as falling short of the Sweet New Style: but the criterion is severe. Giacomo is far more a poet than his two companions in censure; far more a poet, indeed, than any other predecessor of Guinizelli. He is conventionally called "conventional": but it is something to have set the convention, as he did, for Italy; and it is something more to have found the echoing rhythm, as he did now and again, for a conventional—and ultimately true—conceit. Beyond convention, he is witty enough to laugh at lovers' perjuries, and man enough to range, in his own love, from graceful gayety to a suffering whose intense pain is past denial.

His lady is golden-haired, fairer than the fair Yseult, star of the morning, the loveliest from Agri to Messina, a very flower among ladies. To her he writes:

> **Passate di belleze ogn' altra cosa**
> **come la rosa—passa ogn' altro fiore.**

She is fair of speech, joyous, and endowed with honor, knowledge, and discernment,—incomparable, indeed:

> **Nè fu, ned è, nè non serà sua pare.**

If she were only merciful as well!

He so craves mercy that other words will hardly come to utterance:

> **E s' altri m' adomanda ched agio eo,**
> **eo non so dir se non: merzè, per Deo!**

But the very plea for mercy has grown meaningless through common use. Banish it, then: for nine full years let none dare call mercy! And down with those liars that for the slightest prick of

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love cry out: "Lady, I die but for thine aid!" Yet Giacomo would claim truth for his own lament:

La vita che mi diè fue la mia morte.

He lives in fire, too, like the salamander—and many another poet; with less elegance, but more distinctively, love fills him as water fills a sponge.

To the falconer Mostacci, who sought a definition of love, Giacomo sent an answer beginning thus:

Amor è un disio che ven da core
per abondanza di gran placimento;
e gl'occhi in prima generan l' amore,
e lo core li dà nutricamento.
Ben è alcuna fiata om amatore,
senza vedere so 'namoramento;
ma quel amor che stringe con furore,
da la vista degl' ochi à nascimento.

Quel amor che stringe con furore is voiced in one fine poem that even Dante praised (*V. E.* I, 12):—

Sed quamvis terrigene Apuli loquantur obscene comuniter, prefulgentes eorum quidam polite locuti sunt, vocabula curialiora in suis cantionibus compilantes, ut manifeste apparet eorum dicta perspicientibus, ut puta *Madonna, dire vi voglio.*

The praise is well deserved. The whole poem, indeed, is akin, by its passionate art, to the canzoni of Dante's own last and terrible love. Dante might have written the lines:

Tanto si frange a terra
tempesta che s' aterra,
ed io così mi frango;
quando sospiro e piango—posar crio.

Tanto . . . che s'aterra: "till at last it spends itself." And Dante surely felt the keenness of these other lines:

Voria c' or avenisse
che lo me' cor uscisse
come 'ncarnato tutto,
e no dicesse motto—a voi sdengosa.

Later—or earlier—Giacomo won requital. Two canzoni glow with his happiness: the gay dialogue *Dolce coninciamento,* with its

"Rimembriti a la fiata
quand' io t' ebi abrazata,
a li dolzi basciare?";

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and the still finer poem of departure, *Membrando l'amoroso dipartire*. In joyous mood, too, he wrote the best of all his sonnets:

Io m' agio posto in core a Dio servire,
com' io potesse gire im paradiso,
al santo loco, c' agio audito dire,
o' si mantien sollazo, gioco e riso.
Sanza mia donna non vi voria gire,
quella c' à blonda testa e claro viso,
chè sanza lei nom porzeria gaudire,
estando da la mia donna diviso.
Ma no lo dico a tale intendimento
perch' io pecato ci vollesse fare;
se non veder lo suo bel portamento,
e 'l bello viso e 'l morbido sguardare;
chè 'l mi teria in gran consolamento,
vegendo la mia donna in ghiora stare.

There has been but one previous edition of the poems of Giacomo; and that, contained in a history of Lentini, is wholly uncritical. Langley's work is critical throughout: complete, minute in care, judicious.

The Introduction first discusses the life and poetry of Giacomo; then lists the manuscripts containing one or more of his lyrics, and the editions and other works most frequently referred to; and finally states and justifies the method followed in the construction of the text. The slight biographical evidence is handled cautiously. The several documents that refer certainly or presumably to Giacomo are reviewed in detail; some of the considerations adduced serve to increase the probability that the Giacomo who governed Carsiliato was identical with the notary-poet. Langley, agreeing with Torraca and Pelaez, rejects the older biographical arguments based on vague military references in two of the canzoni. The general character of Giacomo's verse, in form and theme, is briefly stated, and its variety is recognized. Rightly, though, Langley refuses to accept Cesareo's theory that the three "manners" of Giacomo reflect three different periods of his career.

The text is based, as far as possible, on Vat. 3793; when that fails, Laur. Red. 9 is used; or, if that too fails, Pal. 418. One tenzone which does not appear in any of these manuscripts is taken from Vat. Barb. Lat. 3953. Scholars are still uncertain as to the exact nature of the language in which Giacomo wrote. It was in all probability much more Sicilian than the text preserved in the manuscripts. Langley, with due caution, keeps close to the manu-

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script readings nevertheless, and Sicilianizes only to the extent of modifying the *e-i* rhymes to *i-i*. He does not modify *o-u* rhymes to *u-u*, for "There was no great aversion to writing Sicilian *i* for *e* on the part of the scribes, as seen by numerous examples like *avire, diri* (= *dire*), *siri* (*sire*), *mestiri* (*mestieri*), and inversely *ofese* (*ofesi*), etc., but, apart from a few cases like *nui* and *vui*, a Sicilian *u* for *o* is exceedingly rare in the MSS." The morphological and orthographic inconsistencies of the manuscript have been in general respected; a slight amount of retouching has been done for the sake of clearness and unity. Obvious scribal errors are corrected. Whenever the reading adopted differs in the least from that of the basic manuscript, the exact reading of the manuscript is given in the apparatus criticus; and there too the variants of the other important manuscripts are fully given. In the carrying out of this method Langley seems to me to have been very successful. The text is both sound and readable, and the critic who should disagree with certain particular decisions would find registered, faithfully and conveniently, all the material on which a decision could be based.

The make-up of the book, admirable throughout, is particularly fine in the pages devoted to text and apparatus. Type, alignment, justification, spacing, and margins leave nothing to be desired. Each of the sonnets has a generous page to itself.

In the Notes, grouped after the text, each poem is separately treated. In each case a metrical analysis is given, and a full and helpful summary of the content. Questions of authenticity are discussed; there is comment on difficult words and passages; sources and similarities are pointed out; and the literary value of certain poems is briefly indicated. The summaries are particularly good. For the sonnet *Lo viso e son diviso da lo viso*, hitherto a mystery, Langley offers a clear and convincing interpretation.

An Appendix contains most of the notarial documents mentioned in the Introduction. One wonders why the documents of Sept. 1233, April 29, 1240, and May 10, 1240, were not included; and why document VI was included. A Glossary and Index complete the work.

The Harvard Romance Series is thus excellently begun. It is excellently continued in Dr. Hawkins's recently published study of Charles Fontaine. May the succeeding volumes measure up to the high standard set by the first two!

ERNEST H. WILKINS.

University of Chicago.

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CORRESPONDENCE

A Note on Voltaire's *Lettres Philosophiques*

Professor Lanson, in his carefully annotated edition of Voltaire's *Lettres Philosophiques* (*Société des textes français modernes*), has indicated the general and particular sources of most of the statements made by Voltaire in regard to Shakespeare. One of the most striking remarks, however, and one for which there is no source suggested, is contained in the second sentence of the eighteenth letter which reads as follows: "Shakespeare, qui passoit pour le Corneille des Anglais, fleurissoit à peu près dans le tems de Lopez de Vega; il créa le théâtre. . . ." The idea that Shakespeare created the English theatre seems to have gained credence in France, for La Place says of Shakespeare in the preface to his *Théâtre anglois:* "Ce poète doit être regardé comme l'Inventeur de l'Art Dramatique en Angleterre. C'est lui, qui le premier a donné, dans son pays, une espèce de forme à un spectacle, qui n'en avoit point avant lui. Il n'eut ni modèles ni rivaux. . . ." The theory that Shakespeare had no models was evidently accepted by some writers in England as well as in France. John Dennis says in a letter dated February 1st, 1711, entitled *On the Genius and Writings of Shakespeare:* "One may say of him as they did of Homer, that he had none to imitate. . . ." The same idea is repeated on page 203 of the *Journal littéraire* for 1717: "Cet auteur (Shakespeare) n'a imité personne. . . ." Voltaire's remark, however, is not a mere deduction from this false statement.

As Professor Lanson says in regard to Voltaire's views of the English stage in general, many of his statements are undoubtedly echoes of conversations which he had with English gentlemen; and perhaps some admirers of the Elizabethan dramatist may have said to Voltaire, with more enthusiasm than strict regard for the truth, that Shakespeare created the stage in England. There are, however, printed sources of this idea to be found in no less a critic than Dryden. In the prolog to his version of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* he puts the following lines into the mouth of the ghost of Shakespeare:

> **Untaught, unpractised, in a barbarous age,**
> **I found not, but created first the stage.**

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Nor is this a mere passing thought of a poet writing laudatory verse, for Dryden refers to Shakespeare in the preface to *All for Love* as the one "who began Dramatique Poetry amongst us," and again in the *Discourse on Satire* he speaks of "Shakespeare, who created the Stage among us." Thus Voltaire's rather striking remark "Il créa le théâtre," whether he meant it literally or somewhat figuratively, was not merely a sweeping statement of a young foreigner who was inaccurate enough to say, a few lines further on, that after *two* hundred years Shakespeare's bizarre and gigantic ideas were passing as sublime; but this is plainly an idea that had been expressed in England and was neither accurate nor original with Voltaire.

DONALD CLIVE STUART.

Princeton University.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF A GROUP OF POEMS BY W. C. BRYANT

The preface to *The Poetical Works of William Cullen Bryant*,[1] edited by Parke Godwin, states that "the poems of Mr. Bryant, collected by him during his lifetime, are here given as he left them, with the exception that they are arranged according to the dates at which they were written or printed, as far as these dates, now attached to the poems, could be ascertained," and adds that "this general collection of his writings is intended to be complete and final."

The Roslyn Edition of *The Poetical Works of William Cullen Bryant*[2] contains in the publishers' note the statement that the accompanying chronologies of Bryant's Life and Poems and the bibliography of his Poetical and Prose Writings are "the result of several years of careful research" by Mr. Henry C. Sturges.

How far Sturges's chronology of Bryant's Life, "founded on Parke Godwin's biography of Bryant," and his chronology of Bryant's Poems may in general deviate in their statements from those of Godwin in his *Life and Works of William Cullen Bryant*, remains to be demonstrated. A partial comparison made in the

[1] *Life and Works of William Cullen Bryant.* New York, Appleton, 1883-1884. I-II, A Biography . . .; III-IV, The Poetical Works . . .; V-VI, Prose Writings. . .

[2] New York, Appleton, 1903. 1 vol.

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course of an investigation of Bryant's relation to German literature indicates close agreement in the dates assigned by the two; but discrepancies noted led to an attempt to discover the actual date of publication of certain poems that appeared in *Graham's Magazine,* and this showed that in a number of cases neither Godwin nor Sturges was right. The proportion of errors was deemed sufficient to justify scepticism as to the correctness of the dating of other poems published in this magazine, and an examination of the volumes for the years (1842-1855) during which Bryant was a contributor brought to light the following surprising facts:

	THE POEM	Published according to Godwin in	Published according to Sturges in	Really Appeared in
1.	The Return of Youth....	Oct., 1842	Oct., 1842	Oct., 1842
2.	A Northern Legend.....	Jan., 1843	Jan., 1843	Jan., 1843
3.	The Crowded Street.....	Mar., 1843	*Jan., 1843*	Mar., 1843
4.	The Paradise of Tears....	1843	Jan., 1843	*Nov., 1844, p. 202*
5.	The Waning Moon.....	July, 1844	July, 1844	July, 1844
6.	The Stream of Life.....	July, 1845	July, 1845	July, 1845 [1]
7.	The Unknown Way.....	Dec., 1846	Dec., 1846	Dec., 1846
8.	The Land of Dreams.....	Jan., 1847	Jan., 1847	*Jan., 1848, p. 48*
9.	"Oh Mother of a Mighty Race".....	July, 1847	July, 1847	*Jan., 1847, p. 20*
10.	The Lady of Castle Windeck	June, 1850	(Feb., 1850?)	*July, 1850, p. 14*
11.	The Saw Mill.....	Feb., 1850	Feb., 1850	*Feb., 1848, p. 86*
12.	The Burial of Love.....	1854	1854	*Jan., 1851, p. 5*
13.	The Voice of Autumn....	Jan., 1854	Jan., 1854	Jan., 1854
14.	Innocent Child and Snow-White Flower.....			July, 1855, p. 12

In dating the first thirteen poems, then, Godwin made six errors and Sturges seven, while neither mentioned either the variation in title in the sixth, or the last poem in the list. This latter omission is doubtless due to the fact that both assign its publication to the *Talisman* for 1830. The republication of a poem printed twenty-five years earlier is in all probability explained by Godwin's statement (in the Notes) that "the second stanza was wanting in the first form of this poem," the last line of which had also been altered at some time prior to its appearance in 1855 without intimation that it was not a new production.

Insignificant as these inaccuracies may seem at first glance, their number is large enough to make one doubt whether Sturges's state-

[1] P. 43, under the title "Song." In the later version the thought of the first four lines is but slightly altered, while the wording is rather less prosaic.

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ments are after all so reliable as the publishers wished his readers to believe. And this incredulity is not diminished by the discovery that in matters of biography he was careless in his use of the material collected by Godwin.[4] There apparently exist, therefore, adequate grounds for caution in accepting the chronology of Godwin, and more especially of Sturges, and the wisdom of independently ascertaining the exact date and place of publication of a poem by Bryant seems fully established for any case in which these are factors of importance.

A. H. Herrick.

Harvard University.

Notes on French Tenses

(1) In support of the theory that the past definite tense retains, both in Old French and in the modern language, the use of the Latin perfect, with an implied reference to present time (see "The French Past Definite as Perfect," in *The Romanic Review*, April-June, 1914), the following additional examples may be adduced: "Je vueil aler voir mon cousin Tournemine. Il y a grant temps que je ne le *veis*." Froissart, in *Extraits des chroniqueurs français*. p. 272.—"Je suis juste: tout était bien en harmonie dans l'ex-système de tragédie, mais tout était d'accord aussi dans le système féodal et théocratique, et pourtant il *fut*." A. de Vigny, *Lettre à Lord* . . . (1829. Cf. "Fuit Ilium").—"L'on est un réprouvé si la Débauche vous *planta* 'son premier clou' dans le cœur." Léon Lævrault, *La comédie*, p. 102 (1913?).

(2) In the following examples, the past definite seems to have a clearly past anterior or pluperfect meaning: "La borne du chemin, qui *vit* des jours sans nombre. . . . S'est usée en heurtant. . . . Les grands chars gémissants." V. Hugo, *La tristesse d'Olympio*. l. 69 (1837).—"J'ai vu passer soudain . . . une vieille . . . vêtue

[4] Sturges states (p. lxiii, under 1875) that in September Bryant delivered an address before the Goethe Society. Godwin, however (II, 366 and VI. 335, Note), gives the date as August 27, 1875.

A further error is Sturges's statement (p. lxiv, under 1878) that "on April 10th Bryant attended a 'Commers' given by the German Social Science Association to Bayard Taylor." Bryant's letter (cf. Godwin, II, 392), in which he said: "I saw Bayard Taylor on Monday evening at the 'Commers,'" was written on Wednesday, April 10, 1878. The Kommers must accordingly have been held on April 8, 1878.

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de loques qui *furent* des robes." Guy de Maupassant, *Sur l'eau*, p. 118 (1888).

(3) Following are two examples of the very rare use of the future and of the conditional in *si*-clauses of conditions, both from Brunetière: "Nous pourrons le dire . . . sans craindre d'être démentis, si notre siècle *demeurera* sans doute aussi . . . le siècle du roman, c'est au romantisme encore qu'il en faudra reporter l'honneur ou la gloire." *Époques du théâtre français*, p. 340 (1892).—"Si l'on *aurait* quelque peine à saisir dans la société du XVII^e^ siècle des traces profondes et durables du cartésianisme, . . . il en est autrement de l'influence du jansénisme." *Histoire de la litt. fran. class.*, II, 337 (pub. 1912). Both are clear cases of concessive fact; cf. the ordinary use of the past definite in *si*-clauses of conditions.

GEORGE N. HENNING.

George Washington University.

L'ABBÉ DUBOIS AND OLD GRANDET

If no one has yet found a "source" for Old Grandet's trick of stammering, I should like to submit the following from Saint-Simon's portrait of the Abbé Dubois:

Il aurait parlé avec grâce et facilité, si dans le dessein de pénétrer les autres en parlant, la crainte de s'avancer plus qu'il ne voulait ne l'avait accoutumé à un bégayement factice qui le déparait, et qui, redoublé quand il fut arrivé à se mêler de choses importantes, devint insupportable, et quelquefois inintelligible. Sans ses contours et le peu de naturel qui perçait malgré ses soins, sa conversation aurait été aimable. Il avait de l'esprit, . . . mais tout cela gâté par une fumée de fausseté qui sortait malgré lui de tous ses pores et jusque de sa gaieté, qui attristait par là.[1]

The *Mémoires* were published in their entirety in 1829-31, *Eugénie Grandet* in 1833. It would be interesting to know what suggestions, if any, the irascible Duke's portrait gallery gave to Balzac for his. Surely both authors were fond of indicating the "ties" of their personages.

BENJ. M. WOODBRIDGE.

University of Texas.

[1] As I have no standard edition of Saint-Simon at hand, I have to quote from the selections of Henri Mazel, published under the title *La Cour du Régent*, Paris, Georges Crès et Cie., n. d. See pp. 101-2.

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Notes on the Sources for Medwall's *Nature*

Professor W. R. Mackenzie in his recent article, "A Source for Medwall's *Nature*," [1] discusses the relationship of this morality to Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte* and cites parallel passages to show that "the two works exhibit remarkable coincidences of character, situation and language." Unfortunately, Professor Mackenzie failed to note that his discovery was anticipated as long ago as 1898 by Professor Brandl in his introduction to Medwall's play.[2] Professor Brandl there points out that *Nature* possesses the same characteristics as Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*. He notes in addition that the latter is a translation of an allegorical didactic poem, *Les Échecs amoureux*. Although Dr. Brandl does not employ Professor Mackenzie's method by citing parallel readings, he lists methodically the powers and functions of Nature which are identical in poem and play.

So far as Medwall's source for the allegorical figure, Nature, is concerned, Professor Mackenzie confines himself to Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*. Dr. Brandl has carried the matter further for he refers also to Lydgate's *Assembly of the Gods*,[3] which seems quite as possible a working basis for Medwall as the earlier poem. Indeed, the personification of Nature is a favorite figure with Lydgate. Dr. Ernst Sieper in his note to v. 203 ff. of *Reson and Sensuallyte* [4] gives numerous examples of its use. He mentions Lydgate's *Pilgrimage*,[5] *The Entry of Henry the Sixth into London after his Coronation in France*,[6] *The Troy-Book*,[7] *Ballad on the Forked Head Dresses*,[6] and *Ballad on Presenting an Eagle to the King and Queen on the Day of their Marriage*.[6] Two other allu-

[1] *Pubs. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of Amer.* XXIX, 188 ff.

[2] Brandl, *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England.* (Quellen und Forschungen LXXX, pp. xliii, xliv.) Professor Mackenzie cites only J. S. Farmer's edition of *Nature*. It would appear that he had not consulted Brandl's text and excellent introduction. This omission is all the more strange since in his book, *The English Moralities from the Point of View of Allegory* (1914), Brandl's volume is mentioned in the list of authorities and is quoted with respect to other plays (cf. p. 64).

[3] Lydgate, *The Assembly of the Gods*, ed. C. L. Triggs, E. E. T. S., Extra Series 69.

[4] Lydgate, *Reson and Sensuallyte*, ed. E. Sieper, E. E. T. S., Extra Ser. 84, 89. See Studies and Notes, p. 81.

[5] Lydgate, *Pilgrimage of Man*, p. 89. E. E. T. S., Extra Ser. 77, 83, 92.

[6] *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, ed. J. O. Halliwell (*Early Eng. Poetry* II, 1 ff., 46 ff., and 213-216. Percy Soc.).

[7] Lydgate's *Troy-Book*, Bk. I, vs. 1304, 1588, 1713, 2614, etc.

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sions to Nature may be added to Dr. Sieper's compilation. They are found in *Lydgate's Testament*[8] and *The Complaint of the Black Knight*.[9]

Both Lydgate and Chaucer[10] in their descriptions of Nature were directly influenced by Alanus de Insulis who gives an important place to this allegorical figure in his *Anticlaudian* and also in his *De Planctu Naturae*.[11] Indeed, Alanus probably served as the ultimate source for nearly all the allegorical representations of Nature in mediæval literature. One example of these personifications is found in an unpublished thirteenth century poem, entitled, *Disputatio inter Morbum et Naturam*.[12] It describes a conflict between Morbus and Natura and names all the principal physicians as enlisted on the side of the latter. Its chief interest in this connection is the distinct embodiment of Nature as a controlling factor in the life of man. The *Anticlaudian* in particular contributes much to the representation of Nature, who is shown deliberating with the Virtues and taking a leading part in the action of the poem. The House of Nature in this poem is adorned with portraits of Aristotle, Plato, and others, the very philosophers who are named in both Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte* and Medwall's morality as knowing the most about nature of all men who have ever existed.

EDITH R. MACAULEY.

Bryn Mawr College.

HEINE'S *Schäfer und Doris*

In *Mod. Lang. Notes* XXXI, 313, I called attention to the fact that the *Schäfer* of the *Harzreise* in the phrase *Schäfer und Doris* (ed. Elster III, 18) represented the actual name of the *Oberpedell* in service during Heine's stay in Göttingen. An additional citation which has just come to notice shows that *Doris* also is a word-

[8] *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, pp. 329 ff., ed. H. N. MacCracken (1911).

[9] *Chaucerian Pieces*, ed. W. W. Skeat (*The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* VII, 245 ff.).

[10] See Brandl (note 2), p. xliv, who there points out the essential similarity between Chaucer's Nature in the *Parlement of Foules* and other personifications.

[11] T. Wright, *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century* II, 429 ff. and *ib.* 268 ff. On Chaucer's use of *Alanus* cf. E. Koeppel, *Herrig's Archiv*, XC, 149-151.

[12] Caius College, Cambridge, MS. 117, fol. 1-2.

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play upon a real name: "Als Pedellen haben der Universität gedient: Wettengel v. 1735-1757; Grobecker bis 1762; ihm folgte Fricke, dem 1799 Wilisch und 1802 Schäfer als Gehülfe beigegeben wurde. Als zweiter Pedell diente . . . Willig bis 1795, wo ihm Dohrs substituirt wurde." (*Geschichte der Universität Göttingen in dem Zeitraum vom Jahre 1820 bis zu ihrer ersten Säcularfeier im Jahre 1837*—vom Universitätsrathe Dr. Oesterley, Göttingen 1838, p. 201.) Schäfer became *Oberpedell* in 1809 and was still in service in 1838. Dohrs served till 1832. Probably *Schäfer und Doris* was common student-lingo in Heine's time.

Municipal University of Akron. P. R. KOLBE.

A SECOND NOTE ON KLOPSTOCK'S INDEBTEDNESS TO MILTON

In a previous number of this periodical (XXVI, 264) I cited from Klopstock's *Messias* a striking passage which, though it clearly betrayed an indebtedness to Milton's *Paradise Lost*, had nevertheless, for some reason, been overlooked by European scholars. Several additional examples of such borrowing seem to have escaped them in their studies of Klopstock's sources.

Of the highly effective lines in *Paradise Lost* (IX, 887 ff.)

> Adam, soon as he heard
> The fatal trespass done to Eve, amazed,
> Astonied stood and blank, while horror chill
> Ran through his veins, and all his joints relaxed.
> From his slack hand the garland wreathed for Eve down dropt . . .

we discern an obvious reminiscence in Klopstock's (*Messias*, XII, 513 ff.)

> Er (*sc.* Chebar) nahm von dem Haupte
> Seinen . . . Kranz, und hielt ihn vor Wehmut
> Kaum in der sinkenden Hand.

Again, *Par. L.* VIII, 498 f.:

> Grace was in all her steps, heaven in her eye,
> In every gesture dignity and love

probably influenced Klopstock's (*M.* VIII, 665 f.)

> So schön war ihr Anschaun,
> So viel Wonne der Seligen war in ihrer Geberde.

Finally, though I do not recall having seen the matter noted elsewhere, Klopstock's portrayal of the twelve apostles in Canto III is apparently indebted, in the way of important suggestions, to Milton's elaborate pen-picture of his "promiscuous crowd" in the first Book of *Paradise Lost*.

C. H. IBERSHOFF.

University of Iowa.

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Willyam Goddard

I have recently purchased for the Cornell University Library a copy of the 1602 black-letter edition of Chaucer, interesting as having formerly been in the library of the well-known Elizabethan poet and satirist Willyam Goddard. On the blank reverse of the portrait of Chaucer Goddard has inscribed a commendatory poem, and signed it boldly with his full name. This poem, though short, deserves to be preserved, both as the tribute of an Elizabethan man of letters to the great master, and as the only relic of Goddard (so far as I can discover) outside his three printed works. I have transcribed the poem with the original spelling and punctuation:

> If thou yll-rellishe Chaucer for his ryme
> Consider when he liu'd, the age, and tyme
> And then thou't saie old Geffr'ye neatlie writt
> And showes both elloquence, and curious witt
> Noe age did ere afford a merryer vaine,
> Yet (diu'd into) a deepe and sollid straine
> Willyam Goddard

The Romaunt of the Rose has been carefully analyzed with marginal notes as if Goddard intended to make some literary use of the poem; the rest of the volume, however, is free from annotation.

Joseph Quincy Adams, Jr.

Cornell University.

A Manuscript Perhaps Lost

Last August there was printed in American newspapers a cablegram describing the destruction by fire of the municipal buildings at Lille. The despatch stated that a portion of the city library, housed in a wing of the building, was saved.

The future will tell whether or not there was included in that destruction a text of the *Danse Macabre* which was bound up with Colard Mansion's print of Gerson's *Dictes moraux des Philosophes.* The twenty leaves of the manuscript, forced into the same cover by the binder, carried two prose notes, a poem on death, in French, a copy of the *Visio Philiberti,* in French verse, and the *Danse Macabre,* this last in a form closer to Lydgate's English translation than are any of the Paris texts that I have seen.

When in France in 1913, I visited Lille, and after some difficulty obtained permission to transcribe the *Danse Macabre.* The copy then made will be printed with my forthcoming volume of fifteenth century English poems, and if the flames have swept away the volume of Gerson marked *Incunabula D ii* of the Lille library, then my transcription will be the only reminder of its former existence.

Eleanor Prescott Hammond.

Chicago, Ill.

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BRIEF MENTION

The Mechanism of English Style. By Lewis Worthington Smith (New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1916). One is perplexed in trying to believe that the author has selected the most fitting title for this book. There is much—too much—in present tendencies of educational experimentation that encourages students to expect easy 'ways' of doing hard 'things.' A declaration of having reduced a subtle, intellectual, and æsthetic subject to mechanical rules is likely, therefore, to be read into Mr. Smith's title, and this interpretation will occasion *à priori* a classification of his book with approved cross-cuts in the pursuit of efficiency. But Mr. Smith's purpose is sound and serious. The mechanical mind will not be flattered by his insistence on a profound understanding of the distinction between the laws of the universal mind and the rules and conventionalities of an art; the mind of the less flexible type will recoil from the injunction to endeavor to develop an individual style by submission to severe and prolonged self-discipline. The disappointment awaiting those who may hope to find in this book a refuge from assiduous effort is analogous to that of a physician's patient receiving plain and stern advice as to diet, exercise, work, and sleep, in lieu of a prescription of wonder-working potencies. To heal oneself is the meaning of the advice given; and according to the gravity of the disorder will probably be the severity of the effort that is to be made to correct it. The responsibility has been adroitly shifted to the patient. In a corresponding manner, Mr. Smith is primarily bent on commending strict and indefatigable self-discipline. To assist in this matter, he dissects sentences and paragraphs, anatomizes literary wholes, and classifies words and phrases, and he is willing that this be called a mechanical procedure; but the end in view is as organic as personality itself.

If one were to attempt the suggestion of a title descriptive of the purpose of this book, *Originality of Style thru Imitation* would not be wide of the mark. Originality, that is to say, individuality, in the practice of a fine art is to be achieved, and the first steps must be imitative. This fundamental truth is here enforced by analogies that are too commonly not applied to the art of using one's vernacular, in speech and in literary workmanship; it is also enforced by an appeal to reported experience of authors, especially that of Stevenson, which is the key-note of Mr. Smith's argument. At places one may be inclined to disapprove a paragraph or two as being a trifle too methodical, too pedagogical in a sense imposed on a good word by the connotations of the so-called science of education. But that is a minor matter in comparison with the

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merit of a persistent insistence on creative imitation of good writers as the initial step in learning to write worthily,—with the authentic touch. "Knowing how and getting the touch" is the heading of Mr. Smith's ninth chapter. It is here that his method is codified, and summarily justified: "We may see how others have done, going over the ground after them, and we may try the doing for ourselves. Practically, if we wish to carry our practice of the literary art, or any other, as far as we can, we should do both. . . . In fact, it seems almost self-evident that the easiest road to achievement in any kind of effort is through acquaintance with the experience of others. There is no doubt a great deal of drudgery in following the details of style in any writer. So there is drudgery in mastering the technique of any art." But in working thru a variety of styles one comes in time to perform with "an almost instinctive ease" what had once been drudgery. Then will follow the skill of being ourselves "in the written word, saying what we please with what effect we please."

The method is offered in the form of two series of questions, "meant to aid in the study of the writings that make up the body of the book." The texts to be thus studied (Part II, pp. 85-284) range from Sir Philip Sidney to James Huneker, with a leap, however, from Sidney to DeQuincey. This exclusion of the eighteenth century writers is the less commendable because of the inclusion of Sidney, whose style is too antiquated for the purpose of the book. Moreover, the century unrepresented in the "texts" is conspicuous in literary history for a speculative interest in the distinction between imitation and originality in composition, and Mr. Smith's book would be an appropriate place for citations from the essay by the author of *Night Thoughts,* entitled *Conjectures on Original Composition* (now accessible in the *Jahrbuch* of the German Shakespeare Society, vol. XXXIX). The essay is confirmative of Mr. Smith's argument, altho strikingly characteristic of the neo-classical period. 'To know and reverence oneself' is after all the prime admonition, and it remains a thought-provoking question to ask, "Born *Originals,* how comes it to pass that we die *Copies?*"

Preceding the chapter in which the method of using the "texts" is compactly presented in the lists of "Study Questions" and "General Questions on Structure" are eight chapters on the subjects of Skill, Style, "Sentences and their Relations," Associations and Connotations of Words, "The Rhythm of Prose," "The Living Spirit and the Dress" (Relation between Form and Substance), Usage, and Transformation of Literary Material. As already intimated there is little fault to find with the form and content of this portion of the book. The writing is clear, direct, earnest, and unpretentious; and it is more or less enlivened by unusual allusions and new illustrative matter. The student has only to be willing to be taught to be rewarded here with sound

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and lucid instruction in the elementary principles of the art of writing.

The use in the colleges of this book would indicate a change in widely favored methods of teaching English Composition. A conviction is spreading that the time allotted to this subject does not yield commensurate results; and there is impending, one must believe, a bold reconsideration of the place in the curriculum of a course in writing, and the 'place' will determine the character of the course. Mr. Smith's book does not solve the difficulty, but it is helpful in pointing away from the premature and unfruitful theme-writing by which the colleges are distressing the "hordes of freshmen," and of which "the full force and joint result" may, in a cynical mood, be valued merely as the fulfillment of an implied boast,

We bring to one dead level every mind.

Different methods are now employed in the teaching of this subject, but if the average result is of an unsatisfactory character,—and there is not much evidence against this assumption,—the conclusion must be that these are all so much at fault as to warrant a trial of other methods that may all be believed to be chiefly good. The words of a teacher of long ago are applicable to the point. Henry Peacham, in the *Compleat Gentleman,* illustrates his argument thus: "Nor is it my meaning that I would all Masters to be tyed to one Method, no more than all the Shires of England to come up to London by one high way: there be many equally alike good."

J. W. B.

The Old Wives' Tale: a Play, by George Peele, as presented at Middlebury College in 1911. Edited with Notes and an Introduction by Frank W. Cady (Boston, Richard G. Badger; Toronto, The Copp, Clark Co., 1916). The Ghost of Jack was on the stage, and if the Spirit of Peele was in the pit during the academic presentation of this play, it must have been cheered by an assurance of the stability of refined delight in the fancies of the unsophisticated mind, in the fairies, enchantments, and wonders of a world so frankly accepted in childhood as real and so helpful to the mature mind in symbolizing subtleties of truth. It is inconceivable that this kind of symbolism will ever be banished from the stage. Even in these so-called realistic days it has remounted to a notable degree of public favor. "In its final effect," says Mr. Cady, "Peele has asked us to look again at the world from the point of view of the child, as Barrie has done for this age in Peter Pan."

For a critical edition of the text of this play and for scholarly 'apparatus,' in which no aspect of the study hitherto bestowed on it is not admirably summed up and given a forward look toward

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further investigations, the student is indebted to Professor Gummere's contribution to Gayley's *Representative English Comedies* (The Macmillan Co., 1903). Mr. Cady supplies something altogether different, namely a modern players' edition, designed primarily, it would seem, for amateurs, altho its use may, conceivably, extend into some 'New Theatre,' for 'semi-professionals' and 'Vagabond Players' might be well employed in trying it. Mr. Cady has, of course, modernized the spelling and by substitutions obviated the use of several needlessly plain words. More minute attention approved a change in the order of the text, the carrying back of lines 728-751 (Gummere's numbering) to insert them after line 650. On the other hand, the chief feature of this edition represents a very liberal share of work that could not have been done without fine dramatic insight and an aptness in suggesting stage-devices. This feature consists in complete stage directions for the reproduction of the play, preferably on a reconstructed or a modified Elizabethan stage (such as is pictured in the frontispiece). These directions are so full, minute, and appropriate that the added value of an analysis of the play with a share of helpful comments will be attributed to them.

In his Introduction, Mr. Cady writes discriminatingly of Peele's use of the induction and of his conformity to "the formula for romantic comedy." He assigns originality to Peele in the "choice of sources for the situations in the play," and for the point of view at which the audience is placed; and he declares the "present human interest which makes worth while a modern presentation" not to lie, probably, "in poetry or characterization," but "rather in the very things in which Peele showed his originality: the perennial child-interest in fairy-tale to which he appealed in his choice of sources, and the perennial interest to an adult in returning to look upon life through the eyes of a child."

An examination of the elements of satire and of humor in the play leads Mr. Cady to conclude that to retain these effects the fairy element must receive the prominent emphasis in any modern presentation, which may follow the method represented in this edition, or it may be, perhaps best of all, "an out-door presentation," or, "next best," a setting "upon a modern picture stage." He discusses details of the academic presentation and defends the "liberties" taken in the way of introducing dances and songs. There is good comment on the rôle of the characters, and a discussion of stage-business that deserves consideration when another attempt may be made to present this play, which has the distinction of being the fore-runner of *Comus*. J. W. B.

Don Diego Jiménez de Enciso y su Teatro, por Emilio Cotarelo y Mori (Madrid, 1914), is an important contribution by this distinguished Spanish scholar to our knowledge of the Spanish drama of the seventeenth century. While a number of eminent critics,

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among them Count v. Schack, Latour and Schaeffer have devoted considerable space to the discussion of the comedies of Enciso, this dramatic poet has never, until the appearance of the present work, been subjected to the detailed and intensive study which he so well deserved. In fact, so far as Enciso's life is concerned, all that we are told in the works of the critics just mentioned might be summed up in half a dozen lines. Concerning the ancestors of our poet Sr. Cotarelo mentions one Pedro Jiménez, native of the villa of Enciso, in the province and near the city of Logroño, whom we find in Seville about the middle of the sixteenth century. The poet was the eldest son of the *jurado* Diego Jiménez de Enciso and of his second wife doña Isabel de Zuñiga, and was born in Seville in the parish of Santa Cruz, where he was baptized on August 22, 1585. There were two other children—daughters: doña Ana, "que pasó oscuramente su vida," and doña Maria, who afterwards married her paternal uncle. A son of this marriage, named Pedro, obtained thru the efforts of our poet the habit of the order of Santiago, afterwards became the Marquis de Casal, and was a personage of much importance in his native city, Seville, of which he was one of the *Veintecuatros*. On the death of his father in 1599, the poet became the possessor of considerable property in Seville, where he resided for many years, being a "principal caballero en aquella gran ciudad, la más bella e importante entonces en España." He early acquired a reputation as a poet and is mentioned by Lope de Vega in his *Jerusalem conquistada*, written about 1605, and is praised by Cervantes in his *Viage del Parnaso* in 1614. As a dramatic poet Diego Jiménez de Enciso had the rare good fortune of being entirely independent of any pecuniary returns from his plays, for in addition to his inherited wealth he was greatly favored by Philip IV, and by the Count Duke of Olivares, several of his comedies being represented in the royal palace before the King and Queen.

Enciso is the author of ten plays, which are analyzed by Sr. Cotarelo, considerable space being devoted to the three on which his reputation mainly rests: *La mayor Hazaña de Carlos V.*, *Los Medecis de Florencia*, and the most celebrated play of all, *El Príncipe Don Carlos*. The latter, of which there are two versions—one a *refundición* by Cañizares—is discussed at great length. It is certainly strange that this version of Cañizares, which was printed at Valencia in 1773, is the one that has gained the greatest celebrity. Sr. Cotarelo's study is an excellent piece of work, which has greatly enlarged our knowledge of this poet of unquestioned merit, and which will be welcomed by all students of the Spanish drama. It takes its place beside the same scholar's work *Don Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla*, as one of the best monographs in this department of Spanish literature that has appeared in years.

H. A. R.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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NOTES ON PETRARCH

I

Petrarch's sonnet, "Solo et pensoso i piú deserti campi," no. 35 in the *Canzoniere*, is derived from the elegy of Propertius beginning "Haec certe deserta loca et taciturna querenti," Book I, no. 18.[1] This fact has not been pointed out, so far as I can ascertain; it is, however, obvious on comparison of the two poems. The sonnet is as follows:

Solo et pensoso i piú deserti campi
vo mesurando a passi tardi et lenti,
et gli occhi porto per fuggire intenti
ove vestigio human la rena stampi.

Altro schermo non trovo che mi scampi
dal manifesto accorger de le genti;
perché negli atti d' allegrezza spenti
di fuor si legge com' io dentro avampi:

sí ch' io mi credo omai che monti et piagge
et fiumi et selve sappian di che tempre
sia la mia vita, ch' è celata altrui.

Ma pur sí aspre vie né sí selvagge
cercar non so, ch' Amor non venga sempre
ragionando con meco, et io co llui.

The elegy is, in part and in summary, as follows:

[1] I quote from the edition of the *Canzoniere* by G. Salvo Cozzo (*Le rime di Francesco Petrarca*, Florence, 1904), and from the edition of Propertius by J. S. Phillimore (*Sexti Properti Carmina*, Oxford, 1901). Petrarch owned a manuscript of Propertius: see P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, 2d edition, Paris, 1907, vol. I, pp. 171-172.

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Haec certe deserta loca et taciturna querenti,
et vacuum Zephyri possidet aura nemus.
hic licet occultos proferre impune dolores,
si modo sola queant saxa tenere fidem.

The lover then asks again and again the cause of Cynthia's cruelty, and protests his faithfulness. One question is this:

an quia parva damus mutato signa colore?
et non ulla meo clamat in ore fides? (lines 17-18)

and the answer is:

vos eritis testes, si quos habet arbor amores,
fagus et Arcadio pinus amica deo.
a quotiens teneras resonant mea verba sub umbras,
scribitur et vestris Cynthia corticibus! (ll. 19-22)

He tells then of patience unrequited, and concludes:

pro quo divini fontes et frigida rupes
et datur inculto tramite dura quies;
et quodcumque meae possunt narrare querelae,
cogor ad argutas dicere solus aves.
sed qualiscumque es resonent mihi "Cynthia" silvae,
nec deserta tuo nomine saxa vacent. (ll. 27-32)

The "deserti campi" of Petrarch are the "deserta loca" of the elegy. The avoidance of mankind, explicit in the sonnet, is implicit in the line:

hic licet occultos proferre impune dolores.

The two lovers alike reveal in countenance their sorrows. Petrarch writes:

perché negli atti d' allegrezza spenti
di fuor si legge com' io dentro avampi.

Propertius asks:

an quia parva damus mutato signa colore?
et non ulla meo clamat in ore fides?

Petrarch believes that hills and slopes and rivers and woods know the temper of his life. Propertius would have the rocks keep faith with him, calls the trees to be his witnesses, and promises that woods and rocks shall echo the beloved name. The "inculto tramite" of the elegy reappears in the "sí aspre vie né sí selvagge" of the sonnet. The endings of the two poems are similar in thought and in technique: in any case, love will continue, and will still find utter-

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ance amid the loneliness of nature. "Sed qualiscumque" marks the turn in the Latin, "Ma pur" in the Italian:

> sed qualiscumque es resonent mihi "Cynthia" silvae,
> nec deserta tuo nomine saxa vacent.

> Ma pur sí aspre né sí selvagge
> cercar non so, ch' Amor non venga sempre
> ragionando con meco, et io co llui.

For the avoidance of human foot-prints, not specified by Propertius, Petrarch had classic precedent in Homer's lines on Bellerophon, as translated by Cicero in the *Tusculans*, III, 26:

> Qui miser in campis maerens errabat Aleis
> Ipse suum cor edens, hominum vestigia vitans.[2]

Petrarch, as Proto has pointed out, quotes these lines in the third dialogue of the *Secretum*, and paraphrases them in the letter *Sen.* XI, 5.[3]

Other differences between the sonnet and the elegy are notable The nature sympathy is deeper in Petrarch:

> sí ch' io mi credo omai che monti et piagge
> et fiumi et selve sappian di che tempre
> sia la mia vita . . .

The phrase "si modo sola queant saxa tenere fidem" seems by contrast doubtful and unrealized; the two lines

> vos eritis testes, si quos habet arbor amores,
> fagus et Arcadio pinus amica deo

[2] I quote from the Teubner Cicero, ed. C. F. W. Mueller, Part IV, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1889.

[3] E. Proto, "Note petrarchesche," in *Fanfulla della domenica*, XXXIII, No. 39, Sept. 24, 1911. Carducci quotes the lines in his commentary on the sonnet (*Le rime di Francesco Petrarca*, ed. G. Carducci and S. Ferrari, Florence, 1899), but does not refer to the passages in the *Secretum* and in *Sen.* XI, 5.

Petrarch may have had in mind also two lines, cited by several editors of the *Canzoniere*, from an elegy long attributed to Tibullus, and numbered IV, 13:

> Sic ego secretis possim bene vivere silvis
> qua nulla humano sit via trita pede.

(Lines 9-10. I quote from the edition by J. P. Postgate, *Tibulli aliorumque carminum libri tres*, 2d ed., Oxford, 1914.)

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lose in earnestness both by the mythological reference and by the apologetic condition; the "frigida rupes" is even hostile. Propertius' lament is that of an undistinguished love, youthful and impatient. Petrarch's love is calmer and more profound, mature and meditative. Its quality appears particularly in the two opening lines,

> Solo et pensoso i più deserti campi
> vo mesurando a passi tardi et lenti,

and in the closing tercet. And that closing tercet reveals as well a finer artistry than the elegy affords. Many lips could set the woods resounding: Petrarch's variant is exquisite:

> Ma pur sí aspre vie né sí selvagge
> cercar non so, ch' Amor non venga sempre
> ragionando con meco, et io co llui.

II

Two sonnets of the *Canzoniere* served to inspire passages in Boccaccio's *Filostrato*.

The sonnet beginning "Benedetto sia 'l giorno e 'l mese et l'anno," no. 61 in the *Canzoniere*, was the model for stanzas 83-85 of Part III of the *Filostrato:* stanza 83 begins "E benedico il tempo, l' anno, e 'l mese."[4] This relationship has been noted, by Savj-Lopez.[5] The initial repetition of *benedetto* or an equivalent word or phrase is, to be sure, a popular device;[6] but the correspondences in detail between the passages in Petrarch and Boccaccio are so

[4] I quote from the Moutier edition of the *Opere volgari* of Boccaccio, vol. XIII, Florence, 1831.

[5] P. Savj-Lopez, "Il *Filostrato* di G. Boccaccio," in *Romania*, XXVII, (1898), 465.

[6] R. T. Hill, "The *Enueg* and *Plazer* in Medieval French and Italian," in the *PMLA*, XXX (1915), 48 ff.; Wilkins, "The *Enueg* in Petrarch and in Shakespeare," in *Mod. Phil.*, XIII (1915), 496.

The first two lines of this same sonnet of Petrarch are echoed in the first two lines of stanza 274 of Boccaccio's *Ninfale fiesolano*:—

> Benedetto sia l' anno e 'l mese e 'l giorno
> e l' ora e 'l tempo e ancor la stagione.

(I quote from the edition by B. Wiese, Heidelberg, 1913.) The *benedetto* motive does not appear in the rest of the stanza.

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close as to show that one passage must have been derived from the other.

The sonnet beginning "Sennuccio, i' vo' che sapi in qual manera," no. 112 in the *Canzoniere*, gave Boccaccio material for stanzas 54 and 55 of Part V of the *Filostrato*. This fact has not, I believe, been pointed out; it is obvious, however, on comparison of the two passages.

The second quatrain and the sestet of the sonnet are as follows:

Qui tutta humile, et qui la vidi altera,
or aspra or piana, or dispietata or pia;
or vestirsi honestate or leggiadria,
or mansueta or disdegnosa et fera.

Qui cantò dolcemente, et qui s' assise;
qui si rivolse, et qui rattenne il passo;
qui co' begli occhi mi trafisse il core;

qui disse una parola, et qui sorrise;
qui cangiò 'l viso. In questi pensier, lasso,
nocte et dí tiemmi il signor nostro, Amore.

The octaves are these (I begin with the fourth line of the first octave):

Quivi rider la vidi lietamente;
Quivi la vidi verso me guardando:
Quivi mi salutò benignamente;
Quivi far festa e quivi star pensosa,
Quivi la vidi a' miei sospir pietosa.

Colà istava, quand' ella mi prese
Con gli occhi belli e vaghi con amore;
Colà istava, quando ella m' accese
Con un sospir di maggior fuoco il core;
Colà istava, quando condiscese
Al mio piacere il donnesco valore;
Colà la vidi altiera, e là umile
Mi si mostrò la mia donna gentile.

Both of the sonnets that thus caught Boccaccio's rather simple lyric fancy are marked, it will be noted, by initial repetition.[1]

The adaptation of contemporary verse illustrated in these cases is paralleled elsewhere in the *Filostrato* by derivations that are now

[1] The dates of the two sonnets are uncertain. On the imitations of Petrarch in the *Rime* of Boccaccio, see F. Mango, "Delle rime di M. Giovanni Boccacci," in *Il Propugnatore*, XVI (1883), II, 442-450; and F. Pellegrini, *Bull. della Soc. Dant. Italiana*, XXII (1915), 162-163.

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recognized: a canzone by Cino da Pistoia is reproduced with surprisingly little change in stanzas 62-65 of Part V,[8] a few stanzas below the two based on the sonnet just considered; and several groups of lines from the *Divine Comedy* reappear with little alteration.[9]

The process of grafting Petrarchan sonnets on the Troilus story was completed by Chaucer, who, as is well known, inserted a translation of the sonnet beginning "S' amor non è, che dunque è quel ch' io sento?," no. 132 in the *Canzoniere,* in his *Troilus and Criseyde,*[10] after the passage that corresponds to stanza 37 of Part I of the *Filostrato.*

III

In the first part of the third dialogue of the *Secretum,* Augustine bids Petrarch remember that death must come to Laura. The conversation then proceeds as follows:

F. Auertat deus omen, ego ista non uidebo.

A. Equidem necessariò euentura sunt.

F. Scio, sed non tàm inimica mihi sunt sydera, ut naturae ordinem in hac morte perturbant, prius intraui, prius ingrediar.

A. Meministi credo temporis illius, quo contrarium timuisti, & quasi iam mortuae amicae funereum carmen dictante, tristitia cecinisti.

F. Memini certè sed dolui, & adhuc recolens contremisco, indignabar'que me nobiliori uelut animae meae parte truncatum, illi esse superstitem, quae dulcem mihi uitam, sola sui praesentia faciebat. hoc enim carmen illud deflet, quod tunc multo lachrymarum imbre respersum excidit mihi, sententiam memini, si uerba tenerem.

A. Non hoc quaeritur, quantum tibi lachrymarum mors illius formidata, quantumúe doloris inuexerit, sed hoc agitur, ut intelligas, quae semel concussit, posse formidinem reuerti, eo'que facilius, quod & omnis dies ad mortem propius accedit, & corpus illud egregiũ, morbis ac crebris perturbationibus exhaustum multum pristini uigoris amisit.

F. Ego quoque & curis grauior, & aetati prouectior factus sum. itaque illa ad mortem appropinquante praecucurri.

A. Ò furor, ex nascẽdi ordine ordinem mortis arguere. . . . Si uerò paucorum numerus annorum, quo illam praecedis, spem tribuit uanissimam, prius te quàm furoris tui fomitem esse moriturum, & hunc naturae ordinem tibi fingis immobilem.

[8] G. Volpi, "Una canzone di Cino da Pistoia nel *Filostrato* del Boccaccio," in *Bull. stor. pistoiese,* I (1899), 116.

[9] G. d'Anna, *Appunti sul Filostrato di G. Boccaccio,* Caserta, 1907; p. 42.

[10] Book I, lines 400-420.

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F. Non usque adeò immobilem, ut contrarium fieri posse sim nescius, sed assiduè ne idem adueniat precor.[11]

Some years ago Novati discovered and published, under the title *Elegia ritmica di Francesco Petrarca in morte di Laura,* the following poem:

Dominus Franciscus Petrarcha cum quedam Honestissima mulier quam sub annis iuuenilibus ardenter amauerat in extremis ageret hos uersiculos in medio dolore conscripsit impetuose magis quam grauiter:

Laurus amena uirens moritur: nunc optima uite
Tempora diffugiant; iamque impia fata uenite!

Spes, tanto frustrata bono, iam cepta relinque;
Tu quoque quid sequeris? nunc nunc moriamur utrinque.

Mens, dominam moriendo tuam precurrere cessas?
Illa quidem properat: tu spes trahis anxia fessas.

Hinc animo nil dulce meo nisi copia flendi:
Omnia que uideo fiunt mihi causa dolendi.

Illa fugit que olim nobis dabat una placere,
Precipitique gradu fert que mihi grata fuere.

Vita brevis misero properataque mors sit amanti:
Flens uiuam moriarque libens: mors equa uocanti.

Nunc precor absolui, dum claustra decora recludis,
Atque animam egregio castam de pectore trudis.

Ut comes astra petam factus simul incola celi,
Unius pariter peream si cuspide teli.

Nil metuo iam nunc, grauioraque nulla tremisco:
Heu mihi! sed quali teneor cum corpore uisco?

Sperabam, fateor, mihi lux dum intraret acerba,
Illius et lacrimas et consolantia uerba.

Cur autem ommisso iubet hoc deus ordine pulcro,
Ultima nascendo prius ut sit clausa sepulcro?

Cum prior intrassem, grauis est iniuria sortis,
Quod prior egrediens uenit hec ad limina mortis.[12]

[11] *Francisci Petrarchae . . . Opera quae extant omnia,* Basle, 1554, pp. 398-399. I have arranged the material in paragraphs. The word *ingrediar,* at the end of Petrarch's second speech, is probably a mistake for *egrediar.*

[12] F. Novati, *Elegia ritmica di Francesco Petrarca in morte di Laura,* Milan, 1910 (per nozze Salvy-De Nolhac). In the single *Nota* that follows

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This is clearly the *carmen* referred to by Petrarch in the *Secretum*. It was written "quasi iam mortuae amicae," as the heading and the first and sixth lines indicate. The whole poem develops the idea "indignabar . . . illi esse superstitem." Lines 7, 8, and 12 express specifically the grief which is referred to in the words "Hoc enim carmen illud deflet, quod tunc multo lachrymarum imbre respersum excidit mihi" and in the first words of Augustine's reply. The fifth distich corresponds to the phrase "quæ dulcem mihi uitam, sola sui præsentia faciebat." The two last distichs voice the feeling, dominant throughout the passage in the *Secretum*, that Petrarch, being older than Laura, was justified in expecting to die before she did. They parallel in particular the second speech of Petrarch and the last speech of Augustine.[13]

ERNEST H. WILKINS.

University of Chicago.

NOTES ON SWINBURNE'S *SONG OF ITALY*

Critics have tended to ignore the fact that intelligent interest in Italian affairs, quite as much as abstract revolutionary enthusiasm, inspired the part of Swinburne's work that deals with the *Risorgimento*. His poems on Italy and France are so colored by his detailed knowledge of affairs in those countries, his references to men and incidents are so intimate, that the full meaning of his lines is often obscured. A full understanding of his wealth

the text, Novati states that the poem was found in a 15th century manuscript at Bergamo; gives the contents of that manuscript; cites certain other compositions of Petrarch in rhymed hexameters; and justifies his few variations from the reading of the manuscript. He does not discuss the content of the poem.

I have been unable to procure a printed copy of the publication, and quote from a manuscript copy of the entire publication made for me by a scribe employed by Ulrico Hoepli of Milan.

[13] Develay suggested (Pétrarque, *Mon Secret*, trans. V. Develay, Paris, 1898, p. 123) that the sonnet beginning "O misera et horribil visione!," no. 251 in the *Canzoniere*, was the *carmen* referred to by Petrarch in the *Secretum*. It was, however, improbable in any case that Petrarch should have dignified an Italian sonnet by such a term and such a reference; and the sonnet in question does not contain the ideas which were expressed, as the *Secretum* passage shows, in the *carmen*.

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of allusion is essential to appreciation of the value of this poetry. The following notes are intended to bring together such allusions in the *Song of Italy*.[1]

A Song of Italy, written in 1867, when a free and united Italy was almost a consummated fact, is primarily a song of praise to Mazzini, the foremost of Swinburne's heroes. With it it is interesting to compare the early *Ode to Mazzini*,[2] which Mr. Gosse, on evidence of technique and allusion, dates early in 1857. The *Ode* reflects Mazzini's opposition to force, and in that respect comes nearer to the "Dedication" to Mazzini of the *Songs before Sunrise* than it does to the *Song of Italy*. In general the *Ode* bears an analogy to the first part of the *Song*. Both deal with the tragedy of Italy's wrongs; both look hopefully towards the future. The tragedy is naturally deeper and the hope vaguer in the *Ode* of 1857 than in the *Song* of 1867. Strophe xv of the *Ode* proclaims the belief that when Italy shall at last be free, Mazzini's name will be revered above all others for his share in the work. Cf. *Song*, lines 353-366; 433-690.[3]

The *Song of Italy* begins with reflections upon Italy's state of servitude, a description of the gradual casting off of her chains, and an impassioned statement of belief in her future, addressed to some of those who had been faithful to her and fought for her. The poet then bids Mazzini hope and believe that his countrymen are worthy of his service; he sings of the battles that have been fought and of Garibaldi and others who took part in them. The poem culminates in a hymn of praise to Mazzini from all things of nature and all parts of Italy. The last sections are a prayer to Italy that she may be merciful to her enemies, and a prophecy addressed to Rome that her liberation is almost accomplished and that she will be the crown of the Republic.[4]

[1] I have consulted freely various historical works, especially G. M. Trevelyan's three volumes on Garibaldi and the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. XI. I am indebted to Dr. S. C. Chew for several references and for other assistance in preparing these notes.

[2] *Ode to Mazzini. The Saviour of Society. Liberty and Loyalty.*—A volume edited by Edmund Gosse and privately printed for the members of the Bibliophile Society of Boston, 1913.

[3] Trust in Mazzini as the destined saviour of Italy is one of the many parallels between Swinburne and Meredith. See especially *Vittoria*, chapters II, III, the end of XVII, and Vittoria's pleading in XLIII; cf. Meredith's *Letters*, Scribner, II, 529.

[4] References are to the number of the line of the poem. To economize space I have not quoted the passages commented upon.

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95-102: Italy, the predestined Republic, is dearer to Liberty than other nations. For the contrast with England and France cf. lines 317, 687-790. Other poems make clearer what the "torpor" is in which they lie: the acceptance of monarchy and the refusal to give immediate aid to the forces of liberty. See *The Eve of Revolution* (stanzas 15-19); *A Watch in the Night* (stanzas 14, 15); *Perinde ac Cadaver; A Marching Song*, stanzas 17 ff., for expressions of this view (all in the *Songs before Sunrise*). In the *Ode to Mazzini* (strophe 13) Swinburne still expressed his belief that "Cromwell's England" was in active sympathy with Italy.

97: Cf. stanza on "Spain" in *The Litany of Nations* (*Songs before Sunrise*).

98: The description here fits Russia best, though in *The Eve of Revolution* (stanzas 6-8) Greece is represented by the east and Russia by the north. Cf. *The Litany of Nations* (stanza on "Russia") and the *Song for the Centenary of Walter Savage Landor* (stanza 42) (*Studies in Song*).

139-142: Cf. George Meredith, *Vittoria*, chapter XVII, concluding paragraph. Cf. *Lines on the Monument of Giuseppe Mazzini* (stanza 7) (*A Midsummer Holiday and Other Poems*).

175-218: The motif of the Italian tri-color, red, white and green, here introduced, reappears later in the hymn of praise (lines 489-493, 606), and makes a final note of triumph towards the close (line 798). In addition to suggesting the beauty of Italy the colors are given a mystical meaning of hope and light and life, while the Austrian yellow and black represent pestilence and death (lines 203-208, 563). Cf. *Hertha* (stanza 16), *The Halt before Rome* (stanza 4), *On the Downs* (stanzas 24 and 25), and especially *The Song of the Standard* (all in *Songs before Sunrise*). Cf. also *Vittoria*, chapter XXIV: "Black and yellow drop to the earth: green, white and red mount to heaven."

231-232: Apollo: the force of the reference depending on his character as god of light.

261-275: The enemies of Italian independence are enumerated: the slave, the Italian who submitted to despot rule; the priest, the Papal See; the Austrian, whose oppression of Lombard-Venetia was largely responsible for the Italian struggle for liberty.

267-270: The Austrian banner is a two-headed black eagle on a yellow ground. Cf. *The Litany of Nations* ("Switzerland"): "The plume-plucked Austrian vulture-heads twin-crested," and the *Ode to Mazzini:*

> ere Austria loosed her winged hounds,
> These double-beaked and bloody-plumaged things.

271-275: When Pius IX became Pope in 1846 his first official acts led the liberals to hope that he would support their efforts towards reform, but a strong reaction soon set in. Cf. Mrs. Browning, *Casa Guidi Windows*. For the phraseology cf. *Dirœ* VII:

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"The priests whose souls are swine" and "That triple-headed hound."

278-279: Of course many brothers fought and died together for the cause of Italy, but these lines with the context apparently refer specifically to brothers killed together early in the campaign. The most likely case is that of Attilio and Emilio Bandiera, who in 1844 were lured on an expedition to Calabria, and were captured and shot at Cosenza by order of the Neapolitan government.

295: The patriot Carlo Pisacane, who, when Saffi, Cosenz and Garibaldi had declined the undertaking, accepted the leadership of the expedition to free the political prisoners of the King of Naples. The liberators went to Ponza and there released two hundred prisoners; but when they landed at Sapri they were opposed by the Neapolitans and overpowered. Pisacane died fighting. (1857).

306-307: Agesilao Milano, a soldier of fanatical Mazzinian principles, who, in 1856, wounded King Ferdinand II of Naples with a bayonet. Cf. *Ode to Mazzini* (strophe 13):

> When out of Naples came a tortured voice
> Whereat the whole earth shuddered, and forbade
> The murderous smile on lying lips to fade,
> The murderous heart in silence to rejoice.

and strophe 6: "A court alive with creeping things." On Ferdinand cf. *Dirae* I and II.

307-322: Felice Orsini, another Mazzinian Republican. In 1849 he was an official of the Roman Republic in Ancona. Later he was an exile in England with Mazzini. The reference here is to his attempt on the life of Napoleon III in 1858, when he hurled three bombs at the imperial carriage on a Paris street, wounding many people. The Emperor, prompted by desire to placate other patriots, did what he could to save him, but Orsini was guillotined. Contrary to general expectation, the deed actually helped Cavour's work, for the meeting at Plombières, where Napoleon and Cavour planned the war against Austria, was due in no small measure to Orsini's act. Note lines 317-318 and cf. Herbert Paul (*History of Modern England* II, 191): "There is abundant evidence that he [the Emperor] was under the dominion of personal fear."

With the triumphant ring of these lines and the enthusiasm for Orsini which Swinburne is said to have shown when he was in Paris soon after Orsini's attempt, it is instructive to compare the more subdued feeling on the same subject manifested in a later poem, *For a Portrait of Felice Orsini* (*Studies in Song*), in which the emphasis is laid upon Orsini's "error." For another opinion of tyrannicide cf. the *Song for the Centenary of Walter Savage Landor* (stanza 45).

371-433: This section is devoted, with fleeting references to other years, to a review of the events of 1867. The first lines (371-376) allude to the part taken by Italy in the Austro-Prussian

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war, when, though her forces were beaten on sea and land, Italy gave great assistance to Prussia by engaging a large part of the Austrian army. As one result of the war, Venetia was added to Italy, though Prussia and France united in refusing Italy's claims to the territory extending to the Trentino and Southern Tyrol.

377-378: The second battle of Custozza, June 24, 1866, when the Austrians badly defeated the Italians under the command of Victor Emmanuel. The battle was fought on a line of hills west of Verona, the scene of the severe defeat of the Italians under Charles Albert in 1848.

378-390: Another Italian reverse was the naval defeat at Lissa, July 20, 1866. One ship was sunk with two-thirds of her crew; another was blown up. Swinburne's lines apparently refer in general terms only to the sailors who went down for the sake of Italy, their "mother."

391-433: A plea to Garibaldi to renew the struggle and especially to add Rome to Italy.

391-398: The campaign of 1860, when Garibaldi and his small army, the "Thousand," invaded Sicily and caused the collapse of the kingdom of Naples, thus bringing about the union of Naples with Victor Emmanuel's kingdom. Here Garibaldi displayed the swiftness and force of his sword more than at any other time. Cf. also lines 427-428.

401: The island of Caprera, to which Garibaldi retired after his campaigns, to issue forth whenever Italy needed him.

403: 1866, a year of failure because of Italy's defeats and especially because of the temporary abandonment of the effort to free Rome; a year of fame because of the efforts that resulted in the liberation of Venetia.

413-420: The reference is apparently to Aurelio Saffi, one of the Triumvirate of the Roman Republic of 1849. Although his services to Italy were notable, his place in history is hardly where Swinburne puts him here, equal with Mazzini and Garibaldi. Cf. the "Dedication" of *Marino Faliero* to him, and two poems of the same title: *In Memory of Aurelio Saffi* (*Astrophel and other poems* and *A Channel Passage and other poems*).

419-425: The fall of the Roman Republic in 1849 is meant, with possible allusions to the later attempts to overthrow the Papal authority, attempts thwarted for the most part by France. It was Napoleon III who overthrew the Republic of 1849 and restored the Pope; and the presence of a French garrison in Rome was the real reason why the leaders of Piedmont dared not allow Garibaldi to march on the city. The French left the city in 1866, carrying out the terms of the Convention of 1864; but they returned in 1867. Garibaldi's defeat at Mentana by the French army of Rome occurred a few months after the *Song of Italy* was written. See *The Halt before Rome* and *Mentana. First Anniversary* (both in *Songs before Sunrise*) and *Dirae* XIV and XV.

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429-430: The incident of Aspromonte, "the Bitter Hill." In 1862 Garibaldi and his volunteers crossed the Straits of Messina with the intention of marching on Rome. The policy of Piedmont was at the time against such action, lest a break should occur with France. Victor Emmanuel's soldiers, therefore, halted the volunteers on the ridge of Aspromonte in Calabria. In a short skirmish that took place Garibaldi was wounded. The incident is referred to at greater length in *The Halt before Rome* (stanza 29).

432: After Aspromonte, Garibaldi and his men were made prisoners of war, Garibaldi himself being shut up in the fortress of Varignano, near Spezia. He was under arrest again in the summer of 1867, shortly after the publication of the *Song of Italy*.

525-530: Brescia, though in Lombardy, rose in support of Piedmont in 1849, and suffered many hardships when the insurrection was put down with great ferocity by General Haynau. Cf. the last chapters of *Vittoria*.

533-534: There seems to be no definite allusion in these lines in praise of Verona.

535-538: Milan was one of the centres of revolution. The "five glorious days" of 1848, during which the inhabitants forced the Austrians to leave the city, are among the most heroic episodes of the period. After the re-entry of the Austrians, Milan suffered greatly from their oppressive rule until its freedom was accomplished after the battle of Magenta, 1859. The tale of the Milanese risings is the central theme of *Vittoria*.

540-550: The contrast is between the Emperor Augustus, the subject of Vergil's praise, and Mazzini, Italy's republican hero.

554: In allusion to the venerable university.

555-564: Venice, which remained longest under the rule of Austria (described here, with reference to the national flag, as "storms of black thunder and of yellow flame"), was liberated in 1866, shortly before the *Song of Italy* was written.

573-576: Enrico Dandolo became Doge of Venice in 1193 when more than eighty years old. He took part in the Fourth Crusade, and in the two sieges of Constantinople, 1202-1204, acquired for Venice many sacred relics and much territory in the Levant. Swinburne refers especially to these acquisitions in order to contrast the greater gift of Mazzini to Italy (lines 577-578). On Dandolo see also Byron, *Childe Harold* IV, 12, and *Marino Faliero* IV, II, 157-8; and Browning, *Sordello*, Part III.

579-590: The services of Columbus and Mazzini, the two famous sons of Genoa, are compared. Cf. *Lines on the Monument of Giuseppe Mazzini* (*A Midsummer Holiday and other poems*). Note that Genoa is the only town in Piedmont called upon to praise Mazzini. Swinburne's hatred of monarchy doubtless caused this omission. Similarly no praise is given to Cavour, the great Piedmontese minister, among those who served Italy.

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627-636: Pisa, with reference to the Campo Santo ("the field of death"), to the Arno, and to the Leaning Tower ("a wall that fades and does not fall").

637-658: San Gimignano, where Dante served as ambassador from Florence in 1300 and requested that representatives be sent to the assembly of the Guelphs in Florence. He spoke at the Palazzo Comunale (the "halls that saw Dante speaking" of line 643). The epithets Swinburne uses—"O little laurelled town of towers"—are strikingly true of a town of but nine thousand inhabitants that is still surrounded with its ancient walls and decorated with thirteen towers. For another reference to San Gimignano see the *Song for the Centenary of Walter Savage Landor* (stanza 38).

659-672: These lines emphasize the past glories of Siena; its ruinous present is typified by the deadly coast of the Maremma; and the poet foretells its renewed life through the influence of Mazzini's name. On Siena see the exquisite poem, *Siena,* in *Songs before Sunrise.* Fonte Branda is a famous fountain in the town, dating from the twelfth century. As Swinburne was well acquainted with Dante he of course knew Maestro Adamo's expression of hatred against the Counts Guidi in whose service he had come to his place in hell:

> "Ma s'io vedessi qui l'anima trista
> Di Guido, o d'Alessandro, o di lor frate,
> Per fonte Branda non darei la vista." (*Inf.* xxx, 76-78).

Older commentators generally took this for the Sienese spring, as did doubtless Swinburne; but it is now held to be almost certainly the less-known fountain of the same name near the walls of the Castle of Romena in the Casentino.

673-676: Mazzini's principles struck deep root in Naples. Between 1849 and 1859 his conspiracies were directed chiefly against Ferdinand II. But Swinburne is less than just to Garibaldi, who had certainly at least a part in "bidding Naples be."

697-745: With this whole passage compare the *Ode to Mazzini* (strophe 17):

> "Even when the awakened people speaks in wrath,
> Wrong shall not answer wrong in blinding patience; . . .
> Our freedom's bridal robe no wrong shall stain."

Though Austria was compelled after the war of 1866 to yield Venetia to Italy, history hardly justifies the line (698) "Now fallen before thy knees." A similar idea, that Austria was now crushed and sorrowing, is expressed in *Dirae* v.

747-748: Rome, which had been nominally Victor Emmanuel's capital since 1861, did not become so in fact until 1870. These lines and the concluding section of the poem look forward to a "priestless Rome that shalt be," free and republican. Swin-

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burne seems to have regarded the united kingdom of Italy as an ephemeral arrangement. But he does not seem to foreshadow Rome as the centre of a world-republic, unless line 831 be taken as a vague expression of some such transcendental idea. Cf. *e. g., The Eve of Revolution* (stanza 18, lines 12-16) and *Hertha* (stanza 36).

789: The "hateful head" is Napoleon III. Swinburne's opinion of the Emperor, a matter inadequately treated by Mr. Gosse in the volume already referred to, is a subject of much interest for which there is not space here at present.

GWEN ANN JONES.

Bryn Mawr College.

ZU DEN MHD. KURZEN PRÄTERITA *GIE, FIE, LIE*

Die mittelhochdeutschen Präterita *gie, fie, lie,*[1] werden zwar in jeder mhd. Grammatik verzeichnet, haben aber bis jetzt nicht die volle Beachtung gefunden, die sie in grammatischer Hinsicht verdienen. Wie merkwürdig, dass diese kurzen Formen sich um die Zeit, wo das Ahd. sich in das Mhd. umsetzt, aus den volleren Formen *gieng, fieng, liez* entwickeln, dann während der mittelhochd. Zeit neben den älteren Formen herlaufen, um schliesslich im Neuhochd. wieder den letzteren Platz zu machen! Wie erklären sich diese eigentümlichen Doppelformen? Dass einfacher Lautwandel vorliege, ist kaum glaublich, denn z. B. die Präterita *stiez, slōz* und das Prät.-Präs. *muoz* bewahren ihr ausl. *z*, wie die Substantiva *gang* und *fang* ihr ausl. *ng*. Weiter: nach welchen Regeln verwenden die mhd. Schriftsteller die kürzeren neben den längeren Formen? Dass hier auffällige Unterschiede herrschen, ist durch K. Zwierzinas sorgfältige Untersuchungen über den Reimgebrauch der mhd. Dichter (über Wolfram: *Festgabe f. Heinzel,* S. 468; üb. Hartmann: *ZfdA.* XL, 240; üb. andre Dichter: *ZfdA.* XLV, 47 ff.) erwiesen. Aber man möchte doch auch wissen, wie es mit diesen Doppelformen ausserhalb des Reimes steht. Hier bietet sich der Untersuchung noch ein weites Feld. Ich lege im folgenden nur ein paar Ergebnisse vor, zu denen mich der Versuch führte, den Ursprung der Formen *gie* und *lie* zu ermitteln.

[1] Zu diesen Präterita stellt sich weiterhin noch *hie* neben *hieng*, offenbar nach dem Muster von *fie* neben *fieng*. (*vāhen* : *vieng* : *vie* = *hāhen* : *hieng* : *hie*).

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I. *gie(ng)*, *fie(ng)*, *lie(z)* in der *Wiener Genesis*

Man hat in mhd. *gie* eine dem got. *iddja* und dem ags. *ēode* entsprechende Form finden wollen, indem man es als *g-ie* (= ags. *ge-ēode*) deutete und dafür ein ahd. **gīja* aus **ga-īja* voraussetzte (Mahlow, *Die langen Vokale*, S. 139 Anm., unter Zustimmung von Kögel, *PBrB.* IX, 544). Obwohl in lautlicher Hinsicht nicht unmöglich, trifft diese Erklärung doch sicher nicht das Richtige. Das Präteritum *gie* tritt zuerst in der Übergangsperiode vom Ahd. zum Mhd. in Gedichten wie dem *Merigarto* und der *Wiener Genesis* auf (vgl. Schatz, *Altbair. Gramm.* S. 158, Weinhold, *Mhd. Gramm.*[2] S. 371). Ist es glaublich, dass eine entsprechende Form im Ahd. während der ganzen ahd. Periode geschlummert habe oder in unsren Texten, die für *giang* (*gieng*) zahlreiche Belege bieten, zufällig nicht vorkomme? Das wäre um so auffälliger, als das vermeintliche **gīja*, um älteres einfaches **īja* zu verdrängen, doch eine recht beliebte Form hätte sein müssen.

Dazu kommt, dass *gie* zu der angegebenen Zeit (d. h. am Ende des 11. Jahrh.) zusammen mit den kurzen Präterita *vie* (*fie*) 'fing' und *lie* 'liess' auftritt, die kaum etwas anderes als Neubildungen sein können. Wie völlig sich diese Bildungen in ihrer Stellung innerhalb des Verbalsystems gleichen, mag die folgende Übersicht der hierher gehörigen Formen aus der *Wiener Genesis* veranschaulichen. (Die Zählung der Verse nach der Ausgabe von Heinr. Hoffmann, *Iter Austriacum = Fundgruben f. Gesch. Dt. Sprache u. Litt.*, II, Breslau, 1837).

1) gie(ng)

Prt.. ind. 3. sg. *gie:* a) vor konsonantischem Anlaut 15, 33. 19, 28. 25, 10. 26, 19. 27, 36. 32, 40 (*ergie*). 35, 29. 56, 2. 57, 34 (*begie*). 63, 33. 69, 39. 73, 9. 32. (Summa 13).—b) vor vokalischem Anlaut nur in *gie uber al* 23, 15. 62, 6. 16 und *dich gie ane* 82, 8 (Summa 4). —c) am Versende im Reime mit *fie* (*uie*) 33, 5. 47, 20. 56, 19. 66, 42; mit *enphie* (*inphie*) 35, 28. 43, 33. 70, 27. 75, 12; mit *lie* 34, 12. 41, 27. 46, 8. 55, 4.

Prt. ind. 3. sg. *giench* und *gieng* : a) vor vokalischem Anlaut : α) das folgende Wort ist unbetont. In diesem Falle wird regelmässig (mit Ausnahme einer Stelle) *gieng* geschrieben: *gieng er* 25, 8. 28, 26. 46, 9. 48, 28, *si gieng in eine wüste* 32, 30. *zu giench in beiden das unheil* 19, 15; β) das folgende Wort ist betont. Die Schreibung schwankt zwischen *gieng* und *giench: daz leit gieng ire zû* 19, 1. *giench after gŏwe* 49,

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63, 19. Ferner *gie: inphiel* 25, 24. *wē: gie* 51, 27. *ē: bigie* 78, 23. *irge* (Schreibfehler für *irgie?*): *ioseph* 83, 28 (Summa 17).

Prs. ind. 3. sg. *gāt* 16, 39. 21, 9. 63, 37. 70, 3. *bigāt* 16, 40.—*gēt* 14, 29. 15, 8. 21, 22. 72, 10. 79, 17 (vgl. Dollmayr S. 2; Hoffm. *gît*). *ergēt* 80, 26.—2. sg. *ergēst* 81, 26.—3. pl. *gānt* 14, 5.—*gēnt* 14, 38. *irgēnt* 77, 23.

Prs. opt. 3. sg. *gē* (*kē*) 20, 20. 22, 38. *irgē* 76, 3.—3. pl. *gēn* 39, 8.

Ipv. pl. *gēt* 27, 38.

Inf. *gān* 21, 35. 22, 9. 25, 34. 54, 9. 56, 42. *irgān* 67, 21. —*gēn* 13, 22. 19, 37. 29, 21. 26, 3. 31, 38. 40. 54, 43. 66, 37. 69, 35 (: *bestān*). 72, 35. 73, 9. 81, 3. *pigēn* 72, 41. *ergēn* (*irgēn*) 53, 40. 57, 37. 76, 27.

Ptc. prs. *gēntes* 17, 31.

Ptc. prt. *pigēn* 39, 15.

30, *der gieng ime an den fûz* 53, 5. (Summa 9).—b) vor konsonantischem Anlaut: *er giench uon ime uile balde* 38, 1. *dû giench iudas* 68, 3.—c) am Versende im Reime: *ergiench: uiench* 12, 6. *stûnt: giench* 15, 35.—2. sg. *gienge* 51, 42.—3. pl. *giengen* 25, 35. 28, 36. 35, 20. 31. 50, 33. 52, 39. 53, 42. 55, 21. 60, 1. 2. 3. 4. 68, 5. 42. 71, 16. 81, 23. 82, 26.

Prt. opt. 3. sg.: *begienge* 57, 26. *ergienge* (*irgienge*) 38, 6. 58, 4. 61, 40. 76, 21. *foregienge* 61, 16.—3. pl. *begingen* 50, 15. *irgiengen* 76, 12.

Ipv. sg. *gench* 54, 3.

Inf. (?) *gegangen* 46, 25 (wohl Fehler des Schreibers und mit Hoffmann *gān* zu lesen).

Ptc. prt. *gangen* 43, 23. *gegangen* 35, 34. *ergangen* 30, 23. 56, 40.

2) fie(ng)

Prt. ind. 3. sg. *fie* (*uie*) : a) vor konsonantischem Anlaut 35, 29. 36, 37. *beuie* 51, 25. *enphie* (*inphie*) 25, 23. 34, 25.—b) vor dem Konsonanten ist ehemaliger Vokal beseitigt in *fien* (= *fie* [*i*]*n*) 67, 36.—c) am Versende: *fie* im Reime mit *gie* 33, 5. 47, 20. 56, 19 (*uie: missegie*). 66, 42; *inphie* desgl. 35, 28 (*gie: enphie*). 43, 33. 70, 28. 75, 12; *uie: uerlie* 56, 46.

Prs. ind. 3. sg. *fâhit* 13, 46.

Inf. *fâhen* 32, 37. 36, 35. *geuâhen* 38, 25. *inphâhen* 25, 15. 20.

Prt. ind. 3. sg. *uiench* und *uieng* : a) vor folgendem unbetonten Vokal, und zwar stets in der Schreibung *uieng* (*inphieng*) : *uieng er* 36, 34. *inphieng er* 47, 1. *inphieng in* 47, 6.—b) niemals innerhalb des Verses vor folgendem Konsonant.—c) einmal am Versende im Reime: *ergiench* : *uiench* 12, 6.—2. sg. *ueruienge* 51, 42.—3. pl. *geuiengen* 36, 29.

Prs. opt. 3. sg. *inphienge* 46, 35. 61, 16.

Ptc. prt. *geuangen* 36, 25. *umbeuangen* 14, 25. *inphangen* 34, 27.

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3) lie(z)

Prt. ind. 3. sg. *lie:* a) vor konsonantischem Anlaut 44, 37. 57, 2. 32. 70, 24. 72, 1. 74, 7. 75, 39. 78, 30. (Summa 8).— b) vor dem Konsonanten stand ursprünglich ein Vokal in *lien* (= *lie*[*i*]*n*) 63, 7.—c) am Versende im Reime mit *gie* 34, 12. 41, 27. 46, 8. 55, 4. 63, 19; mit *fie* (*uie* : *uerlie*) 56, 46; mit *fiel* (*uiel*) 70, 20. 21. (Summa 8).

Prs. ind. 3. sg. *lāt* 68, 28. 77, 37.—3. pl. *lānt* 32, 42.

Ipv. sg. *lā:* a) vor konsonantischem Anlaut 17, 25. 47, 16. 48, 1. (Summa 3).—b) vor vokalischem Anlaut *lā in* 65, 23,[1]. *lā uns* 65, 23,[2].—pl. *lāt* 50, 4. 51, 11. 54, 38. 63, 26.

Prt. ind. 1. sg. *liez* 46, 1 (*liez ich*).—3. sg. *liez:* a) vor vokalischem Anlaut *liez er* 11, 16. *liz er* 27, 37. *liez in* 68, 32. *liez uns* 64, 18. (Summa 4).— b) nie im Versinnern vor konsonantischem Anlaut.—c) am Versende im Reime mit *gihiez* 75, 8. 84, 5; mit *bestiez* 22, 23; mit *rief* 57, 12; mit *blies* (: *friliez*) 15, 30. (Summa 5).— 3. pl. *liezzen* 54, 28. *uerliezzen* 58, 34.

Prt. opt. 3. sg. *liez*(*z*)*e* 23, 33. 73, 43. 78, 24. 83, 21.—1. u. 3. pl. *liezzen* 21, 29. 34, 36. 50, 9. 16.

Prs. ind. 1. sg. *lāz*(*z*)*e:* a) zweisilbig (vor Kons.) 25, 29.— b) einsilbig (vor unbetontem Vokal) *lāze ich* 43, 32; (vor betontem Vokal) *nu ich dich lāz after mīn*) 72, 25.—3 pl. *lāzent* 26, 23.

Prs. opt. 3. sg. *lāz*(*z*)*e* 40, 34 (*lazza*). 56, 34 (*erlāzze*). 65, 36. 78, 41.—1. pl. *lāzzen* 36, 9.

Ipv. sg. (vor Vok.) *lāz* 69, 21 (*lāz in*).

Inf. *lāz*(*z*)*en* 18, 4. 21, 34. 37. 23, 4. 35, 13. 43, 36. 48, 6. 37. 54, 20. 36. 56, 42, 68, 5. 69, 23. 81, 20 (*irlāzzen*). 84, 15.

Ptc. prt. *gilāzzin* 74, 17.

Aus dieser Zusammenstellung lassen sich für den Gebrauch der Präterita *gie, fie, lie* und ihr Verhältnis zu den Parallelformen *gieng, fieng, liez* in der *Wiener Genesis* folgende Schlüsse ziehen [2].

[2] Für die Feststellung des Sprachgebrauches der *W. Genesis* gewährte die in mancher Hinsicht dankenswerte Untersuchung über "Die Sprache der Wiener Genesis" von V. Dollmayr (= *QF.* 94, Strassburg 1903) bei der Frage, die uns hier beschäftigt, wenig Förderung. Man erfährt dort freilich (S. 38 u. 43), die "kontrahierte" Form *lie* komme 17mal, *liez* 9mal

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Die kurzen Formen *gie, fie, lie* finden sich im Präteritum nur in der 1. und 3. sing. des Indikativs.[3] Und zwar herrschen sie hier nicht ausschliesslich, sondern begegnen neben den längeren Formen *gieng, fieng, liez*. Die Scheidung der beiden Formenreihen ist keine willkürliche, sondern richtet sich nach festen Regeln, die nur in wenigen Fällen beiseite gesetzt sind. Vor allem gilt die Regel, dass die (älteren) Formen *gieng, fieng, liez* sich im Innern des Verses vor folgendem Vokal und am Ende des Verses unter dem Schutze des Reimes erhalten, während vor konsonantischem Anlaut im Versinnern und da, wo der Reim am Versende freie Wahl lässt, die (jüngeren) Formen *gie, fie, lie* eintreten. Also z. B. im Innern des Verses *gieng er, inphieng in, liez uns*, aber *gie der* (19, 28), *imphie uon* (34, 25), *lie si* (57, 32); am Ende des Verses *liez* im Reime mit *gehiez, bestiez*, aber *lie* im Reime mit *gie, fie* und *fiel*. Die Präterita *gie(ng)* und *fie(ng)*, *inphie(ng)* reimen mit einander in neun Fällen; nur einmal (*ergiench* : *uiench* 12, 6) erscheint die vollere Form, sonst stets die kurzen Formen *gie* und *fie, inphie*.

vor; *gie* begegne 33mal, *giench* 14mal. Aber was helfen derartige summarische Angaben, solange kein vollständiges Wörterbuch zur *W. Gen.* vorliegt, mit dessen Hülfe man die Zählung nachprüfen und die Belege auffinden könnte? Wie die Sache liegt, muss jeder, der die Formen weiter untersuchen will, die Belege von neuem sammeln. Dabei stellt sich z. B. heraus, dass *gie*, wenn man *irge*, d. i. **irgie* (83, 28) einrechnet, nicht 33 sondern 34mal vorkommt, dass *liez* nicht 9mal sondern 10mal begegnet, und dass D. auch bei den Belegen für die 3. sg. opt. Präs. *läze* eine Stelle (78, 41) übersehen hat. Jedoch auf einen Beleg mehr oder weniger kommt vielleicht nicht viel an, und D.s Zählungen haben sich mir in den meisten Fällen als zuverlässig erwiesen. Weit schwerer fällt ins Gewicht, dass D. sich hier und sonst mit blossen statistischen Angaben über die Häufigkeit der verschiedenen Formen begnügt, wo eine eingehende Untersuchung über die Herkunft dieser Formen und über die Bedingungen, unter denen sie auftreten, am Platze gewesen wäre.

[3] Die Belege für die kürzeren Formen gehören in der *W. Gen.* ausschliesslich der dritten Person an. Aber auch bei den längeren Formen ist die erste Person nur an einer Stelle (*liez* 46, 1) belegt, wo der Gebrauch zu den für die dritte Person geltenden Regeln stimmt. Da in allen westgermanischen Sprachen die erste und dritte Person sing. des Präteritums ihrer Form nach zusammenfallen, dürfen also die kürzeren Formen unter den für die 3. sing. geltenden Einschränkungen auch für die 1. sing. ind. in Anspruch genommen werden.

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Die Regel ist an sich leicht verständlich. Es liegt anscheinend das Bestreben zu Grunde, den Auslaut durch Weglassung eines auslautenden Konsonanten oder einer auslautenden Konsonantengruppe (von der Form *n* + Verschlusslaut) zu erleichtern, ähnlich wie bei dem ausl. *n* der 1. pl. in Fällen wie *mage wir, pir wir* statt *magen wir, pirn wir.* (Weitere Beispiele dieser Art bei Dollmayr S. 38 f.). Ich sage "anscheinend," denn streng genommen haben wir es wohl—wie sich weiterhin zeigen wird—nicht mit einem reinen Lautübergange, sondern mit einer Mischung von Lautwandel und Formenwandel zu tun. In jedem Falle ist das Verhältnis zwischen den vokalisch auslautenden Formen *gie, fie, lie* und den konsonantisch auslautenden Parallelformen tatsächlich mit Rücksicht auf den Anlaut des folgenden Wortes und den Unterschied zwischen Satzinlaut (Versinlaut) und Satzende (Versende) geordnet, mögen die dieser Regelung unterliegenden Formen auf rein lautlichem Wege oder auf dem Wege des Formenwandels oder etwa durch eine Mischung von Laut- und Formenwandel entstanden sein.

Ausnahmen von dieser Regel begegnen nur vereinzelt. Sie zerfallen in zwei Gruppen, je nachdem die älteren Formen gegen die Regel bewahrt oder die jüngeren Formen zum Nachteile der älteren bevorzugt sind. Für die erstere Unregelmässigkeit wüsste ich nur einen Fall anzuführen, nämlich den schon vorhin erwähnten Reim *ergienc* : *uienc* 12, 6. Weshalb ist die vollere Form gerade an dieser Stelle im Reime bevorzugt? Der Grund ist, wenn ich nicht irre, stilistischer Art. Am Ende des Verses bindet den Dichter keine Rücksicht auf folgende Laute. Die Reimnot mag seine Wahl zwischen zwei Parallelformen beeinflussen. Aber auch dieser Zwang fällt da fort, wo die Präterita *gie(nch)* und *fie(nch)* mit einander gereimt werden. Hier also hatte der Dichter in formeller Hinsicht vollkommen freie Hand. Er konnte sich nach Belieben entweder der volleren oder der kürzeren Formen bedienen. Letztere waren die ihm im täglichen Leben geläufigen. Er verwendet sie im Reim, wo von Vorgängen die Rede ist, die nicht aus dem Rahmen des Alltäglichen oder wenigstens des Üblichen und Normalen herausfallen. Aber er trägt kein Bedenken, auf die älteren Formen da zurückzugreifen, wo das Alltägliche nicht am Platze sein würde. Von diesem Gesichtspunkte aus erscheint es verständlich, wenn er die älteren Formen in den Versen verwendet, die bedeutungsvoll am Eingange seiner Schilderung der Schöpfung stehen:

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Do daz allez ergienc, got zů sinem werche uienc.
er begunde scaffen, himel unde erde machen.

Hätte der Dichter an dieser Stelle die Formen *gie* und *fie* gebraucht, so wäre damit der erhabene Vorgang ins Gewöhnliche herabgezogen. Die ältere (veraltete) Form ist eben zugleich die nachdrücklichere, würdevollere, und erhält sich aus diesem Grunde unter günstigen Umständen neben der jüngeren (gewöhnlichen), wie z. B. in den nhd. Pluralen *Worte* und *Mannen* neben *Wörter* und *Männer*.

Etwas häufiger ist der umgekehrte Fall, dass die jüngeren Formen *gie, fie, lie* über ihr eigentliches Gebiet hinausgreifen. So begegnet neben regelrechtem *inphieng in, liez in* je einmal *fien* (67, 36) und *lien* (63, 7). Die beiden Paare verhalten sich zu einander ähnlich wie *er in* (28, 41. 32, 46 usw.) zu *ern* (65, 21) oder *si ez* (13, 1. 19, 8 usw.) und *si iz* (20, 6) zu *siz* (19, 4. 6. 8. 11) u. ähnl. Noch weniger kann es auffallen, wenn *gie* an vier Stellen (vgl. die obige Tabelle) vor folgendem betonten Vokal gebraucht wird, zumal der Hiatus an drei von diesen Stellen (vor folgendem *über al*) durch die Diäresis in der Mitte des Halbverses gemildert ist. Alle diese Ausnahmen können höchstens beweisen, dass zu der Zeit, wo die Wiener Genesis ihre schliessliche Gestalt erhielt, die jüngeren Formen sich schon grösserer Beliebtheit erfreuten als die älteren. Sie bestätigen also das Ergebnis, zu welchem uns schon die Tatsache führte, dass die kürzeren Formen da den Vorzug erhalten, wo die in Rede stehenden Präterita unter sich gereimt werden.

Wenn ich hierbei *gieng, fieng, liez* als die älteren, *gie, fie, lie* als die jüngeren Formen bezeichnet habe, so stützt sich diese Auffassung in erster Linie darauf, dass die erstere Formenreihe in der sprachgeschichtlichen Überlieferung tatsächlich früher auftritt, als die letztere. Denn *gieng, fieng, liez* decken sich mit den regelrechten ahd. Formen. Die kürzeren Formen sind dem Althochdeutschen der älteren Zeit unbekannt. Im Spätalthochdeutschen finden sie sich von Notker ab nur ganz vereinzelt (vgl. Braune, *Ahd. Gramm.* § 351 Anm. 2 u. § 382 Anm. 3; Schatz, *Altbair. Gramm.* § 139). Voll entwickelt erscheinen sie erst in der Übergangszeit vom Ahd. zum Mhd.

In dieser Zeit (für die wir die *W. Genesis* als typisches Beispiel wählen) treten die beiden Reihen als Parallelformen auf, deren

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Verwendung, wie ich zu zeigen versucht habe, im wesentlichen durch 'Sandhigesetze' oder 'Satzphonetik' geregelt ist. Die Sachlage ist also hier ähnlich, wie z. B. bei französ. *peut-être, est-il, y a-t-il,* wo sich im Sandhi der auslautende Konsonant der älteren Form vor folgendem Vokal erhalten hat.[4] Ebenso sind in *gieng, fieng, liez* auslautende Konsonanten bewahrt, die den kürzeren Formen *gie, fie, lie* fehlen. Es geht schwerlich an, die eine Form *gie* aus diesem Zusammenhange loszureissen und sie für eine uralte, von *gieng* unabhängige Bildung zu erklären.

Aber bliebe nicht den Anhängern der letzteren Ansicht als letzte Zuflucht noch die Aufstellung, die beiden—nach dieser Auffassung—etymologisch verschiedenen Präteritalformen *gieng* aus **gegang* und *gie* = got, *ga-iddja* seien erst nachträglich in ein Sandhiverhältnis zu einander gesetzt und letzteres dann auf die etymologisch zusammengehörigen Doppelformen *fieng* : *fie* und *liez* : *lie* übertragen? Dieser Ausweg wird meines Erachtens durch drei Hindernisse abgeschnitten, deren jedes wohl für sich allein genügend wäre, ihn zu verlegen.

1) Dass die Form *gie* sich zu *gieng* ihrer Herkunft nach anders verhalten solle als *fie* zu *fieng,* ist an sich wenig glaublich und namentlich auch deshalb unwahrscheinlich, weil das für got. *iddja* dann vorauszusetzende einfache mhd. **ie* nicht belegt ist.

2) Da das Althochdeutsche bis um die Mitte des 11. Jahrh. nur die dem mhd. *gieng* entsprechende Form, aber keine Spur eines *gie* aufweist, so bliebe zu erklären, weshalb das vermeintliche uralte **gīa* oder **gīja* sich gerade in der älteren Zeit nicht findet.

3) Die kurzen Präteritalformen *gie, fie, lie* treten im Mhd. zusammen mit kurzen Präsensformen auf (unter die wir den Imper., Infin. u. das Partic. präs. einrechnen), wie *gāt* oder *gēt* (3. sg. ind.), *gān* oder *gēn* (Inf.), *lāt* (3. sg. ind. u. 2. pl. ipv.), *lā* (2. sg. ipv.). Dass die beiden Formenreihen ihrer Herkunft

[4] Anscheinend bedingt hier der Sandhi (die Verbindung der Worte zum Satze) eine Aufhebung der sonst herrschenden Auslautsgesetze. Aber streng genommen handelt es sich hier garnicht um den Auslaut, sondern um eine Verschiebung der Grenze zwischen Inlaut und Auslaut. In *y a-t-il* wird *a-t-il* under einem Akzent gesprochen, daher wie ein flektiertes Wort behandelt; das *t* also steht hier für die lebendige Sprache im Inlaute. Auf den Inlaut können die Auslautsgesetze natürlich keine Anwendung finden. Eigentlich sollten wir also in solchen Fällen auch nicht von der Wirkung des Sandhi, sondern von aufgehobenem Sandhi sprechen.

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nach zusammengehören, tritt am klarsten bei *lie* hervor; denn *lie* verhält sich zu der volleren Form *liez* gewiss nicht anders, als z. B. in der 3 sg. des Imperativs *lā* zu älterem *lāz*. So wenig sich *lie* von *lā, lāt* trennen lässt, darf *gie* von *gāt, gān* losgerissen und zu got. *iddja* gezogen werdan.

HERMANN COLLITZ.

Johns Hopkins University.

THE ELIZABETHAN SHOWMAN'S APE

In *Romeo and Juliet* II, i, after Capulet's ball, Benvolio calls out to Romeo, whom he has seen climb over the wall of Capulet's orchard. Receiving no answer, he bids his companion Mercutio call. Mercutio responds (lines 6-16):

> Nay, I'll conjure too.
> Romeo! humours! madman! passion! lover!
> Appear thou in the likeness of a sigh!
>
> He heareth not, he stirreth not, he moveth not;
> The ape is dead, and I must conjure him. . . .

Malone commented on the word *ape:* "This phrase appears to have been frequently applied to young men, in our author's time, without any reference to the mimickry of that animal. It was an expression of tenderness, like *poor fool.* Nash, in one of his pamphlets, mentions his having read Lyly's *Euphues* when he was a little *ape* at Cambridge." Schmidt explains the word in this passage and in *2 Henry IV* I, iii, 31, as "term of endearment." Delius cited Lady Macduff's calling her little son *poor monkey* (*Macbeth* IV, ii, 59). Other editors agree in giving the substance of Malone's note with slight variations.

Mercutio, however, is not using *ape* as "an expression of tenderness." He has begun his burlesque adjuration to Romeo in the character of a wizard conjuring up a spirit, in keeping with the midnight hour and Romeo's invisibility. Romeo's failure to answer suggests to him another situation to parody, that of the showman with the performing ape, which has been trained to "play dead" or to pretend disobedience, Ben Jonson's "juggler with a well-educated ape, to come over the chain for a king of England, and

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back again for the Prince, and sit still . . . for the Pope and the King of Spain" (*Bartholomew Fair*, Induction, 1st speech).

The point is made perfectly clear by a passage in Lording Barry's *Ram-Alley* (printed 1611) IV, ii, in which Captain Face (or Puffe), a braggart soldier, who has bullied two old men earlier in the play, is in turn humiliated by two young men, Boutcher and William Smalshanke(s). The scene is a room in a tavern, where Face is asking to have his supper served.

Enter Boutcher, W. Smalshanke, and Constantia.[1]

Bou. Now leaue vs boy; blesse you Captaine *Face*,
Cap. Ile haue no Musick? *W. S.* Foot doost take vs for fidlers.
Cap. Then turne Straight. Drawer runne down the staires,
And thanke the Gods a gaue me that great patience
Not to strike you. *Bou.* Your patience sir is great.
For you dare sildome strike. Sirra they say,
You needs will wed the widdow *Taffata*,
Nolens volens. *Cap.* Doe not vrge my patience,
Awake not furie, new rakt vp in embers,
I giue you leaue to liue. *W. S.* Men say y'aue tricks,
Y'are an admirable Ape, and you can doe
More feates then three Babounes, we must haue some.
Cap. My patience yet is great, I say be gone,
My tricks are dangerous. *Bou.* That's nothing,
I haue brought you furniture, come get vp
Vp vpon this table, do your feates, (G2 *recto*)
Or I will whip you to them, doe not I know
You are a lowsie knaue. *Cap.* How? lowsie knaue,
Are we not English bred? *Bou.* Y'are a coward Roague,
That dares not look a Kitling in the face,
If she but stare or mew. *Cap.* My patience yet is great:
Doe you bandie troopes, by Dis I will be knight,
Weare a blew coate on great Saint *Georges*day,
And with my fellowes driue you all from Paules
For this attempt. *Bou.* Will you yet get vp,
I must lash you to it. *Cap.* By *Pluto*, Gentlemen,
To doe you pleasure, and to make you sport,
Ile do't. *W. S.* Come get vp then quick.
Bou. Ile dresse you sir. *Cap.* By *Ioue* 'tis not for feare,
But for a loue I beare vnto these tricks,
That I performe it. *Bou.* Hold vp your snout sir,
Sit handsomly, by heauen, sir you must do it,

[1] Text from the Students' Facsimile Edition (1913), G *verso* and G2 *recto*.

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Come boy, *W. S.* No by this good light, Ile play
Him that goes with the motions. *Dra.* Wher's the Cap, Gentlemen?
W. S. Stand back boy, and be a spectator, Gentlemen
You shall see the strange nature of an out-landish beast,
That ha's but two legs, bearded like a man,
Nosd like a Goose, and toungd like a woman,
Lately brought from the land of Catita,
A beast of much vnderstanding, were it not giuen
Too much to the loue of Venery: do I not do it well?
Bou. Admirably. *W. S.* Remember noble Captaine,
You skip when I shall shake my whip. Now sir,
What can you doe for the great Turke?
What can you doe for the Pope of Rome?
Harke, he stirreth not, he mooueth not, he waggeth not,
What can you do for the towne of Geneua sirra?
He holds vp his hands insteed of praying.
Con. Sure this Baboune is a great Puritane,
Bou. Is not this strange. *W. S.* Not a whit by this light,
Bankes his horse and hee were taught both in a stable.

From a comparison with this passage it is clear that Mercutio's words, "He heareth not, he stirreth not, he moveth not," were part of the patter of the contemporary ape-leader, used when the animal carried out his trick of playing dead or of sitting motionless when asked to perform "for the Pope and the King of Spain." In saying "The ape is dead, and I must conjure him," Mercutio may be continuing according to the formula of a showman, or he may be merely resuming the character of mock wizard which he had assumed at first. The passage from *Ram-Alley* makes clear at least that by *ape* he means the performing ape of the Elizabethan showman, and that in line 15 he has preserved for us a part of the showman's professional language.

Further information about the performing apes of the period, beyond what is necessary to throw light on Mercutio's meaning in the passage quoted, is supplied by numerous allusions in writers of the time, particularly in the dramatists and satirists.[2] The

[2] For the suggestion to take up this part of the subject, and for the greater part of the passages quoted below, in particular, the very significant passages from *Sir Gyles Gooscappe*, Davies's *Epigrams*, Jonson's *Epigrams*, and *The Scourge of Villainy*, I am indebted to the kindness of my colleague Professor J. Q. Adams, who had not failed to note their implications. For some other references I am indebted to the *New English Dictionary*, s. v. *gue*, and to Bullen's note on "blind Gew," Marston, *Works*, i, lxi.

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popularity of the "baboons," which ranked in favor with the puppet shows and with Banks's celebrated horse, is frequently attested, down to the date of Jonson's *Alchemist*.

> I pray ye, what shewe will be heere to night? I have seen the *Babones* already, and the *Cittie of new Nimivie*, and *Julius Caesar* acted by the Mammets.—*Every Woman in her Humour* (before 1600), Bullen, *Old Plays* iv, 270.

> He thought like *Bankes* his horse, or the *Baboones*, or captain *Pold* with his motion, she would haue showne him some strange & monstrous sight.—(Dekker) *Jests to make you merie* (1607), *Works*, ed. Grosart, ii, 317.

> He shew'd his Maister sights to him most strange. . . .
> Shew'd him the Lyons, Gyants in Guild-Hall,
> King *Lud* at *Ludgate*, the *Babounes*, and all.
> —Samuel Rowland, *Humors Looking Glasse* (1608), Hunterian Club, p. 29.

> To doe this trick in publike, she'd get more gold
> Then all the Baboones, Calues with two tailes,
> Or motions whatsoeuer.
> —Barry, *Ram-Alley*, B_2 *recto*.

> Nor heard a drum struck
> For baboons or puppets.
> —Jonson, *Alchemist* (acted 1610), v, i, 14

That the exhibitor was famous for his explanatory "lecture" is clear from Sir John Davies's *Epigram* XXX (1597), *In Dacum:*

> But some prose speeches I have heard of his. . . .
> He first taught him that keeps the monuments
> In Westminster, his formal tale to say,
> And also him which puppets represents,
> And also him which with the ape doth play.
> —Marlowe, *Works*, ed. Dyce, p. 360.

The scene with Captain Puffe in *Ram-Alley*, already quoted, is further evidence of this, and doubtless has preserved verbatim, mingled with some burlesque alterations, parts of the actual speech of one exhibitor, apparently the very one whom Shakespeare had heard and had made Mercutio quote.

A number of the ape's tricks—to play dead, to "come over the chain for a king of England and back again for the Prince" (in Queen Elizabeth's time he had doubtless done as much for her), to pretend to say his prayers in honor of the town of Geneva, to sit up, to "skip" at the crack of the trainer's whip, and to feign

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disobedience when commanded to perform for the Pope, the King of Spain, or the Great Turk—are recorded in the passages from Shakespeare, Jonson, and Barry.

Further, the names of two of these performing apes have been preserved, with a record of the place where one of them was exhibited. The anonymous play *Sir Gyles Goosecappe,* acted perhaps before 1600, printed in 1606, begins (Bullen, *Old Plays* iii, 7-8) with a scene in which two English pages, Jack and Will, affect to mistake Bullaker, a French page, for an ape.

Iack. A my worde (*Will*) tis the great *Baboone,* that was to be seen in *Southwarke*

Will. wheres his keeper trow, is he broke loose?

Iack. Hast ever an apple about thee (*Will*)? Weele take him up; sure, we shall get a monstrous deale of mony with him.

Will. That we shall, yfath, boy! and looke thou here, heres a red cheeckt apple to take him up with. . . .

Ia. Give me the apple to take up *Iack,* because my name is *Iack.*

Will. Hold thee, *Iack,* take it.

Ia. Come, *Iack,* come *Iack,* come, *Iack.*

And the same ape is apostrophized by Marston in *The Scourge of Villany* (1598), Satire IX, *Here's a Toy to mock an Ape indeed.* (*Works,* ed. Bullen, III, 362-367). The objects of Marston's satire in this piece are critics, authors, gallants, and hypocrites, who are all, in turn, compared to apes.

Come down, ye apes, or I will strip you quite,
.
.
Down, Jackanapes, from thy feign'd royalty!
What! furr'd with beard—cast in a satin suit,
Judicial Jack? How hast thou got repute
Of a sound censure? O idiot times,
When gaudy monkeys mow o'er spritely rhymes!
—lines 11-18

Old Jack of Paris-garden, canst thou get
A fair rich suit, though foully run in debt?
.
.
. Canst use a false-cut die
With a clean grace and glib facility?
Canst thunder cannon-oaths, like th' rattling
Of a huge, double, full-charg'd culvering?
Then Jack, troop 'mong our gallants, kiss thy fist,

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And call them brothers; say a satirist
Swears they are thine in near affinity,
All cousin-germans, save in villainy;
For (sadly, truth so say) what are they else
But imitators of lewd beastliness?
Far worse than apes; for mow or scratch your pate,
It may be some odd ape will imitate;
But let a youth that hath abused his time
In wronged travel, in that hotter clime,
Swoop by old Jack, in clothes Italianate,
And I'll be hang'd if he will imitate
His strange fantastic suit-shapes.

—lines 72-94.

Why looks neat Currus all so simp'ringly?
Why babblest thou of deep divinity,
And of that sacred testimonial,
Living voluptuously like a bacchanal?
Good hath thy tongue, but thou, rank Puritan,
I'll make an ape as good a Christian;
I'll force him chatter, turning up his eye,
Look sad, go grave; demure civility
Shall seem to say, "Good brother, sister dear!"

—lines 105-113.

"Jack," then, was shown at Paris Garden, that is, the Swan Theatre, or the Bear Garden, in Southwark. The last passage seems to identify him with the ape which Captain Puffe was compelled to impersonate; hence it is highly probable that Mercutio's speech, from which this discussion has taken rise, is an allusion to "old Jack of Paris Garden."

Another performing baboon was "blind Gew," or Gue, mentioned from 1598 on.

But who's in yonder coach? My lord and fool,
One that for ape-tricks can put Gue to school.
—Edward Guilpin, *Skialetheia* (1598), Satire v. 104-105.
(Collier's reprint, p. 48).

Gue, hang thy selfe for woe, since gentlemen
Are now growne cunning in thy apishness;
Nay, for they labour with their foolishness
Thee to undoe, procure to hang thou them:
It is a strange seeld seene uncharitie
To make fooles of themselves to hinder thee.
—do, Epigram xi, *To Gue* (Collier, p. 6).

Whilest thou dost raise some player from the grave,
Out-dance the Babion, or out-boast the Brave;
Or, mounted on a stool, thy face doth hit

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On some new gesture that's reputed wit?
O, run not proud of this. Yet take thy due,
Thou dost out-zany Cokely, Pod:[3] nay Gue.
—Jonson, *Epigrams* (1616), cxxix, *To Mime* (*Works*, ed. Cunningham, iii, 257).

Ho! blind Gew would ha' don't rarely, rarely.
—Marston, *First Part of Antonio and Mellida* (acted 1599, printed 1602), Induction; *Works*, Bullen, i, 13.

For blind Gue, you know has six-pence at the least for groping in the Darke.
—*Meeting of Gallants* (1604) B 3 b (*New Engl. Dict.*, s. v. *gue*).

It is apparent from these passages that Gue was the name of a blind performing baboon, and not, as has been conjectured, "an actor who had gone blind." The *New English Dictionary* seems to regard "blind Gue," in the quotation of 1604, as the name of the blindfolded player in Blindman's Buff, but I have never heard of this game being played for sixpences. Does the passage not mean simply that blind Gue's owner exhibited him for sixpence?

The *New English Dictionary*, following Nares, explains the word *gue*, occurring in Webster's *White Devil* (acted about 1610, printed 1612) III, iii, 99 and in Brathwaite's *Honest Ghost* (1658), p. 232,[4] as an adaptation of the French *gueux*, used in the sense of 'rogue.' This etymology can only be regarded as conjectural, but it may well be that the French word, made famous by the revolt in the Netherlands, became familiar to Englishmen when refugees from Flanders crossed the Channel by the tens of thousands and when English forces took part in the defence of the revolted provinces. If this was the case, it was possibly this recently imported word which was adopted as the name of the blind baboon, the chief rival in public favor of Jack of Paris Garden.[5]

W. STRUNK, JR.

Cornell University.

[3] The same as Dekker's Captain Pold, above.

[4] Nares gives another instance from the same work, p. 139.

[5] The reading in Webster is doubtful; see variants and comment in the edition by Professor M. W. Sampson (*Belles-Lettres Series*), p. 87. The recorded instances of the word as a common noun are subsequent to the fame of Gue the baboon. The earliest instances of the use of *Gueux* in the historic sense noted in the *New Engl. Dict.* are of 1624 (Geuses) and 1665 (Geux). That both common noun and proper name are from *gueux* seems very probable, but neither derivation can be regarded as certain.

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ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES

1. OHG. *fasti, festi:* Gk. πηγός.

ON. *fastr* 'fest, sicher; fest anschliessend; unverbrüchlich; kräftig,' OE. *fæst* 'firm, fixed, stiff (soil),' OS. *fast* '(fest,) gefesselt, beständig,' OHG. *fasti, festi,* MHG. *veste, vest* 'nicht weich, fest, hart, stark, beständig' may have the primary meaning 'arranged, put in order, compact,' whence 'crowded; permanent, unchangeable,' etc., and may be compared with Lat. *pango* 'fasten, fix, drive in; put together, compose; agree upon,' *compingo* 'put together, construct,' *pp. compactus* 'thick-set, compressed, compact,' Gk. *πήγνυμι,* Dor. *πάγνυμι* 'make fast, fasten together, construct, build,' πηγός 'well put together, compact, strong,' Skt. *pajrá-ḥ* 'feist, derb, kräftig, glänzend.' Germanic **faχsti-*, **faχsta-* may be derived from IE. **pāgsti-*, **pagsto-*, and although no *-h-* is to be found even in the oldest dialects, we may possibly assume that Germ. *-χ-* has fallen before the combination *-st-*, on which see now Sverdrūp, *IF.* xxxv (1915), 154 ff., just as is the case with ON. *lǫstr* 'Fehler, Gebrechen, Tadel,' OS. *lastar* 'Lästerung,' OHG. *lastar* 'Tadel, Schande, Fehler,' MHG. *laster, lahster:* OHG., OS. *lahan* 'tadeln,' OE. *lēan* 'to blame,' *leahtor* 'vice, sin; bodily defect, disease,' etc.

2. OHG. *encho:* Skt. *ajá-ḥ.*

OHG. *encho* 'bootes, agricola,' *folg-enko* 'satelles,' MHG. *enke* 'Knecht bei dem Vieh und auf dem Acker,' NHG. *Enke* 'unter dem Grossknecht stehender Vieh- oder Ackerknecht,' dial. (Vilmar, p. 92 f.) *enke* 'Knecht, Kleinknecht, welcher beim Ackern die Pferde zu treiben hatte,' (*Brem. Wb.* I, 308) *enke* 'Pferdejunge, Kleinknecht.' The stem **ankjan-* may represent a nasalized form of the IE. root **aĝ-* 'treiben, führen' in Lat. *ago* 'treibe, führe, tue,' Gk. ἄγω 'treibe, führe,' Skt. *ájati* 'geht, treibt,' *ajá-ḥ* 'Treiber,' ON. *aka* 'fahren.' The original meaning was probably 'driver, as of horses, cattle,' then 'any servant engaged in agricultural work, especially in an inferior position,' just as the meaning that has come down to the present day. Or we may start from the meaning 'runner, a person who runs or goes along, follows or helps another.'

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3. OHG. *warid, werid,* OE. *w(e)aroþ, wearþ.*

OE. *w(e)aroþ, wearþ,* 'shore,' OHG. *warid, werid* 'Insel,' MHG. *wert, -des* 'Insel, Halbinsel, erhöhtes, wasserfreies Land zwischen Sümpfen; Ufer,' *werder* 'Insel,' NHG. *Werder, Wert* 'Flussinsel; Uferland,' MLG. *werde* 'Insel,' *werder* 'Werder, Insel; Halbinsel,' Germ. **waruþa-*, **wariþa-* (from IE. **u̯os'-*) may be referred to the root **u̯es-* in Goth. *wisan* 'sein, verweilen, bleiben,' OHG. *wist* 'Aufenthalt, Wohnort,' ON. *vist* 'Aufenthalt,' Skt. *vásati* 'wohnt, verweilt, übernachtet,' Av. *vaŋhaiti* 'wohnt, verweilt,' OPers. *ā-vahanam* 'Wohnplatz,' literally 'place where one can be or remain, firm land, as shore or bank, elevated land in wet places, island,' such as might be chosen as a place to dwell, and so forth.

For the development in meaning we may compare Goth. *staþs* 'Ufer, Gestade,' OE. *stæþ* 'bank, shore,' OS. *stað* 'Gestade,' OHG. *stad, stado* 'Ufer,' MHG. *stat, -des* 'Gestade, Ufer, Landeplatz,' probably here also Krimgoth. *statz* 'terra, Land' (Feist, *Et. Wb.* 249): OHG., MHG. *stān, stēn* 'an einer Stelle sich befinden, stehen, stehen bleiben, stille stehen, beharren,' Lat. *sto,* etc.

4. OE. *hāma,* OHG. *heimo.*

OE. *hāma,* OHG. *heimo,* MHG. *heime,* NHG. *Heime, Heimchen,* also compounded, as OHG. *mūch-heimo, heimamuch,* MHG. *mūcheime,* NHG. (dial.) *Muchheim, Heimuch* 'grillus.' The usual explanation derives the group from the stem in OE. *hām* 'Haus, Wohnort,' OS. *hēm* 'Haus,' OHG. *heim* 'Haus, Wohnort,' etc., assuming that the insect was so called from the fact that it was found especially frequently about the house, the home. I should prefer to start with a meaning 'biter, cutter, gnawer,' supposing that Germ. **haimō* is derived with an extension in *-m-* from the root **sḱ(h)ēi-* 'sever, separate, cut' in Skt. *chyáti* 'schneidet ab,' *chāta-ḥ, chitá-ḥ* 'abgeschnitten,' MIr. *scían* 'Messer,' etc., see Walde s. v. *scio.* Later on association was probably felt with OE. *hām,* OHG. *heim,* etc.

Insects are often named from words meaning 'cut, scrape, gnaw,' so MDu. *mijte* 'Milbe,' OE. *mite* 'mite (insect),' OHG. *mīza* 'Mücke': Goth. *maitan* 'hauen, abschneiden,' OHG. *meizen* 'schneiden, hauen'; MHG. *schabe* 'Motte, Schabe,' OE. *mæl-scafa* 'caterpillar, blight': OE. *scafan* 'shave, polish; scrape, shred,' Goth. *skaban* 'scheren,' etc.

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5. Early Dutch *haeck-weduwe.*

Early Du. *haeck-weduwe* 'mulier mariti absentis adventum avide affectans, q. d. vidua expectans sive appetens avide' may be originally the same as Du. dial. (West Flem.) *hage-weduwe* 'ongehuwde dochter die moeder is,' 'unmarried girl who is a mother,' although the meaning of the two is different. We may start from the idea 'false widow, woman untrue to her husband,' and the like. The definitions given by the lexicographers seem to have received their color from a desire to associate the word with MDu. *haken* 'long for, hanker after,' *sb.* 'hankering, longing,' Kil. *haecken nae eenigh dinck* 'captare rem aliquam, inhiare alicui rei, adspirare ad rem aliquam, flagrare desiderio alicuius rei, avide appetere, inclinare se ad aliquid habendum vel tenendum,' and it may be that the people who used the word felt a connection between the two groups, cf. especially the definition of Kilian, also Grienberger, *ZfdWf.* IV, 305 f.

The explanation offered by Grienberger, *loc. cit.*, assumes connection with early Du. *haeck* 'Heuschober, Heuhaufe auf der Wiese,' where the development in meaning would be much the same as in MLG. *gras-wedewe* 'Graswitwe, Spottname entehrter und dann verlassener Jungfrauen,' NHG. *Graswitwe,* NE. *grasswidow,* which are here discussed. All this may be true; however, I should prefer to look upon *haeck-weduwe* as a compound of MDu. *hage,* Kil. *haeghe* 'seps, septum,' at the same time assuming influence of *haken.* Various dialects show quite a number of compounds with *hage* in which the prevailing idea is something 'illicit, wrong, underhanded, clandestine,' as it were with reference to what is done or carried on in an 'illicit, out-of-the-way place, outside the bounds or limits.' Compare the following: MDu. *hage-munt* 'bad coin,' Kil. *haegh-munte* 'numisma reprobatum,' *haegh-tap* 'taberna non publica,' *haegh-klerck* 'discipulus infrequens in scholis, raro scholas frequentans,' MDu. *hage-tronc, avetronc* 'spurious child,' WFlem. *hage-tronk* 'bastard,' WFlem. *hage-meester, -dokteur* 'person clandestinely practicing the art of a physician.' Compare also Swiss *hag* 'Hecke, Zaun; als Schlupfwinkel (urspr. von Vagabunden, Zigeunern, Strauchrittern usw.),' and especially the expressions: *hinder-em hag hüroten wie d'lerchen* (hinter dem Hage heiraten wie die Lerchen), *gang hott* (hinweg) *vom hag!,* Warnung vor verbotener Lust, (die Frau) *gugget über d'häg,* von der man glaubt,

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sie sei ihrem Manne nicht treu, *über d' häg use luegen, gugge*n 'nach andern Weibspersonen ausschauen, in der Ehe untreu sein; überhaupt etwas Unerlaubtes im Schilde führen.'

H. O. SCHWABE.

University of Michigan.

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF WIELAND

Recently there came into my possession a copy of what is doubtless the earliest English translation of Wieland's *Don Sylvio,* the title of which is as follows:

Reason triumphant over Fancy; Exemplified in the Singular Adventures of Don Sylvio de Rosalva. A History in which every marvellous Event occurs naturally. Translated from the German Original of Mr. C. M. Wieland. In Three Volumes. Vol. I. [Vol. II., Vol. III.] London: Printed for J. Wilkie, at No. 71, St. Paul's Church-Yard; S. Leacroft, at the Globe, at Charing-Crofs, and C. Heydinger, No. 274, in the Strand. MDCCLXXIII.

The volumes contain respectively 247, 231, 211 pages, and in addition Vol. I has eight preliminary leaves, with Title, Preface and Contents, while the other volumes have each two preliminary leaves with Title and Contents. Goedeke cites only an edition with the imprint London, 1774, and he assumes that it actually appeared in Leipzig. It is possible that he never saw the edition which he cites, and that ultimately it may turn out to be identical with the one above described. This, however, as typography and imprint show, is undoubtedly a London edition, and could not possibly have been printed in Germany.

The title of the English edition is an exact reproduction of Wieland's original title of 1764, and the original text is likewise followed, altho Wieland's revised edition, with the much shorter title, had appeared in 1772. The translator has given no clue to his identity. His version, which is in good, idiomatic English, forms the basis of the edition of E. A. Baker, *The Adventures of Don Sylvio de Rosalva, by C. M. Wieland,* in Routledge's "Library of Early Novelists," London, 1904. Unfortunately the editor has omitted Wieland's Preface, doubtless in deference to the later German editions, in which the Preface does not appear. Furthermore, his Introduction, tho quite voluminous (33 pages) nowhere makes

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mention of the fact that the translation is based on the original form of the work, and the fact that a later, revised text exists is nowhere even hinted at.

Several other works of Wieland also exist in contemporary English translations, which are either inadequately described or not mentioned at all by Goedeke:

A prose version of *Der gepryfte Abraham* appeared in 1764 as *The Trial of Abraham. In Four Cantos. Translated from the German,* 8vo., Becket & de Hondt. See *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste,* XI, 331. The first French translation appeared in 1766.

Socrates out of his senses, or Dialogues of Diogenes of Sinope, Translated out of the German of Wieland, by Mr. Wintersted, two volumes, 8vo., was published at London in 1771 by T. Davies. See Jördens, *Lexikon deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten,* V, 369. There is a copy in the British Museum. Goedeke merely refers to an edition of 1781, without giving the title. The first French edition appeared at Dresden in 1772.

Next in order is *The History of Agathon, by Mr. C. M. Wieland. Translated from the German Original, with a preface by the translator.* 4 Vols., 12mo., London, 1773. T. Cadell. See *Neue Bibl. d. schönen Wiss.* XVI, 1, p. 162, and Jördens, V, 355, who ascribes the translation to Justamond. There is a copy in the British Museum. The first French translation appeared in 1768.

Araspes und Panthea appeared as *Dialogues from the German of Mr. Wieland,* London, 1775, 8vo. See Jördens V, 372. Goedeke knows only an edition of 1825. In French there was only an excerpt of some seven pages, which appeared in 1766.

It is generally assumed that English translations of German works of this period came thru the medium of the French. From the point of view of chronology this assumption would be tenable only for *Agathon* and *Don Sylvio.* The latter, however, cannot depend upon the French translation of 1769, for this has only the shortened title *Les Avantures merveilleuses de Don Sylvio de Rosalva,* whereas the title of the English edition agrees verbatim with that of the original German edition of 1764.

W. KURRELMEYER.

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REVIEWS

The Spanish-American Reader. By ERNESTO NELSON. With full notes and vocabulary. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1916. Pp. viii, 367. Price $1.25.

The editor of this volume states in the "Foreword" that the reasons for its preparation are the present widespread interest in Spanish-America as a legitimate and profitable field for American enterprise and the almost absolute lack of anything like adequate information as to what the Spanish-American countries are doing in the present, or what they have achieved in the past.

These reasons are undoubtedly just. Many Americans are acquiring Spanish as a business asset. These and others, who study the language for practical purposes rather than for any interest in the literature and other things Spanish, are creating a demand for well-edited books of the kind that Señor Nelson offers in his reader.

The text is divided into two parts. Part I, in 37 chapters, deals with conditions and activities of everyday life. The discussion is in the form of conversations. This part is written by the editor himself.

Part II consists of five sections or chapters of varied contents, being short selections from representative authors of the various Spanish-speaking countries of America. Chapter I deals with the nature and physical aspects of Latin-America; chapter II with the life and customs of the people; chapter III is largely biographical, discussing briefly the life and character of men who have taken a prominent part in their country's history; chapters IV and V contain selections bearing upon the literature, the ideals and aspirations of the Latin-American peoples. Most of the selections in Part II are less than two pages in length, many less than one full page.

Very full foot-notes are provided. Grammar topics are not treated formally, but in several chapters of Part I special attention is given to the use of certain parts of speech, the use of tenses, and different idioms of the language. A valuable feature of the notes is the introduction of "variants" in explanation of the original expression in the text. Such expressions will be of great help to both teacher and student in furnishing opportunity and material

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for conversation exercises. The notes are on the whole excellent, the translations usually well done, and the explanations given with good judgment. It seems to the reviewer, however, that the author has sometimes burdened the notes with explanations that were not needed, and translated expressions offering no difficulty either in construction or sense. In some instances the Spanish variant would have made the meaning sufficiently clear, without further explanation. I may cite as examples: P. 52, "a consecuencia de"; p. 83, "en opinión de algunos"; p. 84, "hasta ahora"; p. 86, "metros cúbicos por día"; p. 95, "no hay probabilidad"; p. 101, "la maquinaria más moderna"; p. 123, "Todo eso está muy bueno"; p. 176, "el más grande de los dos"; p. 177, "me cuesta mucho creer que."

The phrase "hasta la vista," translated in the notes, "so long," "good bye," surely ought to need no explanation to the student at this stage; neither "hasta" nor "vista" are found in the vocabulary.

In any book of this kind errors will unavoidably creep in. The following are rather curious: P. 113, note, ". . . from being," should be . . . *from having*. P. 143, "se consideran también como un espectáculo selvaje. Note omission of indefinite article." But the article is not omitted. Does the editor refer to some other word? P. 174, "Me tiene Ud. con curiosidad, *you have aroused my curiosity*. Note the introduction of the reflexive pronoun to imply that the curiosity was aroused by what had been previously said." *Me* is not here reflexive. The rest of the note lacks point. P. 240, "¡al cuartel el vagabundo! Note the use of the definite article, which makes the adjective more emphatic." The use of the article here appears to be regular. If "*vagabundo*" were vocative, the article would not be used, according to modern Spanish usage.

One is inclined to object to the translation of the phrase "a dos tirones" by "in two shakes of a lamb's tail," as suggested in parenthesis in the note on p. 99, and to the use of "innards," even in quotation marks, in definition of the word "*mondongo*" (in the vocabulary).

Another feature of the notes that the reviewer would especially recommend is the introduction, in the notes, of a large number of technical words and terms related to the subjects discussed. For example, we find such special vocabularies on p. 12, typewriters;

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on p. 19, book-keeping; on p. 149-150, banking and business terms; etc.

In the matter of the Vocabulary the reviewer finds himself somewhat at variance with the opinion of the author. I agree with him that no modern language text-book vocabulary can take the place of the dictionary, and each student using this text-book should provide himself with a good Spanish-English and English-Spanish dictionary, and should in addition have access to the latest authorized edition of the *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana* published by the Spanish Academy.

But the author says further that he has kept in mind the preparation and equipment in Spanish of the students for whom the book is intended, and he assumes that such students are familiar with the rudimentary principles of Spanish grammar before beginning to read this text, and that they have acquired a fairly extensive vocabulary in that language, which should include a considerable proportion of the words used in every-day speech. Such words have, therefore, been excluded from the vocabulary, except in cases where, because of unusual idiomatic construction or other variation from ordinary usage, it has seemed desirable to include them.

The reviewer cannot approve of all this. Very few modern language text vocabularies are made on such a principle. I believe that a vocabulary should be complete or there should be none at all. It should supplement the dictionary for the particular text for which it is made. It is safe to say that in no two classes using this text will the students have had precisely the same preparation or have acquired the same vocabulary. How then can the editor judge what words the student may reasonably be supposed to have learned, so that they may without handicap to him be omitted from the vocabulary. No two editors would agree on that point. In this vocabulary the number of omissions is quite large. Following is a list, which is not complete, including only such as a rapid examination revealed. I have not included the omission of such words as I felt sure that any student with as much as a year's preparation would be sure to recognize. They are not given alphabetically, but in the order in which they occur in the text:

Albañil, manzana, toallero, papel de forro, cuadro indicador, artefactos, acero, giratoria, balde, consumidor, encomienda, boga, horquillas, almohadón, jabón, algodón, estampilla, lente, cobre, empalmar, desembarcar, riel, afluente, asunto, motes despectivos,

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arreglo, liviano, prenda (the meaning of *pledge, security,* is not given), desaseado, invertir (the voc. has investir), cordillera, explotación, agotar, envolver, guisos, terciado, veredicto, previamente, estepa, hebra, naranja, enredo, azar, asustar (but asustarse, *to shy,* said of a horse), ancho, amortización, antemano, semejante, semejanza, politica (*policy*), ambiente,, afines, varón, costar, suavizar, culebra, matiz, astro, labriego, asemejar, desarollar, aldea, enredadera, colgar, desorden, árbol, oir, papagayo, roble, arroyuelo, ribera, aumentar, altanero, río, gemir, paloma, cola, azulado, amontonamiento, aplanar, arriba, abajo, paredón, cojín, pincel, campesino, pesar, pacer, hato, alelí, parásita, azucena, obsequio, botoncillo, alambre, compra, antepasado, abrir, suceso, cerdo, paisaje, agrupación, pescuezo, almidonado, actitud, apresuradamente, fulano, albur, alfombra, susto, agregar, joya, savia, carcajada, pomarrosa (not found in the dictionary of the academy), horadado, exprofeso, rayo, trascurso, recurso, respetuoso, lata, donaire, parandero, sencillez, mecha.

If the criticism which I have ventured to offer is justifiable, the errors may easily be corrected in a future edition. In all that is essential the book is well edited and is a valuable addition to our text-books on Spanish. The editor has done his own (Argentina) and the other Latin-American countries as well as the American teacher and student of Spanish a valuable service by its publication. It cannot fail to stimulate the interest in our neighbors to the south. The publishers deserve praise for the handsome appearance of the volume.

NILS FLATEN.

St. Olaf College.

Zur Geschichte der westgermanischen Konjunktion 'und,' von E. H. Sehrt. [Hesperia, No. 8.] Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1916. 56 pp.

It would seem as if the title of this commendable work represented adequately neither the character of the study nor its special value as a contribution to knowledge. All that the captions of the four chapters and a cursory examination of their contents suggest, is the morphological evolution of the West Germanic copulative conjunction *und.* The divisions, I. Entwicklung der Konjunktion **andi* im Gemeingermanischen, II. Die ahd. Konjunktion *joh* und got. *jah,* III. Die Entwicklung der Form *andi* im Westgermanischen, IV. *Anda, Ende, Inde* im späteren Mittelalter, indicate no more

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than the tracing of the conjunction from its first appearance, under the form of *anti, andi,* thru the intermediate stages of *enti, inti, inte, unte* and *unde,* to its modern derivative *und.* To all appearances, this may have been the genetic development of the problem. Yet, as the finished work now stands, its importance seems to lie not so much in the fixation of such formal disparities as predominantly in the elaboration of a new means of control for the differentiation of the old West Germanic dialects. This device consists in making use of the chronological and territorial expansion of the various forms of the conjunction, on the basis of a comprehensive exploitation of the existing documents. The reviewer believes that, despite a residue of doubt arising from the mixture of dialects in some of the manuscripts, due either to scribal interference or to a process of translation from one idiom into another, sufficiently reliable results can be obtained,—and have been obtained by the dissertator at least to an extent which would have justified the placing of this new criterion in the centre of gravity of his fascicle. A title, somewhat like 'Die Konjunktion *Und* als Kennzeichen in der westgermanischen Dialektabgrenzung,' with an introductory chapter listing and discussing the comparative value of all other touchstones thus far advanced,—the beginnings of such a list can be found on p. 30 of the dissertation,—with a necessary shifting of the point of view from the formal examination of the conjunction to the more vital consideration of dialects and documents, the latter to furnish the designations for the chapters, cf. p. 34,—such a disposition of the material would have considerably increased the serviceability of the investigation and emphasized its actual significance.

So much for the field of inquiry and for the arrangement. The subject-matter itself is a promising piece of work and warrants closer analysis. The first division traces the development of the Proto-Germanic **andi* in a manner different from Kluge's, *PBB,* x, 444, and manifests a skillful sifting of the data culled from etymological dictionaries. Among the latter, Falk and Torp, *Norwegisch-Dänisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch,* Heidelberg, 1910, might have been included, whilst the bibliography lists the second edition of Prellwitz, *Griechisches Wörterbuch,* altho the latter stands at variance with the first edition, cited on p. 2, in that it no longer features Old High German *unti* under ἀντί.

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From a negative statement in his third edition, "Vorgeschichte dunkel. Zusammenhang mit lat. *et* kaum möglich," Kluge, 8th ed., 1915, came to identify *und*, Anglo-Saxon *and*, with Sanskrit *átha* and *ádha*, 'farther, along,' < Indo-Germanic *ənthá*, cf. Torp, in Fick, *Vgl. Wb*⁴. and Hirt, *Etymol. d. nhd. Sprache*, p. 78. Dr. Sehrt leans toward the explanation which seeks a relationship rather with Sk. *ánti*, Greek ἀντί and Latin *ante*, Idg. **antá*. We are told that Sanskrit *ath-* or *adh-* would correspond to a Germanic *und-*, i. e., *adhara: undar*, which would leave the Germanic forms with initial *a-* unaccounted for. Were it not for the fact that, in the face of the relatively latest appearance of German *und* (cf. Chapter III), an outcropping of this form subsequently to those of *anti* and *enti*, is out of the question, the Indogermanist would have at least two other explanations at his disposal. The one is the longer *nasalis sonans*, advanced but unillustrated by Kluge, who considers Ags. *and* and OHG. *anti* derived from *ande* or *ando*, where *an* represents the *sonans*. For the *nasalis*, the following putative examples will be of interest, Greek κνήμη, Ags. *hamm*, OHG. *hamma*, 'leg,' < **kn̥-m*; Greek ἄμαθος, Old Norse *sandr*, OHG. *sant*, <**sn̥dh*. Opinions vary however with respect to the rôle played by the long *nasalis sonans* in Germanic phonology. Streitberg assigns to it no place at all, *Urgerm. Grammatik*, sec. 39, 4; on the other hand, Brugmann's application of it to Gothic *gaggan* and *blandan*, *Grundriss*², I, sec. 459, in the face of **bhlendh-* and **ǧhengh-*, surely represents the other extreme. But for the above-mentioned definitive obstacle, we would be inclined to propose rather a relation of *Vollstufe* to *Schwundstufe*, on the analogy of Idg. **dónt-* and **dn̥t*. Just as the former continues in Greek ὀδόντα, Ags. *tóð* <**tanþ*, Old Norse (*Hildi*)-*tannr* <**tanþr*, so pl. *teðr* (to *tǫnn*) <**tanþiz*, Old Saxon *tand*, OHG. *zand*, whilst the silent form results in Sanskrit *dat-ás*, Latin *dentis* and Gothic *tunþus*,—in the same manner we might assume an Idg. **óndha* > Germanic *and-*, at the side of **n̥thá* or **n̥dhá* to account for German *und*. Doubtful tho such reconstructions must by their very nature be, the author might, it seems, have included mention of their possibility in his discussion.

However, we are given an ingenious sketch of the probable details of the other process. Accordingly, following a suggestion of Professor Collitz, the transition from the preposition **andi* to the

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conjunction *and* may have taken place thru the substitution of the latter, after an analogical equation of the accusative with the nominative, (cf. Ags. *fæder and sunu*), for *jah*, in such a model as *fadar jah sunus*, whereby 'father upon son' became 'father and son.' The fact that Old Frisian still has a few examples of this original prepositional use of *and* in an adversative sense, e. g., *fara and tha saxinna merka*, seems to lend this theory a tangible support. For the semantic aspect of Gothic *and*, Delbrück, *Vgl. Syntax*, 1, 740 ff, may be added to the above.

Chapter II, discussing the primitive function and meaning of the OHG. *joh*, a partial alternative of *endi, andi*, and arriving at the conclusion that *joh* is not a "derivative from" (p. 10) Gothic *jah*, but is a composition of *iâ auh*, a commendable work in itself, is in the nature of a long excursus, if the main theme of the dissertation is the conjunction *und*. It does attain considerable importance, if the delimitation of dialects be put in the foreground.

The next division contains the most interesting portion of the work, but receives a disproportionate share of attention. The explanation of the forms *anti, enti*, and *inti* is shown to be one independent of any ablaut relation. They appear rather to be the result of an *i*-umlaut which reached Old High German last of all the dialects and did not produce the form *enti* until the middle-of-eighth-century Bavarian. The force of the final vowel alters *enti* into *inti*, whereupon the sound weakens to a colorless *-e*. The next step seems not so imperative to us. Under the influence of a dark-vowelled word to which it stood in an enclitic relation, *inte* is supposed to have become *unte*. Early parallels like *untfahan, untfuor, untwichan* would support this view. At the same time notice must be taken of such a direct transition from *e* to *u* as we have in Got. *þairh*, and even OGH. *derh* (*Voc. St. Gall.*), as against OHG. *durh, durah*, Ags. *þurh*, etc.

The available information concerning the gradual transformation of the conjunction is offered as a chronological and territorial criterion of the West Germanic linguistic documents. Delimitation in time, in that Bavarian and Alemannic show the form *anti* until 800, from 800 to 900 *enti* has been found to be the sole form, whilst *inti*(*e*) predominates in the following century. From 1000 on *unt*(*e*) and *und*(*e*) are the current forms. In space, in

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that almost all the monuments which present the particle with a medial *t*, have been found to be Upper German, i. e. Bavarian and Alemannic, and East and South Rhenish Franconian; on the other hand, the dialects with a *d* were located in the Rhenish, Middle and Low Franconian region. A map, p. 52, visualizes the expansion of the conjunction on West Germanic soil.

A few actual examples of this control may be appended: The unique *anti* of the *Keronic Glossary* Kb has been found to have slipped in from the Bavarian prototype, since else the form occurs in the eighth century solely in the dialect of the Upper German territory, p. 26. In the instance of the *Second Merseburger Charm* the *ende* could hardly have originated, with the manuscript, from the tenth century, when elsewhere the form had given way to *indi*. Since, according to the other Rhenish Franconian documents, the *terminus ad quem* for *endi* was the beginning of the ninth century, the Charm must have been committed to writing before that time, p. 31. In a similar manner, the home of the Low Franconian translation of the *Psalms* is pretty conclusively fixed near the middle Franconian frontier, west of Aachen, p. 34.

With respect to the dialect of the *Hildebrandslied*, however, the author's application of the test cannot be said to have brought forth a conclusive result. In common with the Old Saxon *Heliand*, this fragment has thus far received an uncommon amount of critical attention. The former has been variously termed Old Saxon, Westphalian, Old Low Franconian; a translation from the Low Franconian; a confusion of Low German, Franconian and Anglo-Saxon. Professor Collitz (*PMLA*, XVI, 123) assumed, with respect not only to the *Heliand* but to the *Hildebrandslied* as well, an epic idiom, composed of Old Saxon, Low Franconian and Frisian elements, and altered in the course of scribal transmission. The latter itself contains ingredients from no less than four distinct sources, Low German, Frisian, Upper German-East Franconian and, if Kögel be right, (*Pauls Grundriss*,[2] II, 75) even Old Low Franconian. Besides the two explanations adduced by the author, p. 34, viz: a High German original copied by Low German scribes,—and this goes back beyond Braune and Holthausen to Holtzmann, *Germania*, IX, 289!—and, *vice versa*, a Low German original copied by a High German scribe, there are many other possibilities. Kauffmann proposes an Anglo-Saxon copyist of the High German text, Müllenhoff, Socin and Martin hold that

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a Hessian or a Thuringian border dialect has been altered by a High German scribe. According to Trautmann, *Bonner Beitr. zur Angl.* VII, 68 the poem is an eighth century translation from the Anglo-Saxon into a Middle German dialect, and he perceives close resemblances, such as *her uuas hērōro man* 7: *hē wæs hārra man; westar ubar wentil-sēo* 43: *west ofer wendel-sæ*, etc. **Sievers,** *Rhythm.-melod. Studien,* p. 129, calls the text, on phonetic grounds, originally a mixture of High German dialects.

These side-remarks are called forth by the author's assumption that the question can be reduced to one of two alternatives. He himself follows Kögel's view: the High German scribe consistently changes the Low German *d* to *t*, hence *anti, enti*, not *andi, endi*. And since *endi* appears only in Old Saxon, Middle and Rhenish Franconian, and the latter are excluded as the dialect of the poem, because of the loss of *n* before *þ*, Old Saxon territory remains the sole possible home. Dr. Sehrt's admission, however, that the presence of *andi* points to a Bavarian influence, in that the first Abbot of Fulda and some of the monks were Bavarians,—and already K. Meyer, *Germania,* XV, 22, postulated a Bavarian source—bodes ill for his Low German standpoint, when correlated with the recent findings of Saran, in his *Hildebrandslied,* (Halle, a.S., 1915) which has only recently come to hand. For, after a research, which might be called the extreme degree of analytic refinement, Saran concludes (p. 86), on the basis of Rutz's doctrine of *Klangtypen,* of Sievers' verse-intonation and of his own rhythmic investigations, "Der Dichter des alten HL. war ein Bayer, der Beziehungen zu Fulda hatte und darum einige fuldisch-ostfr. Eigenheiten annahm. Dieser Mann, offenbar ein Dichter von Beruf, wie der des Heliand, dichtete für einen sächsischen Gönner und bemühte sich darum, soweit er konnte, seine Sprache nach der in der sächsischen Dichtung üblichen, an sich schon etwas gemischten zu formen."

The concluding chapter, giving the territorial expansion of the form *und(e)*, is a creditable investigation. In fact, while the dissertation cannot be said to have displayed its strong points to the best advantage, the impression it makes is that of a faithfully done contribution to the literature both of the conjunction of which it treats and of West Germanic dialect studies in particular.

ALEXANDER GREEN.

Johns Hopkins University.

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The Life and Letters of Theodore Watts-Dunton. By Thomas Hake and Arthur Compton-Rickett. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916. 2 vols.

Old Familiar Faces. By Theodore Watts-Dunton. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1916.

Poetry and the Renascence of Wonder. By Theodore Watts-Dunton. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1916.

In spite of the large amount of *personalia* in his own writings there is room for a *Life* of the intimate friend of Rossetti, Morris, and Swinburne, the author of *Aylwin,* and the critic whose *Athenæum* articles were for years a stimulus to all students of poetry. But there is small room for two large volumes of ill-arranged literary gossip and more or less pointless anecdote, which reflect those qualities of amateurishness and gush that pervade so much of Watts-Dunton's own work, but reflect them without the atoning graces of the original style. This *Life and Letters* passes over in almost entire silence questions with regard to Watts-Dunton's career about which it is highly desirable to know more: the details of his association with the gipsies, the extent of his oriental studies, the genesis of *Aylwin,* the amount of autobiography in that romance, and so forth. It dwells at length upon the friendships with Rossetti, Tennyson, Swinburne, Groome, and other writers, most of the facts of which have long been accessible in Watts-Dunton's critiques or in other places. The most remarkable contribution to our knowledge of the man should have been omitted: the account of his engagement and married life, written by his widow. The amazing bad taste of this sketch of "Walter Theodore Watts-Dunton and I" must not go unrebuked by however obscure an admirer of one who in his own writings frequently dwelt upon the sanctity of the private life of literary people and himself rebuked those who sought to pry into that life. Keats and Browning, notably, have had their heart's shrine laid bare; but the circumstances of the publication of their "love-letters" were remote from those which we now witness when the "Darling Girl-Wife," the "Darling Bright-Eyes," the "d-e-e-e-e-e-e-e-e-e-r child," gives to the world, along with much evidence of her own comeliness, the letters containing such terms of endearment as the above. Not that there is anything discreditable in having written such letters;

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on the contrary; but they were private and should have been sacred, and to print them constitutes something very like betrayal of one who wrote: "It behoves every man who has had the misfortune to pass into fame to burn all letters." Even a public proverbially hungry for choice morsels of literary gossip could have done without the knowledge that when Mrs. Watts-Dunton had "a holiday face" her husband stopt work and "would resign himself to the happy inevitable"; that two hours after their wedding she read to him out loud from a book called *Philosophers and Actresses;* and that she used to massage his wrinkle-less forehead.

The title of this biography leads one to believe that it contains the letters of Watts-Dunton that are worthy of publication. Yet later (II, 227) we read: "He wrote so many charming and characteristic letters that could they—and why not?—be collected they would add yet another to the other reputations he attained." This remark is one of several scraps of evidence that the commercial value of the fame of the dwellers of The Pines has been accurately appraised. Compare Mrs. Watts-Dunton's promise that much of her "Swinburniana"[1] is reserved "for another literary adventure" and Mr. Kernahan's remark that the present biography will, "it is to be hoped," be "the first of other volumes on similar lines" by Mr. Hake. It is further to be hoped that before the appearance of these heralded volumes Mr. Hake will have himself gained something of the orderliness which, as his secretary, he tried to instil into Watts-Dunton.[2]

From the maze of unimportant facts and not very clever stories it is possible to extract two or three generalizations with regard to Watts-Dunton's character and achievement that need to be

[1] Compare II, 130: an instance of the husbanding of Swinburne material. The sentence: "Swinburne describes the scenery, in a letter to Watts-Dunton which his friend always regarded as one of the best prose delineations of nature he ever read, and he preserved it with special care among the thousand and one letters from literary friends:—" [*sic*] leads up to a a short note on the Kelmscott *Atalanta!*

[2] It is to be hoped, too, that he will not again mangle *The Lotus Eaters* by misquotation; that he will not allow the printer twice again to degrade the title *Songs of the Springtides* into *Songs of the Springtide;* and that he will avoid phrases such as "In such cases like these" (II, 268) and sentences such as "The Preface containing *Pericles* was written by Swinburne" (I, 331) or "In a letter to a lady, dated Eastbourne, July 26, 1913, who has written copiously on Watts-Dunton's work, he says," etc.

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emphasized. In this help is afforded by the excellent concluding chapter entitled "Watts-Dunton the Man." Nothing could be more unjust than the remark frequently heard that motives of self-interest guided him in the selection of his literary friends. If he gained by his intimacy with Rossetti and Swinburne, he expended time and energy, and sacrificed his own career, to foster theirs with a tenderness and anxiety almost feminine; and over against the few men of great repute whom he knew intimately must be set the scores of obscure struggling men of letters whom he befriended with advice and assistance of the most practical sort. The criticism is more just that declares that his poetry would not have won for him any reputation except for his fellowship in a famous literary circle. He himself writes (I, 277): "It was my verses . . . that won for me the friendship of the men I loved and I am content to be overshadowed by such men and such poets as they." But there was no sycophancy in his friendships; witness the gentle manly reproof addressed to Swinburne in the midst of the latter's controversy with Furnivall (I, 143). As for *Aylwin,* it is the fashion now to think nothing of that book; but it is not unimportant for the literary portraits that it contains, or for its place in the revival of mysticism towards the close of the last century. And, though a little long-drawn out in spots, it is interesting and often thrilling. One does not soon forget the death of Wynne or the restoration of the moon-light cross to the rifled corpse. The final position of the book in literary history cannot yet be determined.

But Watts-Dunton's real importance is in the field of criticism. Perhaps the most valuable part of Messrs. Hake and Compton-Rickett's work is the list (far from complete, but useful as a guide to the beginner) of essays and reviews by Watts-Dunton. Shortly before his death he put together a few of these under the title *Old Familiar Faces.* This collection has since been published. The little book can be unreservedly recommended for what it is: a series of intimate *causeries* in which now and again come those sudden flashes into the very secrets of literary processes that are familiar to Watt-Dunton's readers. For the profounder aspects of his work one must go elsewhere. I am not of those who, like his biographers, hold in slight esteem his wider generalizations in criticism. Just as there is much truth (*pace* the Moderns) in Arnold's "Sweetness and Light," "Culture and Conduct," and

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the rest, so is there much in the distinction between absolute and relative vision, lyric and dramatic imagination, the ages of acceptance and the ages of wonder, and others still. For this reason, while awaiting serious inquiry into the whole body of Watts-Dunton's critiques for the purpose of establishing in their proper relation one to another the various problems that he touches upon and illuminates by his touch,[3] one welcomes, as a more serious companion to *Old Familiar Faces,* the reprint of *Poetry and the Renascence of Wonder,* his two most famous essays in criticism. Early in life Watts-Dunton had conceived the plan and had begun the preparation of a History of Poetry. Later, the duties of his profession, together with a naturally procrastinating disposition, led him to postpone the completion of the work. After his connection with the *Athenæum* began, the material was largely absorbed in various reviews and the remainder went to the making of the article "Poetry" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.* Finally he undertook to rebuild the original history by joining to the main article illustrative excerpts and discussions of side-issues taken from various reviews. In this task he had progressed to the stage of first proofs at the time of his death. It was his habit to take such proofs as the basis for further, often radical, revision; and had he lived, the final essay would probably have been very different from what is now published. Mr. Hake, in an introduction, admits his "grave doubts as to the advisability of inserting the unfinished riders," since the arrangement had been merely tentative. On the whole, the decision to include them was well made.[4] True, they at times break in upon the continuity of the argument, but the logical development of a thesis was never one of Watts-Dunton's great merits. And it would be hard to justify the inclusion of the curious hodge-podge of passages from the notice of Meredith's *Poems and Lyrics of the Joy of Earth* which

[3] Such an inquiry has been undertaken by Miss E. D. Adams, a graduate student in Bryn Mawr College.

[4] It is unfortunate that no references are given to the original reviews from which these "riders" are taken. The typographical difficulties have not been well met. The problem was to distinguish between the original article and the various inserts; the use of leads in the former, and close-set type in the latter, case causes some confusion and does not make for elegance of appearance. The proof-reading of both the Dutton volumes is rather careless.

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is made to interrupt the last paragraphs of the *Renascence of Wonder*. On the other hand, many of the inserts are extremely good, as for example the two instances from Victor Hugo introduced into the discussion of absolute and relative vision.

SAMUEL C. CHEW.

Bryn Mawr College.

The Influence of Horace on the chief English Poets of the Nineteenth Century. By MARY REBECCA THAYER. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1916. Pp. 117. [Cornell Studies in English II.]

This dissertation is thorough, conservative, and well written. The poets chosen for investigation are Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Tennyson, and Browning. An introduction of fifty-one pages is devoted to general discussion and the statement of results. In the remainder of the book, the echoes and reminiscences of Horace in these seven poets have been carefully noted and set down in order. The press work is carefully done; I observe, however, that by some oversight the word *propempticon* appears twice (pp. 20 and 42), as *proempticon*.

Of course classical reminiscence is a test and, so far as it goes, a valuable test of an author's familiarity with the great writers of Greece and Rome. But the consideration of such data is by no means a simple problem. A man may and sometimes does echo classical authors without having read anything more than the passages he has echoed; on the other hand a man may be thoroughly familiar with a number of classical authors and never show a sign of it in his own published works. In other words echo and reminiscence of the authors one has happened to read are not inevitable, and, even when they occur, they are not especially significant unless, at the same time, we know something definite about the reader's tastes and training. The extent and quality of a man's classical education, what he says or writes about the classical authors apart from his poetry, the quality of his genius, the trend of his tastes as compared with those of the classical author in question, all these are quite as important and very often far more illuminating than the classical reminiscences, which may or may not be present in the poems which he has written and published.

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Dr. Thayer shows that she is fully alive to this important fact, and the realization of it has added materially to the value of her work as a whole. She has made a thorough examination of all biographical data which might throw light upon her subject. With these data in mind the echoes themselves acquire a much greater significance. They not only reveal what a man reads, they reveal—and this is more important—his tastes and his habits of thought.

Coleridge for instance was always something of a fakir; everyone of his reminiscences of Horace emphasizes that statement. As for Wordsworth, he was generally too deeply impressed with the value of his own thoughts to dwell on those of others; his echoes of Horace are correspondingly commonplace. Byron was so temperamental and so much of a *poseur* that he was rarely at harmony with himself at any time; very few of his echoes of Horace have any real interest or value in themselves. Keats, of course, knew his classics at second hand; what might he not have been if he had known his classics and had had good health! We are told that Shelley was saturated with Greek, and that may be true; but he was not saturated with Latin, far from it, and the echoes of Horace adduced by Dr. Thayer are gratifying chiefly by reason of their rarity. As for Browning, he is never so irritating—and that is saying much—as when he indulges in classical references. 'Indulge' seems to be the proper word, for on the whole they impress me as being quite as deliberate as they are inartistic. Browning, however, is one of those poets whose readers are never indifferent to him. They are either charmed by him or bored. The only poet of the seven whose reminiscences of the classics are really artistic is Tennyson. This has been abundantly shown by Professor Mustard in his well known book on the subject.

In her Introduction, Dr. Thayer emphasizes the many-sidedness of Horace, and points out that no one of the seven poets chosen for study possesses the same variety of talents and moods. Horace seems rarely to have appealed to any of these modern imitators from more than one of those sides. This is curiously illustrated by the "Index of Passages from Horace" at the end of the dissertation. It is rare for any one passage of Horace to be echoed by more than one of these seven poets. Yet they all read him, they all admired him, or pretended to do so. To be sure *Epistles* 1. 1, 76 was imitated by Byron, Shelley, Keats, and Tennyson; *Epistles* 2. 2, 102

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by Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats, and twice by Browning; *Odes,* 1.2, 2-3, by Shelley, Browning, and twice by Byron; *Odes,* 1.3, 9 by Tennyson, twice by Shelley, and three times by Browning. Of the passages remaining a small number were imitated by two poets. But all the rest by only one. On the face of it the piece most imitated is the *Ars Poetica;* but when we subtract Byron's imitations from the list—most of them in a single poem, his *Hints from Horace*—the number of reminiscences of this famous piece falls to only eleven, and of these eleven no less than five are due to Browning. This, in itself, is a curious commentary on the fame of great literary masterpieces in general, and on the vagaries of literary reminiscence in particular.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

Johns Hopkins University.

Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Tome X, 1914-15. Genève, A. Jullien; Paris, H. Champion (1916), pp. 271.

Le dixième volume des *Annales Jean-Jacques Rousseau* contient une étude savante et détaillée de M. Albert Schinz sur les rapports de Jean-Jacques avec son éditeur de Hollande, Marc-Michel Rey. Genevois comme Rousseau, et probablement de famille pauvre, Rey avait fondé à Amsterdam une entreprise de librairie qui prospéra; c'est en 1754, pendant un séjour dans sa ville natale, qu'il fit connaissance avec le philosophe, et leurs relations durèrent une vingtaine d'années. M. Schinz, en se servant des lettres publiées par Bosscha en 1858, et des papiers déposés à la bibliothèque de Neuchâtel, a retracé, d'une manière vivante, ces relations personnelles; souhaitons qu'il nous donne prochainement le travail, qu'il nous fait prévoir, sur l'histoire des œuvres de Rousseau d'après cette correspondance.

L'éditeur de la *Nouvelle Héloïse* apparaît dans ses lettres comme un homme fort honnête, assez fruste, il faut le dire, et nullement lettré, mais d'un cœur excellent. Il se lia d'amitié avec Rousseau, et cette amitié est touchante. Le libraire semble éprouver, pour l'écrivain, de l'admiration et un peu de pitié; il s'efforce de calmer, par les conseils de son gros bon sens, l'éternelle inquiétude de son ami: "Votre plus grand malheur est de prendre le chagrin trop à

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cœur, vous vous rendez malheureux à force de vous tourmenter." Il l'engage à plusieurs reprises,—et jusqu'à l'indisposer,—à venir se fixer en Hollande; il assure une pension à Thérèse Le Vasseur. Rousseau n'est pas ingrat pour tant de bonté; s'il rudoie quelquefois son libraire, à cause de négligences ou de lenteurs qui mettent au supplice ses nerfs malades, il lui écrit, d'ordinaire, sur un ton très cordial. Il témoigne plus d'égards à "son cher Rey" qu'à telles personnes de haut rang. En 1762, Rey annonce la naissance d'une fille, dont Jean-Jacques veut bien être le parrain; et, dès lors, Jeannette tient une grande place dans la correspondance des deux amis; les détails les plus familiers intéressent Rousseau; et, lorsqu'à l'âge de sept ans sa filleule lui écrit, il se surprend à pleurer comme un enfant en lisant la lettre.

Ces relations, pourtant, se terminèrent mal, et d'une façon assez obscure. En 1770, à propos, sans doute, de l'édition de ses œuvres donnée par Rey l'année précédente, Rousseau mande à Moultou que son libraire hollandais est enrôlé dans la cabale qui le persécute. Il dut calmer ses soupçons, puisqu'après cette date nous le voyons encore écrire à Rey fort amicalement. Mais, le 16 décembre 1773, ayant reçu d'Amsterdam un exemplaire de la *Nouvelle Héloïse*, prétendu de l'édition originale, il proteste que le texte est fort altéré, et demande des explications; nous n'avons pas la réponse de Rey; un mois plus tard, environ, Rousseau rédigeait sa *Déclaration relative à différentes réimpressions de ses ouvrages*, où il accuse de trahison son ancien ami.

Est-ce l'exemplaire de la *Nouvelle Héloïse* qui a provoqué cet éclat? On n'en peut guère douter. Dans une note que M. Schinz n'a pas signalée, Petitain reproduit à ce sujet une indication donnée par "l'éditeur du recueil des romances de Rousseau, gravé et publié en 1781": "M. Rousseau n'ayant pas chez lui un seul exemplaire de la *Nouvelle Héloïse*, on la lui prêta, tirée de la *Collection d'Amsterdam*, 1772. Il trouva cette édition, prétendue originale, mutilée et falsifiée, et la corrigea toute de sa main."[1]

[1] Cet exemplaire corrigé ne serait-il pas celui dont le tome iii a été légué par le Dr. Charles Coindet à la bibliothèque de Genève? L'exemplaire Coindet appartient, il est vrai, à l'édition de Rey, 1769, mais les deux éditions, 1769 et 1772, sont des réimpressions de celle de 1763. Rousseau a rétabli de sa main, sur l'exemplaire Coindet, toutes les notes supprimées en 1763. (Cf. Mornet: *Le texte de la Nouvelle Héloïse et les Editions du XVIIIe siècle.*) L'éditeur du recueil de romances a pu commettre une légère erreur.

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Il faut rappeler que Rey avait publié, en 1763, une édition de la *Nouvelle Héloïse* notablement différente de la première, et qu'il la réimprima en 1767, 1769, et 1772. Mais Rousseau lui-même lui avait adressé, pour cette seconde édition, un exemplaire "revu et corrigé avec soin," et contenant, dit-il, "quelques petits changements, retranchements et additions."[2]

D'où vient l'étonnement soupçonneux qu'il exprime en recevant un exemplaire conforme, sans nul doute, au texte de 1763? M. Schinz suppose que Rey avait introduit, de son propre fait, dans la seconde édition, certains changements de peu de conséquence, et qu'il se défendit avec énergie lorsque, "d'une simple vétille," le philosophe voulut faire une fraude.[3]

Nous ne savons rien, à cet égard, avec certitude, puisque nous n'avons pas la réponse de Rey à la demande d'explications, ni l'exemplaire envoyé par Rousseau en 1761. Peut-être n'est-il pas nécessaire de supposer une infidélité de l'éditeur. Après 1763, en effet, Rousseau put renoncer aux modifications qu'il avait indiquées pour la seconde édition de *Julie:* à une date voisine de 1764, sur les exemplaires de l'édition Duchesne[4] qu'il devait donner, couverts d'annotations, à Coindet et à d'Ivernois, il ne transcrit, nous dit M. Mornet, qu'un petit nombre de ces modifications. Il écrit à Rey, le 14 juin 1772, qu'il ne reconnâit pour sienne que la première édition de chacun de des ouvrages.[5] Si l'on admet, avec M. Mornet, ce revirement de Jean-Jacques, est-il impossible que l'écrivain se soit irrité, en 1773, de voir qu'on lui donnait comme "l'édition originale" un texte de 1763 qui ne correspondait plus à sa pensée? Nous aurions peine à croire avec M. Schinz que Rousseau avait perdu tout souvenir de l'exemplaire corrigé de 1761; mais, sans doute, il n'avait pas retenu le détail de ses corrections; l'exemplaire n'était pas entre ses mains; il ne pouvait contrôler sur pièces le texte que son éditeur venait de lui envoyer.

[2] Lettre du 2 septembre, 1761, publiée par Bosscha.

[3] Rousseau avait eu entre les mains, avant 1773, les éditions des *Œuvres* de 1763 et 1769. (Cf. Mornet, *op. cit.*). Mais peut-être n'avait-il examiné que distraitement le texte de la *Nouvelle Héloïse* qu'elles donnaient. Ainsi s'expliquerait sa tardive protestation.

[4] L'édition Duchesne, préparée par l'abbé de La Porte, est faite d'après le texte de 1761. Rousseau parle favorablement de l'abbé de La Porte dans une lettre à Rey, du 28 mars, 1763 (Bosscha). En 1764, il témoigne à l'abbé sa satisfaction. (*Ap.* Mornet, *op. cit.*)

[5] Lettre publiée par Bosscha.

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Rien n'empêchait le soupçon, même injuste, de naître et de grossir; il fallait peu de chose pour que cette âme impulsive et surexcitée crût à une persécution. L'épisode ne prouve rien, à la rigueur, contre Rey; avouons toutefois qu'il inspire certains doutes sur l'origine des variantes de 1763: quelques-unes seraient-elles dues à Rey, et non à Rousseau? L'alternative n'est point indifférente.

Nous avons insisté un peu sur ce point délicat, et nous ne pouvons qu'indiquer en passant l'intérêt des études et des documents qui suivent, dans les *Annales,* le travail de M. Schinz. M. Lucien Cramer nous donne la correspondance, en partie inédite, de Rousseau avec Mme Cramer-Delon, et avec Philibert Cramer, homme d'esprit qui réussit presque, un instant, à être à la fois l'ami de Voltaire et celui de Jean-Jacques. M. Alexis François imprime trois lettres, adressées par le philosophe au naturaliste montpelliérain Gouan: deux d'entre elles, dont l'original est conservé au *British Museum,* n'avaient pas encore été publiées. Ces pages, où l'on voit Jean-Jacques disserter des ombellifères, s'ajoutent heureusement aux notes de M. Hippolyte Duval sur *Rousseau botaniste.* Le recueil comprend aussi une partie bibliographique, dont il n'est pas besoin de dire la valeur. Enfin deux portraits,—ceux du philosophe et de son ennemi Montmollin,—accompagnés de notices, illustrent ce tome X des *Annales* qui sera, comme les précédents, d'une lecture très instructive et très agréable pour tous ceux qui s'intéressent à Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

E. Carcassonne.

Johns Hopkins University.

CORRESPONDENCE

Arnold's *The Church of Brou*

The indebtedness of Matthew Arnold to Edgar Quinet's essay, *Les Arts de la Renaissance, et de l'Eglise de Brou* in the composition of *The Church of Brou,* to which Professor A. S. Cook calls attention in the February *Notes* (xxxii, 124), is the subject of an article by Charles Cestre in the *Revue germanique* iv (1908), 527 ff. Miss Grace Norton commented on this article in *The Nation* (N. Y.), February 11, 1909 (p. 136). The special parallel given by Professor Cook will be found on pages 533-535 of Cestre's communication.

Samuel C. Chew.

Bryn Mawr College.

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Beowulf 33

No one rendering of the lines in *Beowulf* (32-33) describing the ship on which Scyld is to undertake his last journey has received the unanimous support of scholars. Although most cling to the reading of the MS. *īsig* and translate that with "icy, or shining like ice," few seem to do so with a good conscience. Sievers, to be sure, comes to the rescue of it: "Es ergibt sich sofort eine schöne und sinnvolle formel, wenn man bei dem wörtlichen sinn von *īsig* stehn bleibt, und der ist 'beeist' . . . Die situation ist einfach diese. Es ist winterzeit, und darum liegt das schiff 'beeist' (und untätig, vgl. 1125 ff.) im hafen. . . ."[1]

Trautmann[2] rejects this because nothing whatsoever is said of winter in this passage. I may add that, intrinsically, such a special condition as a ship being icy ill agrees with the ancient style, which dwells on the typical aspect of things. Moreover, ships were kept safely on land in winter. Trautmann also urges that adjectives connected with *ond* ought to have similar meanings. We ought, then, to expect something similar to *ūtfūs*.

Holthausen's suggestion[3] that *īsig* may stand in ablaut relation to O. N. *eisa,* 'to rush,' is open to the same objection. Also, *eisa* has rather the connotation of 'foaming'; cf. *eisandi úðr,* 'foaming wave.' Would *fāmigheals ond ūtfūs* seem to possess unity of expression?

Assuming corruption of the text Sv. Grundtvig proposed the emendation *ȳðig* (*ēaðig*) to furnish a rendering 'shining, splendid'; but this is unwarranted since the adjective uniformly means only 'easy, pleasant.' And Trautmann (*l. c.*) had asked "gab es ein adj. *ícig* (*ítig, ífig*), 'glänzend'?"

As in so many other cases we have to think of the Scandinavian origin of the poem and suspect some poetic term which may have been forgotten in later Ags. or as ἅπ. λεγ. was misunderstood by the scribe. O. N. *ítr, ítarligr* would answer in every respect. It appears prevailingly in poetic monuments. *E. g. veizla búin ítarliga,* 'a splendidly prepared banquet'; *ítr áliti,* 'of shining presence'; *inn ítri ǫðlingr,* 'the splendid hero'; *alt vas ítarligt of órar ferðar,* 'our court was a splendid one.' Most instructive, in this connection, is the following passage of the *Vǫlsungasaga:* 'A great host is now got ready for him and most carefully equipped, both as to ships and all manner of ornaments so that his expedition should be even more honorable than before. Sigurd steered the dragon ship which was the largest and the most excellent. Their sails were chosen with great care and were splendid to look at' (*segl þeira váru mjǫk vǫnduð ok ítarlig at sjá*). Of Scyld's ship we are told

[1] *Beiträge,* XXVII, 572.
[2] *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik,* XVII, 152; *Beiblatt zur Anglia,* XXIV, 42.
[3] *Beiblatt zur Anglia,* XIV, 84.

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'no ship have I known so nobly dight with weapons of war and weeds of battle.' Thus *ītig ond ūtfūs*, 'splendid and ready[4] for the journey,' becomes a fine poetic description of a gaudy Viking ship[5] all ready for the ocean, with its vari-colored sail set and filled with the breeze, and the gold-wove banner royal waving from the mast-head.[6]

L. M. HOLLANDER.

University of Wisconsin

ENGLISH ADAPTATIONS OF VOLTAIRE'S PLAYS

Professor Lounsbury, in *Shakespeare and Voltaire* (pp. 304-306), and Professor Nettleton, in *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (x, 439), and in *English Drama of The Restoration and Eighteenth Century* (pp. 198 ff., 235 ff.), name adaptations of twelve of Voltaire's plays performed on the English stage from 1734 to 1776. These are *Junius Brutus*, by William Duncombe; *Zara, Alzira*, and *Merope*, by Aaron Hill; *Mahomet the Imposter*, by James Miller and John Hoadly; *The Orphan of China*, and *No One's Enemy But His Own*, by Arthur Murphy; *The English Merchant*, by George Colman the Elder; *Almida*, by Madame Celesia; *Zobeide*, by Joseph Cradock; *Orestes*, by Thomas Francklin; and *Semiramis*, by George Ayscough. Professor Lounsbury also refers to Aaron Hill's *Roman Revenge* as drawing from Voltaire's *La Mort de César*, and Professor Nettleton mentions *Cyrus*, by John Hoole, and *Alzuma*, by Arthur Murphy, as notably displaying the influence of the French dramatist.

This list of Voltaire's plays on the English stage may be slightly expanded and amended.

A place on the list is deserved by *Matilda*, a tragedy by Thomas Francklin, acted at Drury Lane, January 29, 1775. It is a "well-naturalized" version of Voltaire's *Adélaide du Guesclin*, a play later known as *Amélie*, or *Le Duc de Foix*. Correspondence be-

[4] Thorkelin had already proposed *expeditus*.

[5] The Viking ships often carried a red, blue, or green striped sail. They were frequently painted with bright colors above the water line and had shields of different colors fastened along the railing. (V. Guðmundsson in Paul's *Grundriss*[2], III, 467 ff.

[6] Professor Bright has called my attention to *ītr* having been suggested by Holthausen (ed. 1906) in explanation of *ecge* (l. 1107): *ecge, ītge*, weak form of *ītig*. However, even if *ecge* were a weak adj. here (which is at least doubtful, cf. v. Grienberger, *Anglia*, XXVII, 331) it would, as applied to gold, have to be more nearly synonymous with *scīre*, 'brilliant, glittering,' than with *fāh*, 'stained, variegated,' which is closer to the meaning of O. N. *ītr*.—The nearly homonymous *ecge* in *ecge-lāfe*, dat. sg. (l. 2578) would, but for the troublesome *n*, agree very well inasmuch as swords frequently are called *fāh*, whether with gore or with gold.

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tween Francklin and Garrick reveals this source,[1] a source not acknowledged at the presentation of the play, but at once pointed out by contemporary critics,[2] Since 1775 the derivation of the play has been sometimes noticed and sometimes disregarded. Dibdin's *History of the English Stage* (v, 258), and the *Biographia Dramatica* (I, 255, III, 30), notice it, while Genest, in *Some Account of the English Stage* (v, 446), and W. P. Courtenay in his article on Francklin in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, disregard it.

Again, Aaron Hill's *Roman Revenge* belongs, technically at least, to a list of adaptations of Voltaire presented on the English stage. Although never given in a London theatre, it was performed at Bath in the summer of 1753. Miss Dorothy Brewster, Hill's latest and fullest biographer,[3] does not mention this event, but there are references to it in magazines of the period,[4] the 1760 edition of Hill's works supplies the cast, and later historians of the drama make note of the performance.[5]

Of the plays listed as showing the influence of Voltaire, John Hoole's *Cyrus* owes much to another source. Though similar to Voltaire's *Merope* in some details of plot and character, it is a close adaptation of Metastasio's *Ciro Riconosciuto*. The Prologue describes Hoole as

> Importing passion from Italian scenes,

and seeking to

> . . . nobly copy what was nobly wrought;
> Or where the master's hand but sketch'd the line,
> With happy warmth fill up the bold design.

The periodicals of the time, while they deny originality to Hoole, cite Metastasio, and not Voltaire, as his master.[6]

Finally, into *The Man of the World*, a comedy brought out at Covent Garden May 10, 1781, Charles Macklin wove a thread of action from Voltaire's *Nanine*. This borrowing escaped the notice of his contemporaries, but not of Genest, who twice remarks it (VI, 172, 197). In this lively and oft-revived comedy, a bit of Voltaire's work persisted on the English stage until the middle of the nineteenth century.

HAROLD L. BRUCE.

University of California.

[1] *Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, London, 1831, I, 313; I, 463.
[2] *Critical Review*, XXXIX, 138; *Oxford Magazine*, XII, 5 ff.; *Monthly Miscellany*, III, 62 ff.; *Town and Country Magazine*, VII, 43; *Monthly Review*, LII, 173; *Universal Magazine*, LVI, 35.
[3] *Aaron Hill*, New York, 1913.
[4] *London Magazine*, XXII, 575; *Monthly Magazine*, X, 30, and X, 79.
[5] *Biographia Dramatica*, III, 219; Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage*, III, 94.
[6] *London Magazine*, XXXVII, 617; *Monthly Review*, XXXIX, 492; *Court Magazine*, IV, 665; *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXXVIII, 579.

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The Sensationalism of Byron

"The great object of life," said Byron, "is sensation—to feel that we exist, even though in pain." He declared also, in a famous passage (*Childe Harold* III, xcvii), that if he could express his inmost thought and feeling in one word that word would be *Lightning*. The remark is highly characteristic of him and reveals the unhealthy sensationalism of a good deal of his work. Lightning is by far the most startling, the most sensational exhibition of the power of nature. One may say that it is indeed almost theatrical; and this is why it was so congenial to Byron. That the word and its implications were much in his mind is proved by its repetition in at least three other passages: *Manfred*, Act I, Scene 1, 153-157; *Don Juan*, Canto I, Stanza LXI, and Canto VIII, Stanza XXXIII. I quote the three in order:

> Slaves, scoff not at my will!
> The Mind—the Spirit—the Promethean spark,
> The lightning of my being, is as bright,
> Pervading, and far darting as your own,
> And shall not yield to yours, though cooped in clay!

> Her cheek all purple with the beam of youth,
> Mounting, at times, to a transparent glow,
> As if her veins ran lightning.

> He knew not where he was, nor greatly cared,
> For he was dizzy, busy, and his veins
> Filled as with lightning—for his spirit shared
> The hour, as is the case with lively brains.

His love of energy and action seems to culminate in this figure; and in the first quotation (from *Manfred*) he boldly identifies the lightning of his being with the soul. In the second passage, evidently *animation* would be a weak term to express the Byronic conception of the fair lady's glowing cheek. And in the third the soldier feels the same electrical thrill. Applied to three different moods and persons, the word becomes valuable as an indication that Byron was a Latin rather than an Anglo-Saxon in his emotions. The intensity of his petulant rebellion against the established order of things, his dissatisfaction with Wordsworthian calm and Shelleyan ethereality, his genius for expressing himself in brief, stabbing passages of sensationalism good and bad, rather than in that continuity, that uniformity, which marks alike an excellent poetic or an excellent prose style—they are all in his worship of Lightning. If he can produce a sudden effect he is satisfied—no matter how much mediocrity or even rubbish may precede and follow it. I cannot believe that it is unjust to say that Byron was merely a creator of great passages rather than of great poems—that he betrays the discontinuity, as well as the brilliancy, of the most sensational thing in nature.

University of Illinois. HARRY T. BAKER.

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A New Word in an Old Poet

Lines 97-100 of Spenser's *Virgil's Gnat* read as follows:

> **Ne cares he if the fleece which him arayes**
> **Be not twice steeped in Assyrian dye;**
> **Ne glistering of golde which underlayes**
> **The summer beames doe blinde his gazing eye.**

The passage describes the luxuries for which the simple-minded but happy shepherd has no yearnings. Yet the little annotation we have on the last two lines is singularly inadequate, apparently because the passage has never been compared with the original. The only hint of meaning is a gloss upon *underlay*, which is said to mean 'diminish' (Globe *Spenser*), 'surpass' (Childs's and Dodge's editions), 'overpower, surpass' (Oxford). All references are to the single example in the *Gnat*. Such glosses would indicate that *summer beames* has been taken to mean 'beams of the sun in summer,' which the gold is thought of as 'surpassing,' or 'diminishing' as the Globe has it, the latter quite in conflict with the context. The verb *underlay* has then been interpreted wholly in relation to the supposed meaning of *summer beames* in this one place.

How far this is from the sense intended may be seen from the Latin original, which reads in the edition Spenser had before him:[1]

> **si non Assyrio fuerint bis lauta colore**
> **Attalicis opibus data vellera, si nitor auri**
> **sub laqueare domus animum non tangit avarum.**

Now if we note that Spenser has omitted entirely *Attalicis opibus data* and has rather freely rendered some of the remaining words, his translation emerges with ease. The expression "glistering of gold which underlayes the summer beames" is based on *nitor auri sub laqueare domus*, 'glitter of gold under the paneled or vaulted ceiling of the house.' The only word which can translate *laqueare* is *summer beames* as a compound in the sense of 'sumpter or supporting beams, girders,' and this is entirely justified altho the compound has not been recognized in Spenser glossaries. The fact that "doe blinde his gazing eye" is a little general for the Latin, tho partly made necessary by the rime, does not affect this explanation. The compound *summer-beam* seems to be found only in the *Cent. Dict.* and the *Standard*, tho *summer* (*somer*), *summer-tree* in this sense are common. That the word is as

[1] I say Spenser had before him, because criticism has sometimes failed to consider the difference between the pseudo-Virgilian *Culex* as Spenser knew it and the text as emended by later scholars. For example, in the above passage the text of Ribbeck reads *fulgent*, Schrader's emendation for *fuerint*, and *angit* where Bembo read *tangit*, and I am satisfied that Spenser's text had most of Bembo's readings. I hope before long to print a study of Spenser's poem in its relation to its original.

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old as Spenser is attested by Cotgrave's *sommier,* 'a sumpter-horse, also the piece of timber called a summer.' In the sense of 'pack-horse' it goes back to *King Alisaunder* 850, as noted by Skeat. The *NED.* does not yet cover that portion of the alphabet, and will perhaps give us other examples.

As is now clear, *underlay*—doubtless used for rime instead of *underlie*—has been incorrectly glossed by Spenser editors to meet this one passage, since it means no more than we should expect, 'underlie, lie under.' The word *summer-beam,* too, adequately represents Latin *laqueare,* altho it has hitherto not been reported in any literary use, so far as I can find. Thus a new word comes to light in the old poet, and another ghost word or ghost meaning—*underlay*[2] in an impossible sense—is laid to rest.

OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON.

Western Reserve University.

BRIEF MENTION

Christianopolis: an Ideal State of the Seventeenth Century. Translated from the Latin of Johann Valentin Andreae, with an Historical Introduction, by Felix Emil Held (New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1916). In *Mr. Britling Sees It Through,* Miss Corner, who was reading Campanella's *Civitas Solis,* "asked Mr. Carmine why there were no Indian or Chinese Utopias." As a literary type the 'Ideal State' has had a long and varied history, and a retrospective view of that history has, naturally enough, resulted in confident—and over-confident—judgments as to the national, political, or social conditions most favorable to the production of a utopia. That the type will long continue to be attractive and be held available for timely instruction is attested by the experience of Miss Corner and by the author of *Erehwon.* Running parallel with the normal course of the type, there may always be expected some continuation of the feeble line of the perverted form of the type, represented by Hall's *Mundus Alter et Idem* and the recent travesty entitled *Upsidonia.* It might be argued that the time is now ripe for a new utopia of the most instructive sort, philosophic, scientific, and practical in character. The suggestion for such a composition is given, it might be argued, in the wide-spread questioning of the social order; in the bewildering tolerance of theorizing and of experimentation in education and in economics; in the rapid readjustments of life to prac-

[2] *Underlayes* for *underlies* occurs in this passage only, and *lays* for *lies* only once in Spenser, that is *Faerie Queene* VI, viii, 49.

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tical and artistic devices made possible by progress in the natural sciences; in the progress of medical science; and in the revisions of traditional customs and beliefs,—an incomplete list of comprehensive subjects that pertain to the notable characteristics of the present period. High qualifications in comprehensive knowledge and in constructive power would be required to survey and to apply to an ideal commonwealth the forward-pointing results and theories attending present-day endeavor to increase knowledge and promote human welfare. The timeliness of a new utopia is certainly not contradicted by the necessity of assuming wider and more varied implications in applying to the present the words of the philosopher Windelband (quoted by Mr. Held, p. 9 f.), in which he describes the conditions that led to the production of utopias in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: "A new epoch of culture seemed to have been opened and an exotic agitation seized the imagination. Unheard of things were to be attained; nothing was to be impossible any more. . . . Science strove to be the leader of human thought in its victorious course through nature. Through her discoveries human life was to be completely transformed."

Mr. Held's book is published in a Series of Monographs entitled Germanic Literature and Culture, which is edited by Professor Goebel at the University of Illinois. It is to be inferred that the book represents Mr. Held's doctoral dissertation, and it is not altogether free of that variety of special pleading or of that undue emphasis on selected details which a young scholar finds difficult to avoid under the official stress of being required to make a contribution to knowledge. What has been undertaken is to prove that the following four assumptions are true: (1) that the *Christianopolis* is "an independent and original production," owing nothing to earlier utopias; (2) that the author of the *New Atlantis* probably knew the *Christianopolis;* (3) that the *Nova Solyma* "shows direct influence of the *Christianopolis*"; and (4) "that the principles of a general reformation in education and the plan of a 'college' as outlined in the *Christianopolis* and other works of Andreae were an important factor, through J. A. Comenius, Samuel Hartlib, John Dury, and their associates, in the founding of the Royal Society of London." This is an ascending series of points of interest, and its mere statement will impel the critical reader to omit the argument until he has either recalled to his mind the *Christianopolis* or has made himself acquainted for the first time with the work to which so much of importance is here attached. He will, therefore, begin by reading Mr. Held's translation of the Latin original, which, being the first translation into English, will be welcomed also by the general reader as an addition to accessible utopias.

In his discriminating and on the whole convincing defense of his first proposition (pp. 16-40), Mr. Held reviews and combats

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preceding judgments of the relation of Andreae's work to More's *Utopia* and Campanella's *Civitas Solis*. This leads into a consideration of the chief features of the works considered,—which is well done. An occasional reflection connects the matter with present theories: "Education, by means of sugar-coated and predigested capsules of knowledge, is too much the tendency in our day" (p. 36); and again, "It is not the liberal and modern 'eugenic' view of the *Civitas Solis*, readjusted to the 'prosaic monotony of an orthodox-protestant town'" (p. 38).

Coming to his second proposition, Mr. Held is concerned (pp. 41-74) with Bacon's knowledge of and indebtedness to Andreae, and with the points of agreement between these authors in mental attitude and speculative theory and purpose. He finds connecting links between them in the careers of Casaubon, Weckherlin, and Sir Toby Matthew, and "inner evidence" of Bacon's familiarity with the foreign utopia and the *Fama Fraternitas*. He then turns to consider (pp. 75-99) the next most important utopia produced in England in the seventeenth century, the *Nova Solyma* (1648), now to be accepted as the work of Samuel Gott, whose relation with Milton may be inferred from their contemporary careers at Cambridge. The indebtedness of Gott to Andreae is argued in detail and is believed to be confirmed by the presumption that Gott "was in all probability in the circle of Andreae's best friends and warmest admirers—Dury, Hartlib, Comenius, and others—and that he was interested in exactly the same sort of a reformation of society" as that which was the aim of Andreae.

The highest pitch of interest is reached in Mr. Held's final discussion (pp. 100-125) of the evidence in favor of the belief that the influence of Andreae culminated in the founding of the Royal Society of London. This is contrary to the judgment of Spratt, who "gives Germany credit for a very small share" in this matter. Mr. Held must be thanked for having shown the long persistence of an after-glow of Andreae's influence; but the particular point of his contention is not convincingly cleared of improbabilities. It is, of course, a matter that is not susceptible of absolute proof, but Mr. Held has put it into a light that will arouse fresh attention.

J. W. B.

The publication of much new material gives importance to Professor G. McL. Harper's *William Wordsworth, His Life, Works, and Influence* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916). Bishop Wordsworth's *Memoirs*, 1851, an act of family, almost filial, piety, and made up, as it was, largely from the poet's autobiographic memoranda, excluded what might have offended living people and what was out of harmony with the elaborate tradition which Words-

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worth, consciously or otherwise, had built up during his later years. The same limitations acted with equal force in the case of Knight's *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*. Without inquiring how Professor Harper won the privilege of making use of hitherto unpublished documents, and premising that there can now be no objection to the revelation of facts contained therein, one may come at once to the question: What is this new material? That which comes from Mr. Gordon Wordsworth is of first importance, and second only to it is the series of letters from Dorothy Wordsworth to Jane Pollard, publication of which is now permitted by the latter's grandson. The startling new fact, the one inevitably ignored by Bishop Wordsworth and probably unknown to Knight, and the one seized upon by various reviewers and made matter for comment in different moods according to the individual's faculty of reverence, is of course the announcement of the "unfortunate attachment" made in France in 1792, when Wordsworth fell in love with a girl named Annette (known in later life as Mme. Vallon) and had by her a daughter, Caroline. Annette was a royalist, Wordsworth a Republican; marriage was impossible. Harper deduces good evidence to show that Wordsworth attempted to keep in touch with her after England and France were at war; he seems even to have visited France a second time in 1792. It is certain that before their marriage Wordsworth made what we call "a clean breast" of the business to his wife; that just prior to that event he went with his sister to Calais where he met the mother and daughter (on which occasion, when in company with his daughter, he wrote "It is a beauteous evening"; note that Knight believed that the "dear child" of this sonnet was a certain Caroline, though he was unable to identify her); that in 1815 he assisted in arranging the marriage of Caroline to a Captain Baudoin; and that in 1820, again in Paris, he took H. C. Robinson to call upon Mme. Vallon and the Baudoins. Professor John Bailey is right in saying (*Quarterly Review*, July, 1916, p. 117) that "taken as a whole, it is a story not of vice, but of virtue; not of weakness, but of strength"; but a sane judgment will add that Byron, to whom Wordsworth applied such adjectives as "infamous," "damnable," "despicable," showed a like sense of responsibility in the case of Allegra—and did not conceal the matter. The new letters of Dorothy Wordsworth are quite as charming as those already known and are biographically important for the increased emphasis which they force upon Wordsworth's early radicalism and on the consequent offence to members of his family. There are many other minor contributions to our knowledge of Wordsworth's life.

Professor Harper follows and outstrips Legouis in shifting emphasis from Wordsworth's later to his earlier life. He writes (I, 7): "Since it is that later man whom we find represented in a dozen portraits and innumerable anecdotes . . . the earlier and far more attractive Wordsworth is almost entirely obscured." All the

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writer's sympathy goes out to the earlier man; towards the later he is often harsh, even satirical. His central thesis may be stated in his own words (I, 6): "Up to a certain point he was guided by hope; later he was driven by fear. The two halves of his life are incongruous." Harper believes that the influence of Godwin was stronger and more personal than has been generally held. He lays new stress upon the effect on Wordsworth of intellectual activity at Cambridge (the existence of which he proves amply enough). He insists that the poet's "apostasy" consisted at first solely in his opposition to Napoleon; that England was embraced merely as the best available representative of liberty, with full consciousness of her inadequacy; and that Wordsworth's full acceptance of the Tory position was the growth of years. Once arrived at that point, Harper is inclined to exaggerate the "apostasy," to the degree even of considering Wordsworth's work during political elections as something to be reprehended. Indeed, his general radicalism tinges uncritically much of Harper's narrative of the poet's later life. This is due in part to the writer's almost exclusive interest (remarkable in a professor of belles-lettres) in the political and social element in Wordsworth's work.

Professor Bailey, in the review already referred to, has said more than enough of Harper's style. Whether or not the study of the Works and Influence be acceptable must depend in part upon the individual, and in any case discussion of the question would transcend allotted space. But attention may be called to a few of the many curious comments that are found throughout the book. Note such remarks as: "In perfection and range of technical skill Wordsworth is unsurpassed" (I, 2): "He has attempted all things, accomplished all things" (*ibid.*); "How immensely varied his excellence is, how wide his appeal, how he transcends and embraces the special domains of almost all the English poets who were his contemporaries" (I, 5). Harper (II, 7) takes issue with Knight who thinks that Wordsworth showed true critical judgment in suppressing the portion of *The Recluse* that was completed. He contends on the contrary that in this poem he at times followed Milton on close wing, quoting in support of this view the very lines—they are indeed splendid—that Wordsworth singled out for separate publication in the prefatory note to *The Excursion*. Their citation serves rather to support than to confute Knight's opinion. In 1803 Wordsworth, like all patriots, volunteered for military service in case of an invasion; Harper remarks (II, 72): "Odious as it is to see him in a bloodthirsty mood, we must realize that the tide has turned." He thinks that *The Waggoner* falls into a class with other poems that depend upon the fancy, among them *Childe Harold*, though he admits that it does not equal them "in sportive grace" (II, 112). Has this trait ever before been singled out as the distinctive characteristic of *Childe Harold*? He denies that *The Happy Warrior* was inspired by the career of Lord Nelson,

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roundly asserting (II, 119): "I attach only the smallest consequence to the note appended to the poem" and dismissing in equally cavalier fashion the Fenwick note to the same effect and a letter from Southey to Scott that supports Wordsworth's statement. According to what canons of criticism would Professor Harper justify the rejection of such definite evidence? Note finally that the immortal lines "If thou indeed derive thy light from heaven," which all Wordsworthians and most other men should know by heart, are called by Harper a "sonnet" (II, 337).

S. C. C.

Were the *Traité pratique de prononciation française* of Maurice Grammont (Paris, Delagrave, 1916? 231 pp. 2.50 fr.), simply what similar titles usually indicate, a manual of the pronunciation of French sounds and words, it would call for no special remark. There are in this domain more detailed and more practical handbooks, such as Martinon's *Comment on prononce le français*. But it is not on this section ("Les Phonèmes isolés," pp. 9-97) that an estimate of the value of the book is based, but on the second part ("Le Mot et la phrase," pp. 99-194). Here we find a number of enlightening expositions of delicate problems in fields where Mr. Grammont's studies give weight to all he says. Nearly all the space in this second part is devoted to two subjects: the treatment of the *e muet* (or better, as he terms it, the *e caduc*) and the problems of stress and intonation.

Foreigners find it particularly difficult to acquire the French feeling for where and when the *e caduc* is to be omitted, above all if it occurs in two successive monosyllables. Mr. Grammont's classification is the most systematic that has been attempted, and the general rules he evolves show that no little order prevails in this seeming domain of confusion, and point clearly toward the causes which have brought about the present status.

It is refreshing to deal with a work that makes a clear-cut distinction between French phrase accent and rhetorical accent (Grammont: *accent d'insistance*) and attempts to determine the differences between the two and their effect upon each other. The field is broad and largely virgin, and the chapter devoted to it is rich in interesting suggestions. This, with the chapter on rhythmic groups, constitutes the newest and most fruitful section of the book. Hardly less important is the analysis of the different types of rhythm in French prose and of the stylistic effects they produce. The work forms an excellent pendant to the author's *Vers français* and his *Petit Traité de versification française*, and every worker in French linguistics and every teacher of French will be repaid for a reading of its clear and stimulating discussions.

E. C. A.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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THE MANUSCRIPTS OF ARIOSTO'S COMEDIES AND THEIR RELATION TO THE PRINTED EDITIONS

Very few of the manuscripts of Ariosto's comedies have been preserved, although at one time the plays were in great vogue and were often acted. Lodovico never allowed his comedies to be published; for in the early days of printing, when every publisher was a would-be author, a writer could not trust even a type-setter not to take liberties with his text. Except for a few printed editions of the prose versions of *I Suppositi* and *La Cassaria* which were "stolen" by vandal play-wrights from the stage representations of these pieces, the comedies of Ariosto, during his lifetime, existed solely in MS. form. As the later printing of the plays was not supervised by Ariosto, we naturally turn to the surviving MSS. for precise information regarding the author's own handiwork, or for the exact text of the comedies as transcribed under his direction.

Of the MSS. of Ariosto's comedies only two have hitherto been examined: *La Scolastica,* and *L'Imperfetta* (a recent discovery of Abdelkader Salza's). A third MS., *I Suppositi* in prose, has been overlooked.[1]

The MS. of *La Scolastica,* which is incomplete, is in the *Biblioteca Comunale* of Ferrara, where it has long been known to students. It is described by A. Salza in the preface to his edition of *Gli Studenti,* Città di Castello, Lapi, 1915.

Ariosto never finished this his last play, popularly known as

[1] Giuseppe Fatini (in G. S. L. It. LXVII, p. 420, n. 1) mentions having seen a Vatican MS. containing all the comedies. Prof. Pio Rajna has lately informed me of the existence of a Vatican MS. of the 17th century, which may be the same.

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La Scolastica but which he called *I Studenti.*[2] About ten years after his death (1533) the play was finished by his son Virginio in both prose and verse, and by his brother Gabriele in verse.[3] It is Gabriele's addition which we find in the Ferrara MS., together with his copy of the unfinished original. Gabriele called the completed comedy *La Scolastica.* Just where his ending joins *I Studenti* it has long been impossible to determine. The piece reads smoothly from start to finish; the joint is well knit.

The date of the MS. is probably between 1543 and 1547. G. B. Giraldi, in the dedication, dated April 20, 1543, of his work *Discorsi intorno al Comporre dei Romanzi* (Venezia, 1554) speaks of having seen Virginio's first version in prose,[4] but makes no mention of Gabriele's redaction in verse; it is therefore possible that at that time Gabriele had not yet written his continuation. On January 15, 1547, Gio. Griphio published the first printed copy of *La Scolastica.* By comparing this edition with the Ferrara MS. it is readily seen that the MS. must precede Griphio's edition. Faults in versification, Lombardisms and bad spelling are plentiful in the part of the MS. composed by Gabriele, which do not exist in the printed edition. I believe the MS. of *La Scolastica* is one of Gabriele's earliest, written several years before 1547, while he was still writing and rewriting his continuation of *I Studenti,* striving to invent an ending worthy of its author.[5]

[2] *Lettere di L. Ariosto,* per cura di A. Cappelli, Milano, Hoepli, 1887. Letter CXCIII, Dec. 17, 1532: "Gli è vero che già molt' anni ne principiai un' altra commedia la quale io nomino *I Studenti;* ma per molte occupazioni non l'ho mai finita."

[3] G. B. Pigna: *I Romanzi,* Venezia, 1554: "Ma ne fece solo tre atti e tre scene, che mostrano al carattere d'aver appena avuto il primo abbozzamento. Ella fu poi finita da M. Gabriele suo fratello. E suo figlio con altro modo tutta in prosa la ridusse; et halla ora tutta intiera molto diligentemente in verso riportata."

[4] L'ho veduta finita in prosa dal suo molto gentil figliuolo M. Virginio; e mi pare che se egli la ridurrà in verso, ella riuscirà degna di loda."

[5] Gabriele's prologue:

". . . . Conoscevasi [Gab.]
Ei d'ingegno e di forze più debole,
Che non bisogna a simil esercitio.
Altro ci vuol ch'aver visto grammatica
Ed apparati gli accenti e le syllabe,
Studiato *la Poetica* d'Horatio,

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Although the Ferrara MS. precedes Griphio's edition, it could not possibly have served Griphio as a base, as the two texts oppose to each other too many striking variants. For example:

Act IV, sc. 4, verse 76:

Griphio's edition:—Bar. Hor su, non piu aspettami.
Gabriele's MS.:—Ba. Se tu vuo andar, vatene.

Act IV, sc. 5, verses 5-8:

Edition:—La. Io sono cosi Bartolo
Nel ventre di mia madre (perdonatime)
Stato stampato, che piu assai premano
E fatti de gli amici, che i miei proprii.
MS.:—La. Io sono cosi Bartolo
Nel ventre de la madre, habbi pacientia,
Stampato, de gli amici piu mi premono
E fatti sempre che miei fatti proprii.

Act IV, sc. 5, verse 18:

Edition:—Poscia che l'ho veduto condescendere. . . .
MS.:—Havendolo veduto condescendere. . . .

All editions of *La Scolastica* earlier than Polidori's of 1857 are more or less directly traceable to Giolito's editions of 1553 and 1562, which are adaptations of Griphio's of 1547; and Griphio's in turn is believed to be founded on Gabriele's last and best redaction, which is now lost to us.[6]

The MS. of *L'Imperfetta,* until now almost unknown,[7] has been studied and described for the first time by Abdelkader Salza in

E divorati quanti libri stampansi!
È bisogno che'l ciel per quel s'adoperi,
Ch'abbia da scriver versi e ornare i pulpiti
Di bei suggetti."

[6] Polidori's edition of 1857 is the worst that has ever been published, except the ed. of 1883, Società Editrice Sonzogno, Milano, which is copied from it almost verbatim. Polidori combined the Ferrara MS., which he considered an autograph of Ariosto's, with an interleaved copy of Barotti's edition of 1741 (which contained variants of Griphio's edition and the Ferrara MS.) prepared by Barotti for his second edition of 1766, and with an interleaved copy of Griphio's edition made by Antonelli for A. Torri, which contained variants from Gabriele's MS., as well as from the three 16th century editions of 1547, 1553, and 1562 (see Salza, *Gli Studenti,* 1915, *Prefazione,* xxxiii, xxxiv).

[7] See Mazzatinti-Pintor's *Inventari dei MSS. delle Bibl. d'Italia,* XIII, p. 27.

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his recent interesting and valuable critical edition of *Gli Studenti* already mentioned.

We know that Virginio Ariosto made an ending for *I Studenti,* first in prose and afterwards in verse, before Gabriele wrote his version; and that he called the completed comedy *L'Imperfetta.*[8] Virginio's versions in prose and verse were never printed, and until lately both were believed to be lost, with the exception of his prologue in verse, which was first published by Barotti in 1741. (*Opere di Ariosto,* Pitteri.) Salza believes, for two reasons, that in this newly-found MS. we have Ariosto's *I Studenti* combined with Virginio's ending in verse. 1. The MS. contains Virginio's prologue and not Gabriele's. 2. As far as v. 12 of scene 2, Act IV, the MS. follows the text of Lodovico's *I Studenti* (except for some variants) but from this point continues in a manner altogether different from that of Gabriele's addition.

L'Imperfetta, as Salza points out, was finished by Virginio in verse between 1551 and 1554. Barotti, in his notes on *La Scolastica* (Ven. Pitteri, 1741), claimed to have in his possession an original letter to Virginio Ariosto from Virginio's cousin, Giulio Guarini of Modena, dated Feb. 11, 1551, in which Guarini declines the task of turning Virginio's *prose* ending of *Gli Studenti* into *versi sdruccioli,* which Virginio has apparently urged upon him. This letter, if genuine, proves that Virginio could not have written his continuation in verse before February, 1551. Pigna, in his work published in 1554,[9] says that Virginio has turned it (*Gli Studenti*) into verse. By 1554, then, Virginio's redaction in verse was known.

Salza does not take up the matter of the date of the MS. he has discovered, which is a copy or derivative of Virginio's, beyond saying that it belongs to "about the middle of the 16th century."

Gli Studenti is by no means the only play of Ariosto's that presents striking differences in its various early texts. As Ariosto's comedies were never printed under his supervision, the reliability of all the early editions of these pieces is bound to be more or less doubtful. *Il Negromante,* published two years after Ariosto's

[8] Virginio's prologue, opening verses:

"Vengo a voi solo per farvi conoscere
Il nome dell'autor di questa fabula,
Che *La Imperfetta* con ragion si nomina."

[9] G. B. Pigna: *I Romanzi,* Venezia, 1554: cf. above, note 3.

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death under Virginio's direction,[10] contains such remarkable variants of Giolito's text of 1551, that we can only suppose the two editions were founded on two separate MSS.[11] The same thing is true of *La Lena,* though in less degree. But the two plays that present the most striking difficulties as regards determining their origin are those first composed by Ariosto,—*La Cassaria* and *I Suppositi.* These prose comedies were played in 1508 (*La Cassaria*), and 1509 (*I Suppositi*) at Ferrara, and obtained at once immense popularity. During Ariosto's life-time they were stolen by actors and printed in six unauthorized editions, to Lodovico's great displeasure.

The *Biblioteca Classense* of Ravenna contains a manuscript of Ariosto's *I Suppositi* in prose. It is believed that no description of this MS. has ever been published; nor is there any record of it in the most reliable and best-known bibliographies with the exception of Mazzatinti-Pintor's *Inventari dei MSS. delle Biblioteche*

[10] Archivi di Stato di Venezia, Registro n. 28, Senato I, Terra, 1534-1535, c. 122:

"M. D. XXXV de mense Aprilis. Serenissimo Principe et Illustrissimo Signoria. Havendo li heredi del quondam Messer Ludovico Ariosto da Ferrara ottenuto licentia dalli Excellentissimi signori capo [sic] del consiglio di X di poter far stampare alcune Comedie, ... di esso messer Ludovico, le qual desiderano porre in luce, accio che delle honeste vigilie sue piu tosto che li Extranei, detti heredi conseguano qualche utile, in parte di ricompensa della iactura fatta della smorte [sic] sua; humilmente supplicano a vostra Sublimita et Signorie che se degnino farli gratia, che per Dieci Anni proximi futuri non sia licito ad alcuno in cita, Terra, e loco stampare, ne far stampar, vender, ne far vender, alcuna de ditte opere, senza expressa licentia de' ditti heredi, sotto pena de perder tutti li libri stampati, et de mille ducati. Obtenendo li heredi questa gratia, come sperano, lo reconoscera [sic] a perpetuo obligo da vostra Serenita. Die viii Aprilis.

"Quod suprascriptis supplicantibus concedatur quod petunt. Voti del si, 112; del no. 12; dubbio, 8."

[11] Salvatore Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari,* Roma, 1890: "Sono già alcuni anni che l'erudito bibliofilo Teodorigo Landoni ci scriveva queste parole: 'Giosuè Carducci ed io confrontammo *il Negromante* del Giolito colla stampa indicato come prima dal Gamba [1535]. L'Ariosto non fece qualche cambiamento, come si diceva, ma rifuse tutto il componimento con improba fatica; tanto che disegnammo di darne una edizione possibilmente a riscontro di tutte due, affinchè si vedesse con quanta cura e sudore quell'alto ingegno si faticava intorno ai suoi lavori.' Non crediamo però che questo disegno si portasse ad effetto."

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d'Italia, where it is noted in vol. IV, page 195, as *I Suppositi di Lod. Ariosto* (*Fol. 120-137*). This characterization is correct as far as it goes; but not even a date is suggested, while a very important fact, i. e., that the MS. is Ariosto's prose version and not his redaction in verse, is not recorded.

This MS. is not written in Ariosto's hand. It is a fragment, contained in a collection of miscellaneous MSS. known simply, in the MS. library catalogue, as *Manoscritto 209.* The volume contains, besides *I Suppositi,* verses by Pietro Barignani of Brescia, Nicolò Amanio, Jacopo Sannazzaro, Pietro Bembo and Giangiorgio Trissino. *I Suppositi* occupies 18 leaves of paper, each measuring 139 x 200 mm. The 18 written leaves are preceded by one blank sheet and followed by two. The first eight written leaves are signed in order: A. i. ii. iii. iiii., B. i. ii. iii. iiii., after which the series is not continued. These signatures are by the same hand that copied the text. There is no numbering of scenes or acts. Five leaves at the end of the MS. have been cut out, and the piece stops abruptly with the words of Erostrato in scene 2 of Act v: *ha pasyphilo e questa la fede che io ho in te.*

In order to understand precisely what relation this MS. bears to the printed editions, it will be necessary to review briefly the early history of the play.

Before he staged *I Suppositi* (1509) Ariosto had already in the preceding year attained distinction as a playwright by his production before the court of Ferrara of *La Cassaria* in prose. *I Suppositi* brought him even greater dramatic success, and placed him at once at the head of a little band of writers of prose-comedies. The only comedy of the time that can rank with Ariosto's plays is Machiavelli's *La Mandragola;* and this was written in 1513, several years after *La Cassaria* and *I Suppositi.* Lodovico Ariosto was thus not only the greatest epic poet of his age, but also a pioneer in the field of comedy. He was the first Italian dramatist to break with tradition and to write plays modelled, it is true, after the Latin comedies, as was the fashion of the time, but nevertheless thoroughly modern in substance. *I Suppositi* in prose is the first genuinely modern production in the history of Italian comedy.

Ariosto wrote his first two plays, *La Cassaria* and *I Suppositi,* in prose. Later, as his genius developed and he became more independent, he invented the clever unrhymed *endecasillabo sdrucciolo*

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verse, imitating the Latin iambic trimeter which Horace calls the metre *par excellence* of comedy.[12] In this new metre he wrote the rest of his comedies: *Il Negromante*, *La Lena* and *I Studenti* (uncompleted). Twenty years after he had composed them in prose he turned *La Cassaria* and *I Suppositi* into *versi sdruccioli*. He was eager to do this because the two earlier pieces in prose had been stolen by actors and vandal play-wrights, and had been very badly printed in various spurious editions. On March 18, 1532, he wrote to Duke Frederick of Mantua, who had asked for his four completed comedies to be played at the great carnival which was to be held in honor of the visit of the Emperor Charles V: "Due ci sono che non credo che quella [V. Signoria] abbia più vedute; l'altre, ancora che sieno a stampa per colpa di persone che me le rubaro, non sono però nel modo in che le ho ridotte; massimamente *la Cassaria* che tutta è quasi rinnovata . . . Quella supplico che sia contenta di non lasciarle andare in modo che sieno stampate un'altra volta, che . . . non credo che le stampassino più corrette che abbian fatto l'altre volte." In the same strain he wrote to Giovan Giacomo Calandra, warden of the castle of Mantua and the Duke's secretary: "Oltre quello ch'io ne scrivo al Sig. Duca, Vostra Signoria lo pregherà da mia parte, che, per inavvertenza di chi avrà le commedie nelle mani, non si lascino sicchè vadano a stampa, come sono andate delle altre volte con mio gran dispiacere."[13]

These stolen editions are:

1. Unsigned and undated. 4to.[14]
2. 1524, Roma, 27 Settembre. 12mo.[15]

[12] Cf. E. G. Gardner, *Ariosto the King of Court Poets*, London, 1906: p. 331, n. 2. H. Hauvette, *Littérature Italienne*, Paris, 1910: p. 254.

[13] See letters clxxxiii and clxxxii, ed. Cappelli: Milano, Hoepli, 1887.

[14] A copy of this play at Ferrara has inscribed on the fly-leaf: "Ferrara, pel Massocco, 1516. Cosi è giudicato."

[15] Brunet says: "Entre autres éditions que M. Gamba cite de la même pièce [*I Supp.* in prose] il s'en trouve une de Rome, in-12, sans nom d'imprimeur, à la fin de laquelle se lit, 'Finisce la commedia di Lodovico Ariosto Ferrarese, restituta alla sua vera lezione dopo la scrittura scorrettissima di Siena.' Ce qui suppose une éditon antérieure (de Sienne), probablement celle de 1523, in-8, citée dans la *Bibliografia de' Classici Italiani*, imprimée à Milan en 1814."

There is no other evidence that the edition of 1523, Siena, ever existed. None of the copies of the "1524" editions examined by me contains "Finisce," etc. The only word following the text, in each case, is *Valete*.

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3. 1525, Venezia, Zoppino. 4to.
4. 1526, Arimino, Soncino. 12mo.
5. 1526, Venezia, da Sabbio. 8vo.
6. 1526, Venezia, Bindoni & Pasini. 8vo.[16]

We know, then, that none of the printed texts of *I Suppositi* in prose was made under Ariosto's direction; and further, that the MSS. on which these texts were founded were the copies used in stage representations. If our MS., then, were one of these stage copies, it would seem of greater value than the printed texts in indicating what Ariosto actually wrote or superintended writing. It has indeed every appearance of having been used in performances, and lacks the elegance and careful preparation of a document intended for ordinary reading, such as the Magliabechian MS. of *L'Imperfetta*. The acts, though clearly separated, are indicated whimsically, as though by some hasty and unliterary stage-manager. At the end of Act I we find: *Explicit primus actus incipit secundus Dulyppo e Errostrato.* At the beginning of Act III is written: *principit tertius actus Dalio coco Crapino ragazzo Errostrato Dulipo;* at the beginning of Act IV, *quartus actus Errostrato solo;* at the beginning of Act V, *Actus quintus Errostrato solo.* Another feature which leads us to believe that we have here an actors' copy, is an *Argumentum*, or explanation of the piece, which presents the characters one by one, giving some slight description of each. Such an *Argumentum* would be likely to appear only in a MS. intended for stage production.

Nevertheless the MS. is probably not faithful to the original text: there is no possible relation between this MS. and those of other plays prepared or supervised by the author. Ariosto's numbering of acts was always consistent and in good form (See Giolito's editions of 1551, copied from Ariosto's MSS.). His plays invariably contain casts—*persone della commedia;* our MS. has no such cast, and never has had, for the numbering of the leaves, by the same hand that copied the text, begins with the *Argumentum* and continues without a break for eight leaves. The existence of the *Argumentum* is itself suspicious, for as far as we know, Ariosto

[16] Between Ariosto's death in 1533 and the present time, 24 editions have been published, all founded on the earlier incorrect and stolen copies of Ariosto's day.

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never composed an *Argumentum* or anything resembling one. This MS. differs from all of the early printed texts derived from the stage MSS. in omissions of words and differences in spelling; sometimes a whole sentence found in the editions is absent here. But the most striking difference is that the editions contain Ariosto's prologue, which is omitted by the MS., although, for reasons previously stated, it could not have been lost.

The printed texts of *I Suppositi* in prose were founded on actors' MS. copies. Our MS. is evidently no such authorized copy, and since it contains an *Argumentum,* which is not in any of the printed editions, and is without the prologue which all the editions have, it seems clear that it is not the source of any of the printed editions.

On the contrary, the MS. is certainly a derivative of one of the printed texts. This fact is established by the presence of the signatures "A. i. ii. iii. iiii." and "B. i. ii. iii. iiii."—a peculiarity which is characteristic of printed editions, but not of manuscripts.

But if our MS. is derived from one or more of the printed editions, why does it not contain the prologue, and why is it otherwise so different from them?

The 16th century editions of *I Suppositi* in prose not already enumerated are as follows:

7. 1536, Venezia, M. Sessa. 8vo.
8. 1537, " Bindoni & Pasini. 8vo.
9. 1538, " Zoppino. 8vo.
10. 1540, " Gio. Paduanno. 8vo.
11. 1542, " Bindoni & Pasini. 8vo.
12. 1587, " B. Rubin. 12mo.

The 1587 edition is the last of its century; there is no other until 1730 when Orlandini made his handsome folio edition. These twelve editions have many characteristics in common with each other, such as acts being numbered, *but not scenes;* and with the MS., such as the absence of any cast.

An important factor in the problem is that our MS. contains a typographical peculiarity—the words *Seconda Scena* in Act II, which were not printed in the first two editions, but which appear (in inverted order: "*Scena Seconda*") in the third edition (1525), and in all those subsequent except the last of the series (1587). We at once see that there must be some relation between our MS. and those editions which contain the words *Scena Seconda;* and

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we may infer that our MS. is derived from one or more of them. If so, our MS. belongs most probably to the years between 1525 and 1551, after which, with the printing of Ariosto's second redaction of *I Suppositi* in verse, interest in the old prose version vanished. We may suppose that the prologue was omitted as unsuitable to the small or private audience for which the MS. was being prepared, and that the writer therefore substituted an *Argumentum* of his own.

Some explanation is needed of the logical development of Zoppino's edition of 1525, which is the first to contain the words "*Scena Seconda,*" from the earlier editions which do not contain them. In the first place, Zoppino's edition of 1525 was probably not copied from either of the two earlier editions. His prologue shows many changes in the text; the names of the people in the play are spelled differently; the speeches of the *persone* reveal material differences; the leaves are numbered for the first time. Indeed, this edition of 1525 seems to be an entirely independent production: whence, then, was its text derived? Presumably from some practical actors' MS. copy which contained a heading for each scene, as *Scena Prima, Scena Seconda, Scena Terza,* etc. Zoppino's type-setter, probably instructed to omit these superfluous headings, which were needed only for clearness in a stage production, must have negligently retained one—*Scena Seconda,* which, through nine other editions, was mechanically reproduced by other unthinking type-setters.

As it has never been published before, I hereto append the text of the *Argumentum* found in the MS. of *I Suppositi* in the Ravenna library.

ARGUMENTUM [17]

Silentio Spectatori siamo per nararvi una noua comedia et se quel favore che per humanità al altre comedie havete prestato non negarete [a] questa, mi confido che non sia per compiacervi

[17] All punctuation in the original MS. is indicated by lines. There are no accents. Most of the proper names begin with small letters and in some cases common nouns begin with capitals. The original contains various ligatures, here written out in full.

I am indebted to Sig. Santi Muratori of the *Biblioteca Classense,* of Ravenna, especially for the opportunity to reproduce the *Argumentum,* and also to the unfailing courtesy of Sig. Giuseppe Agnelli of the *Biblioteca Comunale* of Ferrara.

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meno. Erostrato gionto in Ferara per dar opera ali studii, et inamoratosi di Polymnesta, prende l'habito di Dulipo suo seruo, et però cangia il nome et la conditione, et per seruo si mete di Damone patre di Polymnesta la qual di pare amore amando Erostrato, et per mezo di una sua nutrice giacendo inseme, si ingravidò. Cleandro vechio et doctore ama medesimamente Polymnesta, et per [m]ezanità di Pasiphilo parasito, et con promessa di sopradote procura haverla per sua molgie. Errostrato riputato Dulippo, per obstare ali pensieri del doctore, fa che Dulippo riputato Errostrato cerchi anche esso hauer Polymnesta per sposa, facendo li partiti a Damone et li promesse magiori di soura dota; et per tal effetto opera che un forestiero senese seli finge patre, et lo fa chiamar Phylogano di Catania. Lo inamorato per disturbar el maritagio de il vechio doctore semina con sui falsi trovati gran discordia tra il ditto vecchio doctore et il parasito. Damon presente da sua filgiola esser stata compresa dal reputato Dulippo suo seruo, lo fa prender in casa sua et incarcerare. In questa [ora] a caso ariua in Ferrara Philogano uero per riveder suo filgiolo Errostrato, et cercando lo ritroua in forma che [sic] esso Dulippo suo servo, che chiamar si fa Errostrato, et il senese in forma di sè stesso, et ripputa il suo filgiolo morto, et ha ricorso a Cleandro doctore per uendicarsi de l'onta riceuuta. Il qual Cleandro ne li ragionamenti di Philogano ritroua per euidenti segni il vero Dulippo esser suo filgio. Philogano ritroua Errostrato; Damone lo rende [a] suo patre, et si lo fa genero. Dixi.

E. C. Forman.

Haverford, Pa.

GLEANINGS IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF POE

1. Of the seventy-one stories from the pen of Poe, the place of first publication of all except two—*The Spectacles* and *The Premature Burial*—has been pointed out by one or another of Poe's editors. I have recently stumbled upon the place of first publication of these two. *The Spectacles* appeared in the Philadelphia *Dollar Newspaper* for March 27, 1844, and *The Premature Burial* in the same paper (a weekly) for July 31, 1844. A file of the *Dollar Newspaper* covering the years 1843-45 has lately come into the possession of the Maryland Historical Society at Baltimore.

This file also supplies the original text of *The Gold Bug*, advertised by the latest editors of Poe's tales as inaccessible,[1] though contemporary newspaper notices had made it plain that it was

[1] *Virginia Poe*, II, p. 305.

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published in the *Dollar Newspaper* (for June 21 and June 28, 1843), having been awarded a prize of a hundred dollars offered by that newspaper. The story as originally published contains two illustrations by Darley, one showing Legrand and his companions at work in the treasure pit, the other exhibiting the treasure after it had been laid bare. The issue of June 28 contains the story in its entirety, and it was again published, in a prize-story supplement, on July 12, 1843.[2]

2. A dozen years before the publication of *The Gold Bug,* as I have elsewhere shown,[3] Poe submitted five or his stories to the Philadelphia *Saturday Courier,* in competition for another hundred-dollar prize, to be won in this instance, by a curious irony of fate, not by Poe, but by Delia Bacon, of Shakespeare-Bacon notoriety. Even before this, however, Poe had formed the habit of submitting his verses to the magazines. In September, 1829, a part of his fantastic lyric, *Fairy-Land,* appeared in John Neal's journal, *The Yankee and Boston Literary Gazette,* being there pronounced to be "nonsense, [though] rather exquisite nonsense."[4] A month later the same poem was publicly rejected by N. P. Willis through the columns of the *American Monthly Magazine.* Willis's comment is interesting both as displaying his characteristic jauntiness and as reflecting the contemporary estimate in which Poe was held. He prefaces his notice with the statement that he finds much pleasure in destroying rejected manuscripts of bad verses, and in particular in watching them as they burn "within the fender." "It is quite exciting," he writes, "to lean over eagerly as the flame eats in upon the letters, and make out the imperfect sentences and trace the faint strokes in the tinder as it trembles in the ascending air of the chimney. There, for instance, goes a gilt-edged sheet which we remember was covered with some sickly rhymes on Fairy-land. The flame creeps steadily along the edge of the first leaf, taking in its way a compliment to some by-gone nonsense-verses of our own, inserted in brackets by the author to conciliate our good

[2] Poe's stories, *The Tell-Tale Heart* and *The Oblong Box,* published in the *Dollar Newspaper*—in the issues of January 25, 1843, and August 28, 1844—appear to be merely copies of earlier texts, though *The Oblong Box* as there published has the sub-title, "A Capital Story."

[3] *The Dial,* February 17, 1916 (LX, p. 146).

[4] *Virginia Poe,* VII, p. 257.

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will. Now it flashes up in a broad blaze, and now it reaches a marked verse—let us see—the fire devours as we read:

> 'They use that moon no more
> For the same end as before—
> Videlicet, a tent,
> Which I think extravagant.'

Burn on, good fire!" [5]

The "sickly rhymes" here quoted by Willis are lines 35-38 of Poe's *Fairy-Land*. In justice to Willis, it should be added that another of his magazines, *The New Mirror*, published (in its issue of May 7, 1831) one of the earliest and one of the fairest of the contemporary notices of Poe's verses, and that he proved in Poe's darker years the staunchest and truest of his literary friends.

3. Among minor prose articles not heretofore attributed to Poe, but demonstrably his work, are the following:

a. A half-column notice of the *Southern Literary Messenger* in the Baltimore *Republican* of May 14, 1835. Poe's authorship of this item is established by a letter of his, of May 30, 1835, to the proprietor of the *Messenger*, T. W. White (*Virginia Poe*, XVII, p. 6).

b. Brief notices of the *American Almanac* and *English Annuals* in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for December, 1835 (II, p. 68). These are shown to be Poe's by a letter of T. W. White's published in J. H. Whitty's edition of Poe's poems (p. 179). The same letter confirms B. B. Minor's ascription to Poe of the notices of the *Westminister Review*, the *London Quarterly Review*, and the *North American Review*, in the same number of the *Messenger* (pp. 59-64).[6]

c. The review of *The Magazines* for June, 1845, in the *Broadway Journal* of May 17, 1845 (I, pp. 316-17). The note on *Graham's Magazine* has to do mainly with Hoffman's biographical sketch of Griswold which appeared in the current number of that magazine, and is evidently the article referred to in a letter of Poe's, printed by Griswold (I, p. xxii), as "my notice of C. F. Hoffman's sketch of you." The item is of interest as showing that Poe, although naturally antipathetic to Griswold, was not incapable of saying a good word for him when he felt that occasion offered.

[5] *American Monthly Magazine*, November, 1829 (I, pp. 586-87).
[6] *Southern Literary Messenger, 1834–1864*, p. 37.

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d. A note concerning an alleged plagiarism by Whittier, under the heading *Editorial Miscellany,* in the *Broadway Journal* for September 20, 1845. This is in part identical with No. 188 of the *Marginalia* as printed by Griswold (III, p. 570).

e. A review entitled *Mrs. Lewis' Poems* in the *Western Quarterly Review* for April, 1849 (I, pp. 404-8). This article was published anonymously, but is partly a recast by Poe of his notice of Mrs. Lewis's poems in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for September, 1848. Poe refers to this paper (though he does not specifically acknowledge it) in a letter to Mrs. Clemm of September 5, 1849 (*Virginia Poe,* XVII, p. 369).

f. An interesting letter of Poe's, printed in George Lippard's *Herbert Tracy* (Philadelphia, 1844, pp. 167 f.). This letter, which bears date Feb. 18, 1844, and is addressed to Lippard, is devoted mainly to a criticism of Lippard's *Ladye Annabel,* but contains also some friendly counsel as to how an author should conduct himself when attacked by undiscerning and unscrupulous critics. "*Let a fool alone—especially if he be both a scoundrel and a fool,*" advises Poe, "*and he will kill himself far sooner than you can kill him by any active exertion. . . . I have never yet been able to make up my mind whether I regard as the higher compliment, the approbation of a man of honor and talent, or the abuse of an ass or a blackguard.*"

4. In addition to the foregoing, I wish to call attention to two items which I cannot prove to be Poe's, but which are, I think, entitled to consideration as being perhaps the work of his hand.

a. The first of these is a gruesome story, entitled *A Dream,* published over the signature "P." in the Philadelphia *Saturday Evening Post* of August 13, 1831. The story purports to be an account of a dream in which the writer fancies himself as witnessing the "dying agonies of the God of Nature," and later as wandering into the "burial ground of the monarchs of Israel," where he is so much frightened by the apparition of the ghost of one of the buried kings of Israel that he suddenly awakes from his dream. A part of the concluding paragraph, describing the vision of the buried king of Israel, will serve best for illustration.

"'Twas a hideous, unearthly form, such as Dante in his wildest flights of terrified fancy, ne'er conjured up. I could not move, for terror had tied up volition. It approached me. I saw the grave-worm twining itself among the matted locks which in part covered

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the rotten scull. The bones creaked on each other as they moved on the hinges, for its flesh was gone. I listened to their horrid music, as this parody on poor mortality stalked along. He came up to me; and, as he passed, he breathed the cold damps of the lonely, narrow house directly in my face. The chasm in the heavens closed; and, with a convulsive shudder, I awoke."

The resemblance here, both in matter and in style, to Poe's fully authenticated work is plain. We have already noted that the item is subscribed with the initial "P." It should also be noted that Poe was on terms of friendly acquaintance with one of the assistant editors of the *Post*, L. A. Wilmer, at the time of (or shortly before) the publication of this story, and that, through his influence, presumably, the *Post* had, in September, 1830, and in May, 1831, published in its columns two of Poe's early poems.[7] It may be added that the hackneyed device with which the story ends is employed also in the *dénouement* of Poe's *The Angel of the Odd* and *The Premature Burial*. But it should be said, on the other hand, that neither a similarity in style nor the presence of the initial "P." nor any merely circumstantial evidence can furnish adequate ground for ascribing unreservedly to Poe an item not otherwise authenticated.[8]

b. The second dubious item to which I wish to direct attention is a fragment of verse published anonymously in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for March, 1835 (I, p. 370), under the title, *Extract from an Unfinished Poem*. The poem begins as follows:

> There is a form before me now,
> A spirit with a peerless brow,
> And locks of gold that lightly lie,
> Like clouds on the air of a sunset sky,
> And a glittering eye, whose beauty blends
> With more than mortal tenderness,
> As bright a ray as Heaven sends
> To light those orbs where the pure and blest
> Are taking their eternal rest.

[7] *To Science* (published in the issue of September 11, 1830), and *To Helen* (in the issue of May 21, 1831).

[8] In an article entitled *The Poe Canon* (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXVII, p. 334) I have called attention to a number of items of Poe's time which are subscribed with the initial "P.", but which are surely not the work of his hand. The list there given is by no means exhaustive.

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> Sweet Spirit! thou hast stolen afar
> From thy home in yonder crystal Star
> That I might look on thee, and bless
> Thy kindness and thy loveliness.

The rest of the poem is in much the same strain. In diction and tone the piece manifestly resembles Poe's early long poem, *Tamerlane*; the mention in lines 10 and 11 of a "sweet spirit" stolen from a "crystal star" suggests another of his early poems, *Al Aaraaf;* and there is a slight verbal correspondence (though the wording is obviously conventional) between lines 8 and 9:

> . . . where the pure and blest
> Are taking their eternal rest,

and lines 4 and 5 of *The City in the Sea* (1831):

> Where the good and the bad and the worst and the best
> Have gone to their eternal rest.

Moreover, it has been made fairly plain that Poe did contribute to the *Messenger* verses that he was later unwilling to admit into the collective edition of his poems (1845): Professor Woodberry has suggested—and the suggestion seems a highly plausible one [9]—that the lines entitled *Ballad* in the *Messenger* for August, 1835, are in reality an early version of Poe's *Bridal Ballad;* and Mr. Whitty [10] assigns to Poe the lines *To Sarah* in the *Messenger* of the same month.

Here again, however, it ought to be said that similarities in manner and phrasing are, as a rule, inadequate as a basis for an unqualified ascription of authorship; hence I do not wish to be understood as holding that either of these items is surely Poe's. I have drawn attention to them, nevertheless, in the hope that some other student of Poe may be able to demonstrate conclusively their authorship.

KILLIS CAMPBELL.

University of Texas.

[9] *Works of Poe*, ed. Stedman and Woodberry, x, p. 161.
[10] *Poems of Poe*, ed. J. H. Whitty, pp. 142, 286.

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Keller reached Heidelberg in the fall of 1848, where Spinoza's teaching was interpreted for him by Hermann Hettner, and where the fairly materialistic atmosphere of such men as Moleschott, Henle, and Kapp enveloped him. All of these influences, however were welded into one when he came under the sway of Ludwig Feuerbach.

Feuerbach had started out as a follower of the Hegelian speculative philosophy, but in the thirties had come out with his own, quite anti-Hegelian doctrine of naturalism. From the mazes of subjectivism, a return to nature. The senses take the place of the abstract egoistic starting point. In this you will note he is in accord with modern psychology; nothing in consciousness which was not before in the senses; and in accord with modern metaphysics, which asserts that the theory of knowledge is prerequisite to all philosophy. But the theory of knowledge since the days of Kant and Hume has shown a decided tendency to begin and to end with psychology. And psychology bases upon sensation. Feuerbach has, then, the thoroly modern conception, altho we may not say that he makes psychology the arbiter in the theory of knowledge.

Here, then, is a return to that doctrine of the full living out of the personality, to that Hellenic joy in sense, with emphasis on the present moment, which characterized the classic period of German literature. This is the natural reaction of an age of natural science and psychology against the subjective philosophy which had dominated German thought for two generations.

After romantic spiritualism the spiral is returning to that *Sinnenfreudigkeit,* and that humanism, at which Goethe, by dint of a strong and naive personality, had arrived intuitively. This present life is more to these men than the life to come, just as it was to the Greeks.

In Feuerbach there is also the anti-Christian ferment, which, however, is only incidental, not *essential,* to his philosophy, and was useful as an aid in recalling the generation from the abstract and supermundane to themselves. Man should, says Feuerbach, have the motive of his doing, the objects of his thought, and the

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panacea for his evils and sufferings, not outside of himself, like the heathen, nor above and beyond himself, like the Christian, but within himself.[1]

And while the common lexicons set this down as materialism, it was in effect idealism, or at least an idealized materialism, the practical proof of which statement is that the characteristic materialists of the age, for instance Max Stirner, had no keener opponent than our philosopher. Feuerbach was too much of a practical philosopher anyway to trouble much about the question of the substance and the idealistic hypotheses. His emphasis was placed upon human weal and woe, upon the ideal and human conduct. The influence of Feuerbach's teachings in German life and thought has not yet been fully evaluated, but is coming with every year to be more and more so. Indeed his recent exponents, competent authorities in philosophy, assert that the time will come when Wagner and Nietzsche will have to return to its original source much of their glory when Feuerbach again comes into his own.[2] The materialism of the age was thoroly idealized in Feuerbach, and in this Keller followed him.

In discussing Keller's attitude towards tragedy, now, we need to call to mind that his early works tend to end tragically, *e. g., Der grüne Heinrich, Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe,* and especially *Theresa,* a dramatic fragment, conceived probably under the influence of Hebbel's *Maria Magdalena.* All of these were conceived not later than 1847 to 1849, and Keller never again wrote a tragic work, or a work with a tragic end, with the exception of *Regina* in the *Sinngedicht,* planned in 1851. And, while we cannot, here, go into the various changes later introduced into these works, I wish merely to state the fact that the tragic in the above mentioned works was either changed to a happy ending, as in the revised edition of *Der grüne Heinrich* and in *Dorotheas Blumenkörbchen* in the *Sieben Legenden,* or remained uncompleted, as *Theresa,* except in the case of *Romeo und Julia,* and *Regina,* where to give up the tragedy would have been to give up the story *Die drei gerechten Kammacher,* which dates from the early period, and which some would count as tragic, is not tragic because the bearers of the action do not possess the qualities of tragic persons.

[1] *Werke,* VIII, 358.

[2] Cf. Fr. Jodl, *Ludwig Feuerbach,* 1904.

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Moreover, there are various statements of Keller's which substantiate the fact that he grew more and more averse to tragedy with the years. I will take time to quote just one of them. "Allein Meyer hat eine Schwäche für solche einzelne Brutalitäten und Totschläge," (the work under discussion is *Jürg Jenatsch*) "Wenn er so was hört oder liest, so sagt er: vortrefflich! So hat jeder seinen Zopf!" [3]

I will consider that this point is well enough established, since Bächtold has touched upon it, also, and because it is important only for what lies back of it, namely, his changed view of life, as may be shown as follows:

In Keller's mature view of life there was no place for the future world, either of the Christians, or of the panlogists; nor for pessimism, so prominent in the philosophy and in the theory of tragedy of the period; nor was there any place for fatalistic polytheism nor, incidentally, for the hot-house optimism of such a man as Nietzsche, which may explain Keller's refusal of Nietzschean philosophy. Incidentally I may say that Keller's views on the drama may best be read up in Preitz,[4] although this work is devoid of any philosophical interpretation of the views expressed.

In the first place we know that Keller considered drama the highest form of poetic art. We know also that Keller was no dramatist, but that is not because he had not well-defined views of tragedy but because of the nature of his poetic faculty. I need here to touch only on the salient points and I may add that most of these views were expressed in letters to Hermann Hettner, who considered them significant enough to embody them almost verbally into his work *Das moderne Drama,* Braunschweig, 1852.

As an esthetic means Keller saw no objection to the *fatum* if it did not interfere with clearness and simplicity, Keller's first prerequisites. And thus, while he does not agree with those who, like Herder, thought fate a necessary accessory in the motivation of good tragedy, nor with the modern pessimists who practically approximate this position, he does praise the French classicists who used the *fatum* as a motif "*um ihre kindliche und doch so männliche Naivetät und hauptsächlich um ihre reine Tragik*".[5] The

[3] A. Köster, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Theodor Storm und Gottfried Keller*, Berlin, 1909, p. 194.

[4] *Kellers dramatische Bestrebungen.* Marburg, 1909.

[5] Bächtold, *Gottfried Kellers Leben*, Berlin, 1895, II, 124.

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meaning is clear: the French—he is thinking here especially of Racine—used the *fatum* as a motive but with naivete of mind and clearness of style, and their world is as little troubled by brooding pessimistic theories of fate as was the fair age of Grecian tragedy. And when Keller condemns the predominant use of the *fatum*, as he does, he is thinking of contemporaries who had abused the fatalistic motive, and especially of certain heavy-footed pessimists who were, in Keller's generation, construing a new *fatum* which was far more depressing than the Grecian *fatum* ever thought of being.

We must pause here to remark on the legitimacy of reading a philosophical significance into tragedy at all. Tragedy has generally been considered by the critics a purely esthetic form, and while it might reflect *Weltanschauung*, it should do so only incidentally. But in more recent literature and criticism, *Weltanschauung* has played an important part in tragedy, and the theory of tragedy, and authors and critics have come to claim philosophical significance for the tragedy. As representatives of this view we may instance Schopenhauer, Wagner, and Nietzsche. But even Hebbel comes very close to this view. As to his theory of the drama it is a well-known fact that Hebbel bases on, or coincides with, Solger and Hegel. Now Solger starts from certain ideas of Schelling's in his analysis of tragedy. A passage containing the idea in point is as follows:

"Das Individuum muss Mittel, die Gattung Zweck der Natur erscheinen, das Individuelle untergehen und die Gattung bleiben, wenn es wahr ist, dass die einzelnen Produkte in der Natur als misslungene Versuche das Absolute darzustellen, angesehen werden müssen."[6]

Now this idea that the individual, if necessary, must be sacrificed to the genus is found in Solger, and, later, in Hebbel's dramatic theory, and, as is well known, has been perpetuated in the writings of Schopenhauer. This idea with an admixture of the irrationalism of Schelling's later years forms the basis of Schopenhauer's pessimism. Now we find both these trains of thought entering into Hebbel's theory, for the doctrine of *innere Freiheit bei äuszerer Notwendigkeit* is evident enough in Hebbel, and just as Schelling finally floats over into the mysticism and theosophy

[6] *Werke*, Part I, Vol. III, p. 51.

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of Jacob Böhme, and locates the irrational in the Absolute itself: (Out of the absolute, out of the interaction of the *Urtrieb* and reflection (*reflektierender Verstand*) the world is born) so Hebbel calls this *Weltwerdung Gottes, " Gottes Sündenfall."* And thus we arrive at the heart of his theory that evil is situated in the *Weltgrund* itself and the greatest misfortune is to be born. Thus we find, not one or several dramas, but his theory of the drama as well, built upon his view of the world and standing or falling with the acceptance, at least for the time being, of this view by the auditor. I know very well that Hebbel never formulated the proposition in so many words but that is what his acceptance of Hegel's philosophical theory really signifies.

In Schopenhauer and Richard Wagner there comes the outspoken doctrine of the *tragische Weltanschauung* which in the case of Schopenhauer ends in a return to oriental mysticism (Nirwana), but in Wagner takes on the form of *Gegenwartspessimismus* with *Zukunftsoptimismus*. In Nietzsche this fatalistic view finally ends also in a return to mysticism, in the doctrine of *die ewige Wiederkehr*.

Among recent writers Richard Dehmel is on the other side of the question, but he also holds that the drama has a philosophical significance. However, he, as an optimist, or a meliorist, thinks that our age has overcome tragedy, in as far as this represents the *tragische Weltanschauung.*[7]

From the ranks of the critics again we will quote only one, Ernst Lahnstein, who writes: "Das Problem der Tragik ist seinem Wesen nach keine ästhetische, sondern eine Menschheitsfrage. Der Dichter, der im Leben, wie in der Kunst, mit ihm ringt, ist hier—wenn irgend wo—Representant der Menschheit."[8]

And thus we may say that in spite of the old theory that the drama is purely an esthetic form, it has been, and is being, used with a philosophical significance. As a result there has grown up a feeling, as shown in the case of Dehmel, that certain critics and authors have used tragedy to promulgate pessimistic views. This very feeling was shared by Keller in his day.[9] And we think he was right, for the doctrine of *Zukunftsoptimismus* or that other of

[7] R. Dehmel, *Gesammelte Werke*, Berlin, 1909. Vol. 9.
[8] *Das Problem der Tragik in Hebbels Frühzeit.* Berlin, 1909, p. vi.
[9] Cf. Bächtold 2, III.

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die ewige Wiederkehr is too abstract for the average auditor to grasp. He sees and hears only the pessimism of the *now*.

As to the dramatists themselves, their attitude towards the problem of tragedy may be formulated thus: There are two camps among tragedy writers in modern times. The one has taken the question from the metaphysical side, that is, they have undertaken and are undertaking to probe into the metaphysics of the great problem of the universe. Is this problem soluble? It appears not. In spite of all the tragedies of this sort, the problem of the presence of evil in the *Weltgrund* (which is really the basal question in the problem) is just as enigmatic and as far from solution as it was in Greece, or in Eden for that matter. All that these metaphysical reflections have done, and apparently can do, is, cynically at times, at times stupidly, to bring us face to face with the old sphynx, the dull and sodden and disheartening fact, that we cannot understand the dualism in our universe.

And if you say to me that my conception of this school is shallow, and that their pessimism is really idealism, because, thru the Hegelian thesis-antithesis-synthesis theory, out of the present order of the world there is to come a new order, thru development, and that your pessimist is working at this, then I ask whether humanity can understand such abstruse gospel, and, moreover, whether such abstruse ideas can be represented productively on the stage anyway? I know also that a sort of fierce, primitive conception of religion and history resides in the school of Hebbel and Nietzsche, which may find its full justification in German history of the last 300 years, but I ask: is this the view generally held by Germans? May not salvation be achieved equally thru the idealism of the present age in a new humanism which grows out of this dark northern fatalistic view which has hung like a pall over northern Europe for a generation and more?

The other school has left the metaphysical speculations to the philosophers and has substituted therefor psychological grounds in the philosophical motivation of tragedy. This type prefers to work at problems which can be solved. Their domain is the psychological problem of action and reaction, of cause and effect. And here you recognize at once that we stand upon the ground of modern science. Now we know very well that modern science also rests upon hypotheses, but what scientist bothers about that? Just so the tragic poet need not bother about it. He is, according to his

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conception of art, either striving primarily for beauty, or working at problems. And as far as he is working at social and psychological problems he stands upon the ground of modern science. The problems of social action and reaction, cause and effect, can be solved sufficiently accurately for the present, and with the progress of science there lie greater possibilities here. Thus the tragic poet has here the possibility of contributing not only to the esthetic pleasure but to the enlightenment and the betterment of the race.

Keller dislikes a predominant use of chance as a tragic motive, first, because of his desire for clearness and simplicity, and furthermore because its predominant use overemphasizes its place in the government of the world. The question might be formulated thus: Is depending mainly upon chance, in any undertaking, a good progressive policy?

As to the question of tragic guilt, Keller stands half-way between the two schools, one of which never construes tragic guilt for the hero, while the other always does. In this he follows the popular feeling, which, no doubt, has good ground: namely, that the guiltless tragic hero is not the only kind to be found in the world. Take, for instance, Prinz Friedrich von Homburg as a representative of the guilty hero, and on the other side Cyrano de Bergerac, or Dietrich von Bern. And, incidentally, I should like to mention the latter as an example of Christian plot which makes crushing tragedy, since it is claimed that no real tragedy is possible with the Christian view of the world. This is asserted because there is no tragedy for the Christian since the happiness of the Christian heaven awaits him. But how about your *Zukunftsoptimisten;* are they not also hoping for salvation some time, somewhere?

Keller also has examples of tragedy in which no tragic guilt is construed for the tragic persons, namely, in *Romeo und Julia,* and *Regina.* But here there is nothing of the pessimistic, fatalistic. Here we have a psychological tragedy which follows in the steps of Charles Darwin rather than in those of Hegel-Schopenhauer-Nietzsche, for here the guilt lies in the one case with the parents of the tragic persons, in the other with the environment or family connection (*Familienzusammengehörigkeit*).

We come to our conclusion regarding Keller's view of tragedy. In the first place we may say that he, like Goethe, was averse to tragedy, "und hat tragische Situationen lieber vermieden als aufgesucht." Moreover, Keller could not go very far with Hegel-

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Solger-Hebbel for the reason that panlogism is not to his way of thinking, and merely asserting his freedom of will against fate and by a free act of the will giving up existence does not avail Keller anything. Nor could he go very far with the Schopenhauer-Nietzsche idea of *tragische Weltanschauung* for the very obvious reason that Keller is a meliorist, and again, the pessimistic ferment of this school availed him nothing, since his art is not for art's sake but for humanity's sake, and he felt that their pessimism was not a progressive human force. That is, as we saw, also Dehmel's attitude, in the work quoted. In its stead Keller substituted "die Hingabe an das rein Menschliche," an active functioning realism which, since it works at present-day tasks, amounts to meliorism, just as Richard Wagner had learned this attitude from Feuerbach, before he finally adopted Schopenhauer as his guide.

CHARLES H. HANDSCHIN.

Miami University.

TWO OTHERWORLD STORIES

Most scholars who have had occasion to deal with the Celtic otherworld story either uphold or assume its independent and unique character.[1] But this position has not passed without challenge: it has been implied, for example, that the Teutonic and especially the Oriental conceptions of the otherworld are almost indistinguishable from the Celtic.[2] The purpose of this study is to determine whether the early Celtic otherworld story can be paralleled by otherworld story from one body of Oriental literature—the *Arabian Nights*.

After carefully searching through the ten volumes of *The Thousand and One Nights* translated by Sir Richard F. Burton,[3]

[1] See, for instance, G. L. Kittredge, "*Sir Orfeo*," *American Journal of Philology*, VII, 188-197; Alfred Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, 230-234; W. H. Schofield, "*The Lays of Graelent and Lanval*," *P. M. L. A.*, XV, 165-171; A. C. L. Brown, *Iwain*, Harvard Studies and Notes, VIII.

[2] See Rose Jeffries Peebles, *The Legend of Longinus*, Bryn Mawr College Monographs, IX, 173.

[3] Published by the Kamashastra Society, Benares, 1885. This study does not include the *Supplementary Nights*.

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I have found fifteen[4] or more stories of the adventure of mortals in a land of otherworld beings. These otherworld stories show, for the most part, a marked difference from the earliest known Celtic stories of that genre. Since space does not permit the detailed consideration of all fifteen Arabic stories, I have selected for comparison with Celtic otherworld story only the two stories which show most resemblance to the Celtic, both of which are summarized below.[5]

I. An unfortunate king chances upon a palace occupied by ten young men and an old man, all blind in one eye and sorrowful. In spite of their repeated warnings, the king insists on knowing the cause of their sorrow until they put him in the way of learning what they had experienced by sewing him up in a ram's skin. Then a large bird picks him up and flies with him to a mountain. After he releases himself from the skin and walks for half a day, he comes to a splendid palace plated with red gold. At the palace he is welcomed by forty most beautiful damsels, who become his mistresses and entertain him royally until the beginning of the new year, when they all fly away for an annual visit of forty days to their parents, leaving him instructions that he might enter all of the forty chambers of the palace save one. In one of the rooms (only five are described) he finds a garden with trees and birds singing "their melodies hymning the One, the Almighty in sweetest litanies." But the king is not satisfied with entering only thirty-nine rooms, and finally he enters the forbidden chamber. He finds there a horse, which he mounts and starts with a whip. The horse flies through the air to the roof of the palace

[4] These stories are found in Burton's translation: I, 151 ff.; IV, 172 ff.; V, 317 ff., V, 365 ff.; VI, 146 ff., VI, 160 ff.; VII, 34 ff., VII, 79 ff., VII, 84 ff., VII, 280 ff., VII, 363 ff.; VIII, 20 ff., VIII, 67 ff.; IX, 179 ff., IX, 330 ff. It is but natural that there should be a considerable number of stories, probably fifteen or twenty, which might be classified as near-otherworld stories. These doubtful cases I have thought best not to consider, especially since they offer no striking parallel to the early Celtic otherworld story.

[5] The first story is from *The Third Kalendar's Tale*, a sub-story of *The Porter and the Three Ladies of Baghdad*, Burton, I, 151-160; the second is from *The Man Who Never Laughed during the Rest of His Days*, a sub-story of *The Craft and Malice of Women*, Burton, VI, 160-166. Two other stories (Burton, VII, 280 ff.; IX, 179 ff.) are interesting in that they, like some Celtic stories, place the otherworld within the sea. One of these stories (IX, 179 ff.) has what might be called a Land of Women. Both of these, however, are in other respects so different from the Celtic that a further comparison is not called for. The Land of Women idea appears again in two other stories (Burton, VIII, 20 ff., 67 ff.) besides the two summarized in this article; but it should be noted that only in the two summarized stories is the Land of Women, like the Celtic, thought of as a place of sensuous delight.

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of the one-eyed men, shakes him off, and leaves him after gouging out one of his eyes.

II. A worthless young man who has squandered his inheritance is employed by a company of eleven constantly lamenting old men on condition that he ask nothing about the cause of their sorrow. When he has filled his post for twelve years and the last old man is on his death-bed, the youth insists on knowing the cause of his sorrow. Reluctantly the old man tells him to enter a certain door in the building, if he is determined to know the cause of the old men's lamentations. The youth enters the door indicated and finds a narrow passage which leads him, after a walk of three hours, to a strange seashore, where he is picked up by a large eagle and carried to an island in the midst of the ocean. After a wait of a few days, he observes approaching a ship built of ebony and ivory, inlaid with gold, and sailed by ten beautiful damsels. They land, hail him as King and Bridegroom, and set sail with him. Before long they come to a land filled with troops and go up in state to the capital city, near which are "gardens and trees and streams and blooms and birds chanting the praises of Allah the One, the Victorious." All the troops are women. The king of the country proves to be a beautiful woman in disguise and marries the young man. Men are mentioned as being workmen and artizans in the country, but they do not figure in the story. The young man lives happily with his mistress seven years until he is led by his curiosity to open a forbidden door, behind which he finds the eagle which had formerly transported him from the seashore to the island. Immediately the eagle picks him up and carries him back to the seashore where the eagle had first appeared. After having been warned by a voice that his good fortune was not to return, the young man wanders sorrowfully back to the house where he had served the twelve old men.[6]

In the two stories just summarized the salient features might be outlined thus: (1) The mortal is impelled by curiosity and chances upon the otherworld.[7] (2) The essential method of reaching the

[6] Professor H. S. V. Jones, "*The Cléomadès and Related Folk Tales*," *P. M. L. A.*, XXIII, 580-581, summarizes the first of these stories and points out that it is an otherworld tale. While the otherworld characteristics are not so marked in these two Arabic stories as they are in most of the fifteen, I am using these stories, as I have indicated above, because they are the most favorable to the hypothesis that the Arabic otherworld story closely resembles the Celtic.

[7] In both Arabic stories the mortal seems to be expected in the otherworld. In the first story the king is even told by the forty damsels: "This whole month have we been expecting thee." Could it have been that in an earlier form these stories, like the Celtic, represented the otherworld mistress as enamored of the mortal and summoning him to the otherworld? Such a supposition is not borne out by the other Fairy Mistress stories in *The Thousand and One Nights*, for in every case the mortal is represented as taking the initiative. Cf. Burton, VII, 280 ff.; VIII, 67 ff., etc.

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otherworld is by an aerial journey[8]—for although the mortal in the second story goes a part of the journey by boat, the method of his return suggests that the boat is not an essential feature. (3) The otherworld has certain characteristics: (a) it contains trees and singing birds engaged in a religious service; (b) it is a Land of Women. (4) The otherworld mistress places a taboo on the mortal. (5) As a result of the broken taboo, the mortal does not remain permanently in the otherworld.

Two early Celtic otherworld stories which are often referred to as representative of the early Celtic conception of the otherworld, and which seem to me to have as much resemblance to the Arabic otherworld stories as any, are the Old Irish *Imram Brain maic Febail* and *Echtra Condla Chaim*.[9] These typical Celtic otherworld stories may be outlined in their main features as follows: (1) The mortal goes to the otherworld on a definite invitation from the Fairy Mistress. (2) He goes over the sea in a boat. (3) The otherworld has certain characteristics: (a) it contains trees and singing birds engaged in a religious service (*Brain*); (b) it is a Land of Women; (c) it is especially marked by its magic food, the supernatural lapse of time (*Brain*), and the eternal youthfulness of its inhabitants. (4) The Fairy Mistress places a taboo on the mortal (*Brain*). (5) The mortal remains finally in the otherworld.

While the outlines above might have been carried out at greater length, I have omitted no detail that would go to show a similarity between the Arabic and Celtic otherworld stories. As the outlines stand, parallels appear only in the third and fourth divisions. But the parallel in the fourth becomes less evident on close examination. In the Arabic, the taboo seems to be a kind of test for the fortunate mortal; in the Irish, the taboo is against

[8] Professor H. S. V. Jones (572-581) discusses the frequent use of the aerial journey in Oriental story and its use as a method of reaching the otherworld. I have found that two-thirds of the otherworld stories from *The Nights* employ a journey through the air as a means of communication between this world and the otherworld. So far as I know, the aerial journey is used in Celtic otherworld story only in *The Courtship of Etain* (A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, I, 32).

[9] The first of these stories is edited and translated by Kuno Meyer, *The Voyage of Bran*, I, 1-35; the second is edited by Ernst Windisch, *Kurzgefasste irische Grammatik*, 118-120. In outlining the stories I have used translations by Meyer, *l. c.*, and H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *L'Épopée Celtique*, I, 385-390.

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a different thing entirely—against touching land upon returning from the other world—and seems to be given, not as a test for the mortal, but as a precaution necessitated by the fact that the mortal has remained in the otherworld long past the normal period of his life.

The parallels in otherworld characteristics are probably a little more striking. Both Arabic and Celtic otherworld have trees and singing birds engaged in a religious service. One difference might be noticed in the fact that the birds and trees of the Arabic are in no way supernatural, or different from the birds and trees frequently described as existing in the ordinary Oriental garden,[10] while in the Irish, the never-decaying trees, if not the birds, certainly have a supernatural touch.[11] The most striking parallel of all lies in the fact that the different stories contain what is called, or what might be called, a Land of Women.

But the parallels between the otherworld stories from *The Thousand and One Nights* and from early Celtic literature, even in the case of the two Arabic stories most favorable to the hypothesis that the Arabic otherworld story closely resembles the Celtic, are distinctly less noticeable than the contrasts. In the otherworld stories from *The Nights* the mortal, not the Fairy Mistress, takes the initiative; the mortal reaches the otherworld after an aerial journey; he never finds in the otherworld the magic food or drink, eternal youth, or the supernatural lapse of time so common to the early Celtic tales; and he never goes to live permanently in the otherworld.[12] It is evident, then, that the Oriental otherworld story, as we have it in *The Thousand and One Nights,* does not furnish, even in the examples which most resemble the Celtic, a satisfactory parallel to the early Celtic stories of the journey to the otherworld.

JOHN C. HODGES.

Harvard University.

[10] See, for example, Burton, II, 23; VI, 189; VII, 311.

[11] For a discussion of singing birds, etc., in the Celtic otherworld, see A. C. L. Brown, *Iwain*, Harvard Studies and Notes, VIII, 82-94. Singing birds are described in most of the Arabic otherworld stories. In a number of cases they are engaged in a religious service. Cf. Burton, VII, 42; VIII, 29, 30.

[12] These statements apply to all fifteen stories, except that the aerial journey does not appear in four or five.

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A FRAGMENT OF A LORD MAYOR'S PAGEANT

There is an interesting fragment in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. B. 15.39 (James's *Catalogue*, No. 181, Part III)[1] which appears to be an address before a Lord Mayor. The verses stand on the last leaf of a fifteenth century vellum manuscript and, according to Dr. James, are written in a hand of the early sixteenth century. Three of the seven-line stanzas occupy one page and the fourth is written on the upper half of the following page, the lower half being left blank. A transcript of the poem follows:

By hym that All dothe i[
imbrasse[3]
And nothing his person m[
may compasse[2]
In the ende of yemps whan Phebus had serchid
Envyroun the world and stode yn Aquarye
And saturne finally his wrech hath wrechyd
My bemys y spred yn compas youre emysperie
Remembryng youre Iugementis and faythfull con[
conspiracy[2]
3e haue concluded youre citee to polysshe
Eschewyng Ryot and vertue to norysshe.

I certefie you that Tytane And Neptune
In their confedracy with water and fyre
In March shall mete as couenable sesonne
To produce the ffecte of youre noble desire
A spice that of all spice hathe empyre
And sauerythe all things erthly and divyne
Which they shall multyplie unto your state and tyme
Whiche spice was cast yn the water of Amarak
And sesond the waters that were absinthius
Of this same spice had salamon A smak
Whane he 3afe Iugement betwene wemen viceus
Thys same spice the profite heliseus
Vsed to voied all barenesse
And by this same spyce ys swagyd all oure distress[

[1] My attention was called to this manuscript by Professor Carleton Brown.

[2] These words were cut out in trimming the pages and have been interlined by a later hand.

[3] This word is given by James as *gryerary*.

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Now to succede youre tyme in vertu
I haue sent from oure celestiall trone
The seruantis of venus and mars to sewe you
That loue ner drede blemyssh not youre dome
But all Odius Rancoure be rasyd from you sone
To youre honowre worship and ryall mageste
That ȝe present duryng youre mayralte.

Vnto the most noble Senature wt all diligens
Protector of the comyn welle in oure absens.[4]

The phrase "youre mayralte," in the last line of the third stanza, shows that the poem was delivered before a Lord Mayor. Some clue to the occasion for which these verses were composed appears to be afforded in the references to that "spice which of all spice hathe empyre." Accordingly, the elucidation of these references may be made the starting point of our inquiry. The spice which "the profite heliseus used to voied all bareness" was unquestionably salt: "At ille ait: Afferte mihi vas novum, et mittite in illud sal. Quod cum attulissent, egressus ad fontem aquarum, misit in illum sal, et ait: Haec dicit Dominus: Sanavi aquas has, et non erit ultra in eis mors, neque sterilitas." (*IV Reg.* II, 20-21). Again, the statement that Solomon had "of this same spice. . . . A smak whane he ȝafe Iugement betwene wemen viceus" refers to salt as the symbol of wisdom. This symbolic significance of salt is found in the New Testament: "Sermo vester semper in gratia sale sit conditus, ut sciatis, quomodo oporteat vos unicuique respondere." (*Col.* IV, 6). The spice in these two references is undoubtedly salt.[5] A difficulty is presented, on the other hand, by the spice which "was cast yn the water of Amarak." Moses threw into the bitter waters of Mara, not salt, but "lignum": "At ille clamavit ad Dominum, qui ostendit ei lignum; quod cum misisset in aquas, in dulcedinem versae sunt." (*Exodus* XV, 25). Jewish tradition affirms that "man turns bitter to sweet by the agency of some sweet stuff, but God transformed the bitter water [of Mara] through the bitter laurel tree."[6] Comestor apparently refers to

[4] These two lines are copied just below in a hand of the seventeenth century.

[5] I am indebted to Professor Brown for this suggestion and for assistance in finding the references to salt.

[6] L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (Tr. by Paul Radin, 1911), Vol. III, p. 39.

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this legend when he says, "amarum additum amaro, dulcedinem operatum est."[7] Now if by bitter water was meant salt water, as one commentator suggests,[8] then, according to the principle *similia similibus curantur*, it would be natural to throw salt into the water to sweeten it. But it is not likely that the author of our poem had the original story before him, and it may be that the use of salt in the other two cases suggested to him the introduction of it in the story of the waters of Mara. So while this allusion is not substantiated by the Biblical story there is little doubt that it refers, like the others, to salt.

This interpretation appears to receive further confirmation from the statement in the last line of the third stanza: "by this same spice is swagd all our distress." These words certainly suggest that the spice in question has some definite Christian significance, and the reference is readily understood when one remembers the importance of salt in the ritual of the early church. The *Benedictio Salis* is found today in many services of the Roman Church: the dedication of a church,[9] the mass for the living and the dead,[10] the Baptismal service,[11] and the preparation of holy water before mass.[12] The formula for these blessings of salt goes back ultimately to the Gregorian Sacramentary of the ninth century.[13]

The encomium of salt which runs through this poem is easily understood if we suppose that the mayor to whom it was addressed was a member of the Company of Salters. This will help us toward establishing the occasion of the poem since we may now limit ourselves to those mayors who were members of the Salters' Company. But the Salters did not often have a mayor chosen from their number, in fact it was a mere accident that placed them among the Twelve Livery Companies[14] from whom it was the custom to select the mayor. According to Stowe there were four

[7] *Historia Scholastica, Exodus* Cap. XXXII (*Patrologia*, Vol. 198, col. 1699).

[8] Lange, *Commentary on Exodus* (Tr. by C. M. Mead, 1876, p. 60)

[9] J. Gage, *Archaeologia*, Vol. XXV, pp. 235-274.

[10] *York Breviary*, 1883, Vol. II, column 45 (Surtees Society, Vol. LXXV).

[11] Bromyard, *Summa Praedicantium*, 1586, Vol. I, p. 293a, 365a.

[12] *Salisbury Processions and Ceremonies* (ed. Chr. Wordsworth, 1901), pp. 18, 19, 73.

[13] *Gregorian Sacramentary* (Henry Bradshaw Soc. Vol. 49, 1915, pp. 53, 159, 219.

[14] G. Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London*, 1908, p. 55.

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Salter Mayors during the sixteenth century: Sir Thomas Pargitor, 1530; John Cootes, 1542; Sir Ambrose Nicholas, 1575; Sir W. Web, 1592.[15] Of these, however, the last two are evidently too late for our purpose, since the copy of these verses in the Trinity College manuscript is written in a hand of the early sixteenth century. Accordingly, in determining the date of the pageant for which this poem was composed, our choice lies between 1530-1 and 1542-3.

The fact that the verses are addressed to the "Protector of the comyn welle" might at first suggest a date subsequent to 1547, the year in which Somerset assumed the title of Protector. But it is to be noted: (1) that Somerset did not style himself Protector of the Commonwealth, (2) that the person thus addressed is more definitely described in the phrase "your mayralte," (3) that the phrases employed are highly vague and rhetorical, as indeed might be expected in a message proceeding from Apollo or some other mythological divinity. Probably, therefore, by "the most noble Senature . . . Protector of the comyn welle" we are to understand merely the Lord Mayor, guardian of the city and vicegerent under the celestial ruler who is represented as speaking.

Although these verses were designed for some festival in honor of a Lord Mayor, the reference which they contain to the end of winter and approach of spring makes it impossible to connect them with the pageant at the mayor's inauguration, since this took place on the twenty-ninth of October. However, in the sixteenth century pageants were not confined to the Lord Mayor's day; they were held on every grand occasion: "to meet the king or his guests on their entry into the city from Westminster or from abroad,"[16] or to celebrate a victory. Hall describes many of these pageants in his *Chronicle*, but he makes no mention of any occurring during the month of March in either 1531 or 1542. Accordingly, we are left entirely without evidence as to the particular

[15] *Survey of London*, new edition by C. C. Kingsford, 1908, II, 178. In another place Stowe mentions the monument of "Sir Richard Chawry, Saltar, Mayor 1509" (I, 346), from which it might be supposed that there was a fifth Salter mayor in the 16th century. But Chawry served as Mayor in 1494, and 1509 is the year of his death, as is confirmed by the record of his will (Cf. *Calendar of Wills, Court of Hustings, London*, 1288-1688, Ed. R. R. Sharpe, 1890, p. 614.)

[16] W. C. Hazlitt, *The Livery Companies of London*, 1892, p. 46.

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occasion for which these verses were composed, although possibly this information might be supplied by examining the records of the Salters' Company.[17]

In conclusion, the relation of this fragment to other records of the Lord Mayor's pageants may be noted briefly, though few descriptions of these early pageants have survived. Hall describes an exhibition which the Lord Mayor's Company was called upon to make in 1533 to celebrate Anne Boleyn's journey from Greenwich to Westminster, "as they used to dooe when the Maior is presented at Westminster on the morowe after Symon and Iude" (p. 789). In the records of the Ironmongers for 1566 there is given the first detailed account of a regular Lord Mayor's Show.[18] But the first text of a pageant, "that has been handed down belongs to the mayoralty of Sir Thomas Rowe merchant Tailor (1568) and consists of a dozen verses spoken by four boys."[19] "The Device of the Pageant borne before Woolstone Dixi, Lord Maior of the Citie of London," 1585, by George Peele, gives for the first time the speeches of the characters in the pageant.[20] Therefore, the fragment before us is a new and early record of a Lord Mayor's pageant.

This investigation, then, establishes three things in regard to this sixteenth century poem: it is a part of a pageant presented before a Salter Mayor of London, either Sir Thomas Pargitor 1530, or Sir John Cootes 1542; it is another record of the pageants of the Salter Company to be added to that of 1591, and it is an earlier text than that of 1568 hitherto considered the earliest known text of a Lord Mayor's pageant.

ELIZABETH D. ADAMS.

Bryn Mawr College.

[17] The only history of the Company of Salters that has been written is that by Thomas Gillespie, "compiled from various authors by an old Salter" (London, 1827). I have been unable to discover a copy of this book in this country. However, it is a brief account and would probably afford little information relating to our present inquiry.

[18] W. Herbert, *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, 1837, Vol. I, p. 199.

[19] G. Unwin, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

[20] F. W. Fairholt, *Lord Mayors' Pageants.* (Percy Soc., Vol. X.) 1843, p. 24.

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1. Germ. **and-drēdan* 'dred' is, according to Torp, *Nord. Tid.* XVI, 146 f. and Fick III⁴, 102, from **and-hrēdan:* ON. *hráðа*, 'erschrecken.' If that were so, we might expect to find some trace of W. Germ. **hrādan*, 'dred' at least in compounds without *and-*, but no **hrādan* has come down to us. On the other hand we hav evidence for W. Germ. **drādan*, 'dred, fear' in OE. *on-, ā-drādan*, 'fear, dred,' *of-drādd*, 'afraid,' OS. *an-drādan*, 'fürchten,' OHG. *in-trātan*, id. These ar from a root **dhrēdh-*, 'be startled, fear,' with which compare **dhrōdh-* in Gr. **θρώσσει · φοβεῖται** ('fears'), **ἔθρωσσεν · ἐκινεῖτο** (Aesch.).

2. NHG. *lugen*, 'spähend schauen,' OHG. *luogēn* is regarded as of doutful origin in Kluge and in Weigand. An old connection, referd to in Kluge, adopted by Zupitza, *Germ. Gutt.* 209, and approved by Brugmann, *Gdr. der vgl. Gram.*², II, 3, p. 341, is with Skt. *lakš*, 'bemerken.'

Of this combination one is constraind to say:

Weshalb in die Weite schweifen, wenn das Gute liegt so nah?

For *lugen* is plainly related to *liegen*, as Schade, *Ad. Wb.*², 578, surmises. OHG. *luogēn* is not simply influenst by (cf. Fick III⁴, 370) but derived from *luog, luoga*, 'Lagerhöhle des Wildes, Höhle, Schlupfwinkel, Versteck': OE. *lōg*, 'place,' *lōgian*, 'place; portion out, arrange,' MDu. *loech*, 'place; dwelling; hole, dungeon,' *loegen*, 'place, arrange.'

OHG. *luogēn*, 'aus einem Verstecke hervorsehen,' belongs to *luog*, 'Versteck' just as OHG. *lāgēn, lāgōn* 'auflauern; nachstellen; wonach trachten' belongs to *lāga*, 'Lage; lauerndes Liegen,' and as Gr. **λοχάω**, 'lie in wait, watch, waylay' to **λόχος** 'ambush, a place for lying in wait, lurking-place, lair; a lying in wait.' For meaning compare Lat. *insidior*, 'lie in ambush, lie in wait for, watch for': *insidiae*, 'ambush,' *insideo*, 'sit in or upon'; NHG. *lauern*, 'worauf heimlich aufpassen,' MHG. *lūren* 'lauern': *lūre*, 'Lauer, Hinterhalt.'

3. OS. *lōkoian*, 'blicken,' MDu. *loecken*, 'kijken, turen, gluren,' 'look, glower,' OE. *lōcian*, 'look, see,' with *tō, intō*, 'belong,' ME.

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lōken, 'look keep, observe,' NE. *look,* probably belong to *lugen* with Germ. *k* from pre-Germ. *-ghn-*.

4. OHG. *mand(a)wāri,* 'mitis, mansuetus,' occurring *Tatian* 22, 9; 67, 9; 116, 3, is divided by Sievers *man-dwāri,* as if connected with OE. *geþwāre,* 'peaceful, gentle.' But in that case what is *man-?* I think it more probable that the word should be divided *mand-wāri.*

The first part is then from Germ. **manþa-,* 'mild, gentle' in OS. *māðmundi,* OHG. *mammunti,* 'sanftmütig, freundlich, mild,' perhaps related to Lat. *mānus* 'bonus,' *immānis,* 'fierce, wild, monstrous.'

The second part is from Germ. **wēria-,* 'agreeing, frendly' in ON. *vârr,* 'freundlich, angenehm,' OHG. *milti-wāri,* 'sanft, mitis,' *ala-wāri,* 'freundlich, gütig,' Goth. *un-wērjan,* 'unwillig sein': OHG. *wāra,* 'foedus, pactum,' OE. *wār,* 'agreement, treaty, faith, frendship,' etc.

5. NE. *shilly-shally,* 'act in an irresolute or undecided manner, hesitate,' *adv.* 'in an irresolute or hesitating manner,' *sb.* 'indecision, irresolution, foolish trifling' is derived by secondary ablaut, after the analogy of such forms as *dilly-dally, filly-fally,* from *shally-shally* 'irresolutely.' For this the improbable explanation has been given that it is for *shall I? shall I?* It is rather a derivativ of NE. dial. *shale,* 'walk crookedly or awkwardly; stagger; shamble; glide, slope, slant, move in a slanting direction,' whence *shallock,* 'idle about, slouch, move slowly, trailing the feet from laziness,' *sb.* 'an idle, dilatory, or gossiping habit.' The ultimate origin is OE. *sceolh* 'wry, oblique.'

6. NE. dial. *shilly-shally,* 'weak, delicate; foolish, empty-braind; poor, inferior' is a derivativ of dial. *shill,* 'thin, poor,' ME. *schalowe,* 'thin, shallow,' NE. *shallow,* dial. *shall,* NHG. *schal.* In English these two groups hav influenst each other in meaning.

FRANCIS A. WOOD.

University of Chicago.

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REVIEWS

A Practical Introduction to French. By L. H. ALEXANDER. New York: Oxford University Press, 1916.

A Complete French Course. By C. A. CHARDENAL. Revised and rewritten by Maro S. Brooks. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1916.

Dr. Alexander's elementary grammar is intended for the first and second years of high schools and for the first year in colleges, and is meant above all to be a practical book.

The distinctive features of the work are as follows: 1) The nomenclature suggested by the Report of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature is used exclusively, and an outline of it is printed on pages xvii-xxi. 2) The essential facts of French pronunciation are given graded treatment in the body of the book. The phonetic symbols and the transcription of the French words in the first seven lessons are found in the Appendix, and all the words in the French-English vocabulary at the end of the book are also presented phonetically. 3) Within the 42 lessons the fundamental facts of French grammar are taken up twice. In the second part (18 lessons) the commoner irregular verbs are studied, and the exercises are based on three French stories (*La Chapelle blanche* of Jules Lemaître, *Les Petits pâtés* of Alphonse Daudet, and *L'Enlèvement de la redoute* of Prosper Mérimée). In addition, there is a review of the grammatical facts contained in the first part (24 lessons), each grammatical topic being presented as a unit.

The French in the examples is generally good, a state of things not too common to merit mention. The exercises are satisfactory; they are not of the kind found in the older grammars for beginners, and they do illustrate the grammatical facts they are supposed to exemplify. A feature worthy of praise is the division into two parts which makes possible a more satisfactory review than is the case when the students simply have to read again familiar rules. It might be said that the too summary reference to topics treated in Part 1 has its inconvenience; the repetition of the important facts in the proper place in Part 2 would have eliminated troublesome turning of pages and made a thorough review more probable. The texts given in the second part will obviate one of the chief difficul-

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ties encountered at this stage: the use of insufficiently annotated texts. In the simplest texts the student finds a good many forms of irregular verbs and other facts with which he is unfamiliar after five to six weeks of study; the notes to the selections and the irregular verbs taken up in this part will enable the average student to approach profitably a little later one of the texts available.

Mention should be made of the relatively large number of unnecessary abbreviations in the text, of the abrupt manner in which some paragraphs are begun, and also of the rather colloquial tone of some of the questions.

The lessons devoted to pronunciation are good. The addition of phonetic transcriptions in the lesson vocabularies might have been advantageous. The transcription of the French contained in the lessons on pronunciation is not uniformly satisfactory. See the following: p. 236: **wa-gõ** (wagon), p. 237, last exercise: lurd (lourd), **ʃɛr** (chère), fla:m (flamme), p. 238, Lesson II, ex.: **ʃar-ʒra** (chargera), e **ʃa** (les chats), p. 239, Lesson III: pɔ:l (Paul), a-matœ̃:r (amateur), p. 241, Lesson V: ã-fi-te-a:tr (amphithéâtre), p. 242: si ze-lɛ̃v (six élèves), p. 243: **ʃwa-si** (choisi), **mar-ʃe** (marché) which is given as **mar-ʃe** in the vocabulary, p. 244: **ʃwa-si-se** (choisissez). Some of these are probably typographical errors.

Page 19: The statement that, in linking, "f = v: only in neuf heures (= nine hours, nine o'clock)" is incorrect or not clear enough; cf. the transcription of *neuf élèves* and *neuf hommes* on p. 242. Pp. 48-49: In the summary on the partitive nouns, it is stated that the definite article is not used after negations. It might be advisable to change to 'general negations.' P. 91: "N'as-tu pas rendu le livre?—Mais si, (je l'ai rendu)." The answer "Yes, I have (returned it)" is not quite strong enough. P. 116: Is it well to translate *mètre* by *yard?* P. 144: "Pouvez-vous nous y renseigner?" translated by "Can you give us any information?" is doubtful French. P. 147: *Renonçassiez* appears in black type in the Exercise, and there is no note about the fact that such forms are hardly ever used in the spoken language. P. 151: *Allassiez.* See preceding note. P. 167: The wording of the rule that most names of countries not forming a phrase like les Etats-Unis are feminine is not clear. It might give the student the impression that le Portugal, le Japon, le Mexique, le Canada are the only exceptions. P. 193: The note on "ne faisaient qu'en rire" reads: "*Se rire de* or *se moquer de* means *to laugh at, make sport of.*" As there is no

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reflexive in the text, and as *rire de* has the same meaning as *se rire,* the pronoun ought to be put in parentheses or deleted. P. 207: *finestra* is given as the etymon of *fenêtre.* P. 217: Note 3 translates the axiom "non bis in idem" by "not twice in the same place." Cf. the captain's utterance, "Vous en voilà quitte pour la *journée.*" The meaning in the language of courts is "not to try twice on the same charge," but it may be that Mérimée took it to mean here "in the same day." P. 222: Note 5 reads: "*Pas* is used with *pouvoir, savoir, cesser, oser* for emphasis." Add: 'in negations.'

VOCABULARY. FRENCH-ENGLISH. au dela: spell au delà. divertir: the e is open. extase: the a is close. gout: spell goût. mouvoir: correct in transcription to a:r. murir: spell mûrir. présager: the s is voiced. présenter: the s is voiced. rigueur: add f. after brackets. se: pronounced s`. singulièrement: delete nasal mark on second e in the transcription. temps: in fifth line, correct to fait-il? trente: nasal mark on a in transcription.

ENGLISH-FRENCH. alongside: second line, read à côté. disappear: disparaître. eagerly: avec empressement. group: groupe is masculine. once: second line, read sur-le-champ. over: par-dessus. play: add f. after pièce. protect: "être à couvert de" means "to be protected." receive: read recevoir. street-cars: read street-car.[1]

Mr. Brooks's revision of Chardenal's Complete French Course appears in its second edition, and the well-known grammar has been still further improved and modernized. In its new shape, it will doubtless continue to render good service and keep its place among the more usable works of its class. The book has been apparently totally reset, and in spite of some additions is about thirty pages shorter than the first edition. This thorough change of the typography has given excellent results. The general arrangement and method are the same; but a somewhat important change occurs in the exercises for translation, which have been rearranged so as to

[1] The following minor errors of the printer have been found: p. 48, sec. 53: grand'faim; p. 51, sec. 57, 6 lines from bottom: will; p. 60, vocabulary: irrégulier; p. 72, sec. 71: camarade; p. 73, sec. 73: après, grand' faim; p. 79, 3 ll. fr. bot.: père; p. 82, l. 2: été, l. 5: grand' peur; p. 114, ex., l. 1: se; p. 117, grand' soif; p. 136: desquels de ces rayons, etc.; p. 143, 4 ll. fr. end of section 127: time; p. 171, l. 2: delete comma; p. 172, l. 8: abricots; p. 178, l. 5 in reading text: Qu'est-ce que; p. 227, ex., 4: statues; p. 252: j'eusse rompu; p. 252, sec. 197: to sow.

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give more material for conversational work. In conformity with the DeVitis *Spanish Grammar* published by the same firm, a proverb or saying is given at the beginning of each lesson, and twenty illustrations of buildings or scenes in Paris and France add somewhat to the attractiveness of the book. The vocabularies are printed on the same pages, the French-English one at the top and the English-French at the bottom of the page. Six more selections have been added to the Selections for Reading. The statements (p. xvii) that "*g* before *e*, *i* and *s* has the sound of *s* in *pleasure*" and that (p. xxiii) "*s* and *x* have [in linking] the sound of *x*" ought to be corrected.[2]

GUSTAV GRUENBAUM.

Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea*. Edited with Introduction, Appendices, Notes and Vocabulary by Frederick W. C. Lieder, Ph. D. New York, Oxford University Press, 1917.

Um etwaiger Missdeutung meiner Kritik vorzubeugen, muss ich zuvor konstatieren, dass ich selber soeben eine Ausgabe von Goethes *Hermann und Dorothea* abgeschlossen habe, die binnen kurzem erscheinen wird. Aus eben dem Grunde würde ich es vermieden haben, die vorliegende Arbeit zu besprechen, wenn es meine Absicht wäre, über diesselbe in herkömmlicher Weise zu berichten. Es liegt mir fern, für meine eigene Arbeit Platz machen zu wollen; denn die beiden stehen sich, wenigstens der Anlage nach, nicht im Wege. Noch habe ich irgend einen andern heimlichen Grund, auf die sorgfältige, fleissige Arbeit Lieders schlecht zu sprechen zu sein. Es handelt sich hier vielmehr um ein Prinzip, betreffs dessen man je nach individueller Stellungnahme mit mir übereinstimmen oder differieren wird.

Die XLIX + 315 Seiten des in Frage stehenden Buches sind in folgender Weise verteilt: 3 Seiten entfallen auf Biographie, 13 auf Entstehung, Hintergrund und literarhistorische Stellung des Werkes; dann folgt auf 10 Seiten eine metrische Abhandlung, auf

[2] The following misprints have been noted: XIV, l. 8: côté; XVII, l. 16: chimère; XX, 5 ll. from the bottom: exemple, exception; XXI, l. 11: inhabité; p. 250, l. 14: étaient; p. 250, l. 9 fr. bot.: paraît; p. 250, l. 3 fr. bot.: continua-t-il; p. 251, l. 11 fr. bot.: écu; l. 3 fr. bot.: présente; p. 252, l. 5: montrez-m'en; p. 252, l. 16: maître; p. 258, l. 8 fr. bot.: c'est.

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4 Seiten eine Bestimmung des Gedichtes als episches Idyll oder idyllisches Epos; die übrigen 8½ Seiten der Einleitung sind der Wirkung und den Urteilen der Zeitgenossen und Nachfahren zugeteilt. Gut gedruckt und mit den Rambergschen Illustrationen geziert, schliesst sich die Dichtung selbst auf 110 Seiten an. Ein Anhang (1½ S.) gibt die wichtigsten Daten aus Goethes Leben in chronologischer Tafel, einer (1½ S.) die Elegie, einer (1½ S.) die Salzburgergeschichte; Anhang IV enthält aus Humboldts Untersuchung das Kapitel: Unterschied zwischen Idyll und Epopöe (3 S.), Anhang V August Wilhelm von Schlegels Besprechung in Verkürzung (12 S.), Anhang VI "Familiar Quotations from *Hermann und Dorothea*" (6 S.), Anhang VII "Selected Bibliography." Die Anmerkungen und ein Vokabular bilden den Beschluss.

Stichproben überzeugten mich von der Zuverlässigkeit, Sauberkeit, Gründlichkeit und Selbständigkeit der Textwiedergabe und des Apparates. Trotzdem glaube ich dass die Ausgabe keine andere Existenzberechtigung hat als die, der Oxford Serie (meine eigene Wertherausgabe darin verbietet mir ein Wort des Lobes) einen neuen Text zu erobern. Ist das aber ein Grund, den zahlreichen, zum Teil ausgezeichneten amerikanischen Ausgaben (ich denke besonders an die von Hatfield und Thomas) eine neue hinzuzufügen? Wie lange soll dieses Konkurrenzwettrennen der Verleger noch fortgesetzt werden?

Nur eine Einschränkung des Gesichtspunktes auf eine besondere Art der Behandlung oder Stufe des Unterrichts könnte eine neue Ausgabe rechtfertigen. Statt dessen wird das Absatzgebiet hier auf *die* Weise zu erweitern gesucht, dass die Anmerkungen für ganz elementare Zwecke mit ausführlichen Übersetzungen versehen werden, Einleitungen und Anhänge dagegen bewusst für vorgerückte, zum Teil sehr weit vorgerückte Studenten behandelt sind. Wenn Lieder für gewisse Schwierigkeiten (inverted order, use of subjunctive, omission of auxiliary verb, and word-order) in den Anmerkungen entsprechende Hilfe gibt, so ist das durchaus lobenswert, wenigstens in gewissen Grenzen. Wenn aber, weil manche Schüler das Werk bereits in der *Highschool* gelesen hätten, für diese ein Wiederlesen, selbst als Privatlektüre, ermöglicht werden solle durch Hinzufügung schwieriger Anhänge, so bedeutet das weiter nichts, als dass für *sie* eine Ausgabe wie die Vorliegende zu elementar ist.

Auch im Einzelnen zeigt sich dieser Widerspruch. Die Bio-

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graphie beschränkt sich auf Daten. Den Anfänger führt sie nicht ein in den Geist des Goethischen Lebens, der Vorgerückte muss zu ausführlicherer Darstellung greifen. Ein paar Beispiele: "In Sesenheim, a quiet, dreamy hamlet near Strassburg, Goethe met Friederike Brion; she exerted an influence which is reflected in many of his poems and a number of his other works." Wer ist Friederike Brion? Wie konnte sie diesen Einfluss ausüben? Dem *High-school*-schüler würde wenigstens der Hinweis auf *das Heidenröslein* eine hoffentlich bekannte Grösse einsetzen, der vorgerückte Schüler dürfte schon etwas mehr verlangen.

"When we remember how many years Goethe was occupied with the composition of some of his works—*Faust, Wilhelm Meister, Dichtung und Wahrheit*—we must marvel at the spontaneity and rapidity of workmanship." Wer ist "we"? Der *Highschool*-schüler? Keines von diesen Werken (ausser das *Faustfragment*) ist zuvor erwähnt.

Was bedeutet die Zurückführung Dorotheas auf Lili, wenn es bei dem baren, biographischen Modellsuchen bleibt? Und dürfte dann der Anfänger nicht mindestens etwas mehr zu wissen verlangen als das "Lili Schoenemann, to whom he had once been engaged"? Für den, der mit Goethes Leben schon bekannt ist, kann doch diese Erklärung nicht gegeben sein. Warum sollten aber selbst für diesen Henriette von Egloffstein und Bäbe Schulthess als Gewährsmänner genannt werden, wo doch sonst, der Ökonomie wegen, Namen wie die Frau von Steins, Christianes, selbst Schillers wegbleiben?

Kann man Homers Epen für den Durchschnittsschüler als wohlbekannte Grössen voraussetzen? Warum dann Voss drei ganze Seiten gönnen? Sind aber selbst dem Studenten im *Seniorcollege Mahabharata* und *Ramayana* und *Kalevala* nicht höchstens Namen? (Aus Furcht, mich zu verraten, unterdrücke ich hier eine kleine boshafte Frage an den Herausgeber.) Mit gutem Gewissen kann ich dagegen dem Schüler verzeihen, nicht zu wissen, wer Vater Gleim ist, falls er nicht gerade einen "Survey course" gehabt hat. Und ob ihm die Diskussion über die Klassifizierung des Epos seine literarische Bedeutung viel näher bringen dürfte?

Ist es endlich nötig, bis Opitz und Spee (mit Doppel-e, bitte!) zurückzugehn, um Goethes Hexameter zu erklären? Sonst ist gerade dies Kapitel gut gelungen; aber der Anfänger wird kaum viel damit anfangen können. Beide Klassen von Schülern dürften

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die Besprecher der Goethischen Dichtung, die in der *Neuen Nürnbergischen Gelehrten Zeitung* vom Dezember 1797 und in den *Neuesten Critischen Nachrichten* (Greifswald) vom Februar 1798 zu Worte kommen, nicht allzusehr begeistern, besonders wenn deren Weisheit von dieser Art ist: "a poem which in its class is an unsurpassable masterpiece." Und den Vergleich zwischen Vossens und Goethes Hexameter in der *Neuen Allgemeinen Deutschen Bibliothek* hat wohl die Nachwelt zu Gunsten Goethes ein für allemal entschieden. Auch die völlig willkürliche Blütenlese der spätern Kritiker würde niemanden davon überzeugen, dass *Hermann und Dorothea* "genuine artistic merit" hat, zumal wenn George Henry Lewes, "the eminent biographer of Goethe," darin als H a u p t kronzeuge figuriert.

Soweit die Einleitung. Von den Anhängen ist die Chronologie, die Elegie, die Salzburgerepisode und die Schlegelsche Würdigung für vorgeschrittene Studenten berechtigt, das Kapitel aus Humboldt, dem gegenüber der Herausgeber selbst Worte wie "formidable" und "abstract" gebraucht, wäre schon eher zu beanstanden. Wie man aber eine Bibliographie "selected" nennen kann, deren Kenntnis einem Doktoranden alle Ehre machen würde, wenn er über Goethe gearbeitet hätte, und in der unter den "best known German accounts" auch Abeken, Bode, Döring, Erdmannsdörffer, Fischer, Förster, Goeschel, Keil, Kestner, Rosenkranz, Schaefer, Spiess, Thalmayr, Voss, Wolff und Zarncke erscheinen, geht über meine Begriffe; während andrerseits unter den Essays über *Hermann und Dorothea* die wunderschöne Darstellung von Stapfer fehlt!

Noch ein Wort über Appendix VI, "familiar quotations." "Familiar" verdient doch wohl nur genannt zu werden, was sich wirklich im Volksmunde eingebürgert hat. Dazu zählen aber entschieden Verse wie z. B. die folgenden kaum:

> Was die Neugier nicht tut! So rennt und läuft nun ein jeder,
> Um den traurigen Zug der armen Vertriebnen zu sehen.

oder:

> Fürwahr, ich habe genug am Erzählten.

oder:

> Denn ein wanderndes Mädchen ist immer von schwankendem Rufe.

Bei manchen andern wird die Wahl vom individuellen Geschmack abhängen. Die Schwierigkeit liegt meines Erachtens

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nach hier: Fast alle Äusserungen der Personen, selbst wenn sie auf den ersten Blick hin allgemeingültig erscheinen, sind so individuell gefärbt so aus dem Charakter des Sprechenden heraus empfunden, dass sie nicht in dem Sinne als Sentenzen gebraucht werden können, wie wir das z. B. bei Schiller und besonders im *Tell* finden.

Das gehört aber eigentlich nicht mehr hierher. Mir ist es, wie gesagt, um das Prinzip zu tun. Ist es ökonomisch erlaubt, immer von neuem Ausgabe auf Ausgabe zu häufen, wenn im Grunde kein Bedürfnis dafür vorliegt? Ist es pädagogisch nicht eine schreiende Sünde, "des allzualten, allzuwirren Wissens auf unsern Nacken vielgehäufte Last" auf junge Schultern weiterzuwälzen? Oder wenn dies Wissen für sie gar nicht bestimmt ist, sollte es nicht wichtig genug sein, dem Anfänger mit einer fasslichen, seinen Horizont nicht überschreitenden Abhandlung an die Hand zu gehn, ihn wirklich einzuführen, statt ihn abzuschrecken? Denn ein wirres Zuviel spornt nicht an, es lähmt nur.

Auf der andern Seite darf man doch dem vorgerückten Studenten nicht alles Denken ersparen, indem man ihm die elementarsten Dinge einfach einlöffelt. Er wird sich sowieso dagegen sträuben und mit dem Unnötigen auch das Nötige unbeachtet lassen. Für ihn gelten weder die Übersetzungen, noch die grammatischen Winke, noch die elementare Einleitung, die selbst für ein Repetitorium zu farblos ist.

Ich greife aus den vielen Beispielen, welche beweisen können, wie unmöglich es ist, zween Herren zu dienen, i. e. zwei verschiedenen Klassen von Schülern, nur noch ein Beispiel heraus:

Anmerkung zu I, 86: "The distinction between Verstand and Vernunft is due to the influence of Kant." Anmerkung zu I, 88: "Lockte die Neugier nicht, if curiosity did not entice! Note the inverted order to express condition with 'if' omitted."

Quousque tandem!

ERNST FEISE.

University of Wisconsin.

Heyse and his Predecessors in the Theory of the Novelle, by Robert M. Mitchell, Ph. D. Frankfurt a/M., 1915. [Ottendorfer Series of Germanic Monographs, No. 4].

After showing how the word *Novelle* became naturalized in Germany between 1523 and 1798, Dr. Mitchell traces "the develop-

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ment of the theory of the *Novelle* in Germany from its beginnings to what is, for the present at least, its culmination in Heyse's justly famous critical statement." For this purpose he divides his work into three different periods.

I. From the Schlegels to Young Germany, 1798-1834: By declaring "that the theme of the *Novelle* must be novel and striking," A. W. Schlegel gave "the theory of the Schlegels *in nuce.*" He did this in 1798. Three years later his brother declared the species should combine '*Ironie*' with novelty in theme or in treatment, in which Dr. Mitchell sees paradox or extreme contrast, *i. e.*, "an ending which one is not led to expect from the beginning." Its style, moreover, should be that of the cultivated raconteur. Without clearly distinguishing between the *Novelle* and the novel, A. W. Schlegel later showed that the latter contains gradual development of character and plot, while the former eliminates all but the essential. This factor and the presence of 'decisive turning points' made him consider the *Novelle* like the drama. Once more he demanded that the theme should be some unusual and unique, yet typical and creditable occurrence. And the medium should be prose. In 1827 Goethe defined the *Novelle* as "eine sich ereignete, unerhörte Begebenheit." These words, however, were only the result of an investigation of over thirty years. They were based upon the following observations: the *Novelle,* novel in treatment or in theme and dealing with an unusual occurrence within the limits of real life, should have a theme single and epoch-making for the action, a structure approaching the unity of the poem, a development that leads toward extreme contrast, and the style of the raconteur in cultivated society. Two years later Tieck differentiated the *Novelle* from other prose tales. 'The turning point,' single and singular, formed, in his mind, the clear and decisive element: it sets the species apart from others and gives each story its individuality. Toward the end of the period Theodor Mundt based his theory upon a comparison of the *Novelle* with the novel. The novel, consisting of an indefinite series of events, appeared to him like a "straight line that begins or ends more or less indefinitely"; the *Novelle,* on the other hand, with its action "concentrated upon a central theme which imperatively demands one certain definite close and no other," he found like a "circle drawn about a center which controls the course of the line at every

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point and determines the end absolutely." The one, moreover, has fixt characters, the other develops them.

II. From Young Germany to Heyse, 1834-1871: Hettner alone, by restating Tieck's theory, did the question justice; unlike the latter, however, he pointed also at the difference between the *Novelle* and the novel. Thruout the whole period Tieck had much influence, both in theory and in practice.

III. Heyse, 1871-1912: Without adding anything new or important, Heyse shaped the thoughts of his predecessors in a form that has stood the test of critics to this day. Like Mundt's, Heyse's theory rests chiefly upon a distinction between the novel and the *Novelle*. They differ in subject matter: the one treats "die Geschichte, nicht die Zustände, das Ereignis, nicht die sich in ihm abspielende Weltanschauung"; the other gives "ein Kultur- und Gesellschaftsbild im Groszen, ein Weltbild im Kleinen." The former concentrates all light upon the central theme; the latter shows "ein gruppenweises Ineinandergreifen oder ein konzentrisches Sichumschlingen verschiedener Lebenskreise." As Mundt had used the simile of the straight line and the circle, Heyse summed up his theory in the two words: silhouette and falcon, the former like Mundt's circle, the latter much like Tieck's 'decisive turning point.'

Dr. Mitchell's work consists, for the most part, of a collection of quotations, arranged in chronological order and accompanied by comments and interpretations. A peculiar mixture of German and English is the result. The leaps from the one language to the other are so sudden and frequent that the reader is, at times, compelled to pass from German to English and again to German, or vice versa, in one and the same sentence. Such transitions make the reading anything but pleasing and frequently rather hard to follow.[1] Many of the quotations could have been profitably put at the foot of the page. With such an arrangement Dr. Mitchell would have had a better opportunity for a more connected exposition of each critic's contribution, as well as for more original work of his own. And the treatise would then have been hardly so long (107 pages). According to the general plan of the book the reader usually gets a large part of a contribution by way of anticipation,

[1] An illustration of this point is Mr. Goodnight's review in the *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, xv, 633.

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then follows the quotation, and finally the author sums it all up again in his own words. But that is not all, for another summing-up is given in the Conclusion. This waste of time and space appears at its worst in Dr. Mitchell's treatment of the Schlegels, where a comparison of the two contributors is yet added to the above scheme.

The nature of the subject and the method of treatment kept Dr. Mitchell from giving much that is original or new. He traces the theory of the *Novelle* and lets the critics speak for themselves. So much so, that fourteen pages of the thirty-two on Young Germany, for instance, are made up of quotations. And the same is true of the chapter on Heyse, for it consists, to a very large degree, of a close analysis of Heyse's Introduction to Vol. I of the *Novellenschatz*. The author never forgot the aim of his investigation and stuck to his subject from start on finish. The treatment of Spielhagen, running like a colored line thru the entire book, now in the notes, now in the body of the discussion, alone seems peculiar. If Dr. Mitchell wisht to treat him, he should have been treated where he belonged. And Spielhagen, not Wieland, was the excuse for pulling in Robert Louis Stevenson on p. 22.

Over a dozen misprints came to my notice. The absence of a bibliography and an index of names is much to be regretted.

On the whole, Dr. Mitchell did his work very well according to his general outline and scheme. He gives a good idea of the development of the theory of the *Novelle* in Germany.

G. C. L. Riemer.

Bucknell University.

The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Works to the Italian Works of Boccaccio. By Hubertis M. Cummings. Princeton Dissertation. University of Cincinnati Studies, Vol. x, Part 2, 1916.

This is a wide and tempting field. No one interested in Chaucer, interested, indeed, in the story of English narrative-development, can read the title of Dr. Cummings' dissertation without a quickened and pleasurable expectancy. We have waited long for a thorough discussion of this subject.

And, as we have waited, our requirements have increased. It

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is no longer sufficient that passages of Italian and of English should be paralleled, however exhaustively, nor that similes should be pursued beyond the farthest bounds of Italy to a yet remoter source. It is not even sufficient for us that the passivity of Troilus' character, the resiliency of Pandarus, in both Boccaccio and Chaucer, should be argued with painstaking care, and proved by citations. Our thoughts have widened with the process of the suns. He who would command our allegiance as he discusses the indebtedness of Chaucer to Boccaccio must do far more than would have been accepted twenty-five, or even fifteen, years ago. He must present the line-parallels, indeed, and he must analyze the plot and character-borrowings, but he must do far more than that. There is a debt of the letter, and there is a debt of the method and the spirit, and a poet may repeat the words of another without tuning himself to the borrowed note, or he may alter the key of his being and doing under such an influence. Where did Chaucer stand at the moment when Boccaccio's two longer poems became known to him? What were his conceptions of narrative movement, of character-grouping and contrast, of suggestion, restraint, and irony, when the great Italian narrator's influence made itself felt? With what that was already in Chaucer, of technical and of spiritual, did Boccacio unite or differ? Did the new incentive find or not find in the English poet something that was already stirring towards these ends?

That is what we would know. And he who would answer these questions must be familiar with far more than the text of the two poets. One does not qualify for a monograph on Henry James by James alone. Neither is Chaucer a simple or a dependent person, for all his plain habit and unassuming manner. The student who would enlighten us on the relations between these two masters of narrative must not only have read and thought long in the French romances and fabliaux and many another field; he must see his subject from the angles of comparative literature and of the developing technique of narrative. Moreover, to that meticulous care in collecting, sifting, and arranging material which is supposedly German he must add the synthetizing vision, the clarity and felicity of expression, which are characteristic of the Frenchman, to whom the possession of language is an hourly joy. If he is without this latter, then let not the "debt" of one great artist to another tempt his effort.

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Dr. Cummings has passed slowly and carefully through the first of these duties, and reports his conclusions. He does not find evidence to support the contentions of Karl Young, C. G. Child, J. S. P. Tatlock, and Pio Rajna that the *Filocolo*, the *Amorosa Visione*, the *Ameto* or the *Corbaccio* was known to Chaucer. The arguments of these scholars seem to Dr. Cummings insufficiently based, and he sets forth with care his destructive criticism. The half of the book, nearly 100 pages, is then devoted to discussion of the *Filostrato* and the *Teseide*. A line-by-line consideration of Chaucer's verbal debt to the *Filostrato* is followed by a lengthy analysis of character-portraiture in the two poems, and here it is that Dr. Cummings falls short of his own ideal and ours. A critic who writes of Troilus' passivity—"No surprise will be occasioned by one's witnessing the decay of his resolution on absolute secrecy at all costs, when the cajolery of Pandarus comes to play upon it"—is not writing faultlessly. What shall we say of a writer who tells us that Troilus stood, "the sweet irony of youth revelling on his lips?"—that Cressida, "torn between the despair she felt for Troy and the vanity she felt at having the attentions of another gallant man, fell"?

That a piece of writing is a dissertation does not set it outside the pale of style. Simplicity at least it should possess, not pompous penury of expression. Dr. Cummings has given us a good deal of honest work in a limited portion of the wide field indicated by his title, and he has presented a small amount of conclusions, mainly negative, as to the shorter poems of Boccaccio and the "Lollius" *crux*.

ELEANOR PRESCOTT HAMMOND.

Chicago.

Bibliography of the Dramatic Works of Lope de Vega Carpio based upon the Catalogue of John Rutter Chorley. By HUGO A. RENNERT. *Revue Hispanique*, Tome XXXIII, pp. 1-284.

The triumvirate of Spanish writers has fared badly at the hands of bibliographers. Cervantes has been served best, but as for Calderón and Lope de Vega, he who would study their works must first prepare his own bibliography or test and revise the information provided in the unsatisfactory publications of Breymann and Professor Rennert. In 1904 the latter published a version of Chor-

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ley's bibliography in his *Life of Lope de Vega.* This I reviewed at some length in *Mod. Lang. Notes* (XXIV, 167-171, 198-204). Now we are provided with a new edition, which is in need of further revision. The following notes, based wholly on some early plays taken at random, will supply some of the necessary corrections. Some of the notes I owe to two of my students, Miss Anderson and Professor Lipari.

Arcadia (*La*). Rennert says that it is in P². This statement is not made in the previous edition. R. may be right (*cf.* p. 120 n.), but Menéndez y Pelayo states that it is not in the P. lists, and I fail to find it in my editions of 1773 and 1776.

Arenal (*El*) *de Sevilla.* This *is* in P. There *is* a 'gracioso': he is funny, and, in accordance with the usual formula, marries at the close of the play.

Atalanta (*La*). Why star this play? Under *Adonis y Venus* (mentioned in P.) there ought to be a cross reference to *La Atalanta.*

Contienda (*La*) *de García de Paredes.* In P. but not in P².

Cordovés (*El*) *valeroso, Pedro Carbonero.* Not in P², according to the list published on p. 122. In P. we have *Pedro Carbonero* (p. 106).

Francesilla (*La*). This play, in which the 'gracioso' appears for the first time according to Lope, was written in 1598. The date can easily be determined by allusions to events that occurred in that year. I take occasion here to announce that my pupil and colleague Professor Lipari has undertaken a study of the 'gracioso' in the Spanish drama.

Guzmanes (*Los*) *de Toral.* Not in P. If Restori's conjecture is well founded, this play is in P. under its second title.

Hermosura (*La*) *aborrecida.* Accessible in Hartzenbusch's edition, II, 95.

Locos (*Los*) *de Valencia.* This well-known play is also in H., I, 113.

Lo que pasa en una tarde. R. says "inedited (?)." The play was published by Petrof in 1906.

Maestro (*El*) *de danzar.* Elsewhere (p. 49), R. says there is no 'gracioso.'

Nacimiento (*El*) *de Ursón y Valentín.* Mentioned twice in P. Reference is there made to a second part.

Pastoral (*La*) *de Jacinto.* This whole paragraph needs to be

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revised. The matter is stated incorrectly in the *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 13 n. Montalván declared that this was Lope's first play in three acts.

Perro (*El*) *del hortelano.* The proverb is more correctly: *Como el perro del hortelano que ni come las berzas ni las deja comer á otro* (Covarrubias).

Pobreza (*La*) *estimada.* R. says: "In the concluding verses the alternative title is given as *La Riqueza mal nacida.*" Is it?

Prisión (*La*) *sin Culpa.* Tristán is a 'gracioso.'

Tres (*Los*) *Diamantes.* Allow me to do some proof-reading: "En fin ya somos casados [read: *cuñados*]. At this point Crispin comes forward with the question—"Quien llama?" This scene [read: *this one line*]—as far as the words . . . should be placed earlier [read: *later*], as at the end of [read: *in*]. . . ."

Vaquero (*El*) *de Morana.* Why insert pedantic misinformation from Sarmiento?

Virtud, Pobreza y Mujer. R. says, "The comedia must have been written after July 25, 1607, the date of Pedro Liñan's death." As it also refers to the expulsion of the Moors, it must have been written after 1609-1610.

MILTON A. BUCHANAN.

University of Toronto.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE INFLUENCE OF ENVIRONMENT IN *Le Père Goriot*

Émile Faguet in his volume on Balzac[1] criticizes the novelist for his lengthy descriptions, while assenting to his theory (as set forth in the preface of *La Comédie Humaine*, 1842) that character is the product of environment so far as to say (p. 60) *qu'il est essentiel pour faire connaître l'animal humain de me décrire son habitat et que la maison explique l'habitant.* He goes on to say, however, that often Balzac's descriptions of dwellings do not explain characters, taking as an illustration *Le Père Goriot* and its extended description of Mme. Vauquer's boarding-house:

Les personnages essentiels du *Père Goriot,* sont Goriot, Rastignac et Vautrin. Tous les trois sont à la pension Vauquer par suite des circonstances et la pension Vauquer n'a eu et n'a aucune espèce d'influence sur leur caractère et, par conséquent, est absolument

[1] Émile Faguet, *Balzac,* Paris, 1913, p. 59 f.

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inutile. La maison Vauquer n'explique uniquement que Mme Vauquer. Balzac dit lui-même: "Toute sa personne explique la pension, comme la pension implique sa personne." Oui bien, mais il n'y a qu'elle que la pension implique ou explique et elle est le personnage le moins important du roman. Dès lors la description est inutile. (P. 60.)

But it is not the correspondence of Mme Vauquer with her environment that is the most important application of Balzac's theory in this novel. The Maison Vauquer and its inmates are a portion of the environment of young Eugène de Rastignac, whose changing fortunes divide with the sorrows of Old Goriot the attention and sympathy of the reader. Balzac's older characters do not change when once their habits of life have become fixed. In the novel in question it is not Mme Vauquer, Old Goriot and Vautrin who develop, it is Eugène. Arriving unspoiled from the provinces, he has his eyes opened to Parisian life, and his life purposes and interests change as he becomes aware of the luxuries of life and the accepted means by which they were procured in the society of which he had recently become a part. It is by contrasting his home life and the Maison Vauquer with the elegance and comfort in which Mme de Beauséant, Mme de Restaud and Mme de Nucingen lived that he came to make his definite resolve to make his way in the world and procure for himself the same material satisfactions they possessed.

Eugène began, like other students, by envying the luxury of the occupants of the carriages on the Champs-Élysées, and by comparing it with the simplicity and financial distress of his own family in the provinces (*Le Père Goriot*, Lévy edition, p. 26). The first result, a very transitory one, was to arouse him to work: *Il s'était mis sous le charme d'une fausse énergie en voyant les splendeurs du monde* (p. 27). It was at Mme de Beauséant's that he caught his first glimpse of a luxurious interior: *Il allait donc voir pour la première fois les merveilles de cette élégance personnelle qui trahit l'âme et les mœurs d'une femme de distinction* (p. 56). Its effect upon him was immediate: *Le démon du luxe le mordit au cœur, la fièvre du gain le prit, la soif de l'or lui sécha la gorge* (p. 59). Returning to the Maison Vauquer, the importance of whose detailed description is now apparent, he was struck by the disagreeable contrast, and his ambition received a new impulse:

Arrivé rue Neuve-Sainte-Geneviève, il . . . vint dans cette salle à manger nauséabonde, où il aperçut, comme des animaux à un râtelier, les dix-huit convives en train de se repaître. Le spectacle de ces misères et l'aspect de cette salle lui furent horribles. La transition était trop brusque, le contraste trop complet, pour ne pas développer outre mesure chez lui le sentiment de l'ambition. D'un côté, les fraîches et charmantes images de la nature sociale la plus élégante, des figures jeunes, vives, encadrées par les mer-

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veilles de l'art et du luxe, des têtes passionnées, pleines de poésie; de l'autre, de sinistres tableaux bordés de fange, et des faces où les passions n'avaient laissé que leurs cordes et leur mécanisme. . . . Rastignac résolut d'ouvrir deux tranchées parallèles pour arriver à la fortune, de s'appuyer sur la science et sur l'amour, d'être un savant docteur et un homme à la mode (p. 70).

Mme de Beauseant invites Eugène to dinner, and the contrast again overwhelms him:

Mais, en voyant cette argenterie sculptée, et les mille recherches d'une table somptueuse, en admirant pour la première fois un service fait sans bruit, il était difficile à un homme d'ardente imagination de ne pas préférer cette vie constamment élégante à la vie de privations qu'il voulait embrasser le matin. Sa pensée le rejeta pendant un moment dans sa pension bourgeoise; il en eut une si profonde horreur, qu'il se jura de la quitter. . . . (pp. 103, 104).

His final conversion to the doctrine of material success comes with his establishment as Delphine's lover in the apartment which her father has furnished for them:

Il avait continuellement hésité à franchir le Rubicon parisien. . . . Néanmoins, ses derniers scrupules avaient disparu la veille, quand il s'était vu dans son appartement. En jouissant des avantages matériels de la fortune, . . . il avait dépouillé sa peau d'homme de province, et s'était doucement établi dans une position d'où il découvrait un bel avenir (p. 190).

It was therefore the effect of the contrast between his humble provincial home and impossible Parisian boarding-house, and the life of comparative luxury of which he had glimpses, that aroused the worldly ambition of Eugène de Rastignac and inspired him to utter the challenge expressed in his final words, spoken from the heights of the Père-Lachaise cemetery as he gazed down upon the fashionable quarter of the city: *A nous deux maintenant!* (p. 244).

STANLEY L. GALPIN.

Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

VITZLIPUTZLI

I wish to add another note to my previous remarks on Vitzliputzli which have appeared in various numbers of the *Modern Language Notes*.

In some of the German puppet plays which dealt with the story of Faust, a Vitzliputzli seems to have been one of the stock figures. As appears from announcements of performances in different parts of Germany during the nineteenth century, he was variously represented in such plays as "one of the devils," "one of the spirits,"

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"one of the spirits of hell." In Engel's *Das Volksschauspiel Doctor Johann Faust*, Oldenburg 1882, the following variants of the name appear: Vitzliputzli, Vizlipuzli, Virzlipurzli, Fitzliputzli, Witziliputzili, Vicipuzel, Vitzebutzelio.

It was only natural to suppose that the name Vitzliputzli—derived from the name of the Aztec deity Huitzilopochtli—made its entrance into Germany by way of Spain. Several pieces of evidence seem to confirm this conjecture. In the first place, the name of the Mexican god is frequently mentioned by Spanish historical writers of the sixteenth century.[1] Moreover, some of their works, as I find, were early translated into German.

A second bit of evidence, of more or less confirmatory value, is reported by Häutle in the *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg*, VIII. On the authority of the catalogue of exhibits issued by the Münchener Kunstkammer, he states that the Spanish Cardinal Francisco Ximinez (1436-1517) once sent to Munich a Mexican idol of blue glass; we are further informed that it possessed large eyes and "showed a greater resemblance to a devil than to a human being." Presumably this was a representation of the god Huitzilopochtli (Vitzliputzli); in any event, the name came to be attached to the figure, as I infer from Birlinger's note. In view of the unengaging aspect of the idol, as described above, it seems natural enough that the name of the heathen god should have been seized upon as a welcome euphemistic designation for the devil.

An early occurrence of the name in German literature remains to be noted. As pointed out by Birlinger, the form Vizli Puzli appears in the *Evangelium Reformatum, Abermahl neu lustiges Gespräch zwischen dem Teuffel und dreyen Ketzern*, ed. Joh. Münch, of which the first edition appeared in 1617. The author is dealing with Luther's death and supposed descent into hell. The German reformer is pictured as suffering the most horrible agonies of hell "dass man mit im wol tausend Kinder sol zu Bette getrieben und schlaffen verjaget haben." The Calvinist speaks: "Wer Teuffel sol sich auch für solches Monstrum und grausames ungeheur nicht erschrecken. Wan er in diser Gestalt des Abends einstens hinter die Widertauffer käme, wie sol die neunte Stund so bald gehört werden. Mit was grossem getümmel wurden sie häufig, wie ein Heerd Schaaf, alt und jung, nach ihrem Schlaffkämmerlein lauffen, noch ärger als wann der Vizli Puzli da wäre!"

In conclusion it may be of interest to refer to a book by Paula and Richard Dehmel, bearing the title: *Fitzebutze. Allerhand Schnickschnack für Kinder*. Mit Bildern von Ernst Kreidolf. Neue verb. Aufl. Schafstein & Comp., Köln, Weihnachten, 1901.[2]

[1] Cf. A. Birlinger in *Alemannia*, XIII (1885). My attention was drawn to this note by Dr. Archer Taylor of Washington University.

[2] This reference comes to me from Prof. K. J. Grimm of Pennsylvania College.

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Aside from various other uses to which it has been put,[2] the corrupted name of the cruel heathen deity, as we see, is now made to do service even as a harmless, playful title wherewith to adorn a Christmas book for children.

C. H. IBERSHOFF.

State University of Iowa.

To the various notes of Prof. Ibershoff on Vitzliputzli may be added the following details: Grimmelshausen in his didactic monograph *Simplicissimi Galgenmännlin,* has in the third chapter an extended reference to the Mexican god in question: "Der böss Geist hat in America bei den Mexicanern dem gantzn Israelitischen Zug aus Aegypten nachgeäfft, sich auch dardurch und hernach bey dem selbn Volck untr dem Namn des Vizli Buzli in grossm ansehn als ein Gott erhaltn und viel Mord und Unglück, auch sonst gross Wundr gstifft abr die Hinkunfft der Christn hat sein Btrug entdeckt und durch Gotts Gnad sein falschen Götzn-Dienst zerstört."

A very poor drama by a certain Rosenau, which treats the story of Fouqué's *Galgenmännlein* and was produced in Vienna in 1817, bears the name of *Vizlipuzli.* The title seems to have been suggested by the passage above quoted.[1]

TAYLOR STARCK.

Smith College.

BYRON AND GRAY

In the year 1852 there was published by the Armenian Academy of St. Lazarus, in Venice, the following work:

Beauties | of English Poets | [Two lines in Armenian.] | [Emblem.] | Venice | In the Island of S. Lazzaro | 1852 |

It is a 16mo volume, pp. xv, [1], 233. It is now extremely rare; I know of but one copy, that in the Harvard University Library. Mr. Ernest Hartley Coleridge was not aware of its existence when he compiled his Bibliography of Byron (*Byron's Works,* Poetry vii. 149). He there cites a later edition entitled, *Lord Byron's Armenian Exercises and Poetry,* and dated on the title-page 1886 and on the yellow wrapper 1870. The latter is an octavo, pp. 171, [1].

The contents of the two editions are not identical. The contents of the earlier volume are as follows:

Lord Byron's English and Armenian handwriting, p. [iii]. From Byron's letters, [the proposed preface to his edition of an

[2] Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXVIII, 211-212, and XXXI, 506-507.
[1] See the article of Ludwig in *Euphorion,* XVII, 613 ff.

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Armenian grammar, dated] Jan. 2, 1817, to Moore, Dec. 5, 1816, to Murray, Dec. 4, 1816, pp. iv-xv. Lord Byron's Translations (into Armenian, including pieces of Armenian history, part of a synodical discourse by St. Nierses of Lampron, the Epistle of the Corinthians to St. Paul, and Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians), pp. [1]-41. Lord Byron's "Poetries": The Destruction of Sennacherib, Address to the Ocean, On Waterloo, To Time, Stanzas Composed During a Thunder-Storm, Church of St. Peter, pp. [43]-105. Pope's Ode on St. Cecilia's Day and Messiah, pp. [107]-147. Gray's Elegy and Ode on the Death of a Favorite Cat, pp. [149]-185. From the Christian Year, Morning and Evening, pp. 187-211. From Tupper's Proverbial Philosophy, pp. [213]-225. From Paradise Lost, i. 1-32, pp. [227]-233. English and Armenian on opposite pages.

I have not seen the later edition; but according to Mr. Coleridge's description, it contains at least one piece, *To the Duke of Dorset*, which is not in the other volume.

My interest in the book was aroused by the fact that it had been described to me as consisting "of Lord Byron's Armenian translation of poems and letters by himself and others, including Gray's Elegy, etc." From this it would appear that Byron was himself the author of the Armenian translation of the *Elegy* and the *Ode on the Death of a Favorite Cat* which we find in these pages. Was such the case?

On inspecting the volume, we are constrained to reply in the negative. From the list of contents given above it will be seen that one section is labeled Lord Byron's Translations; it fills only 41 pages, a little more than one-sixth of the whole. The natural inference is that Byron did not write any of the other translations.

The question then arises, can any light be thrown on the authorship of these other translations? Did Byron's teacher, Father Pasquale Aucher, have any hand in them? Or do they all date from a time subsequent to both Byron and Aucher? Byron's letters throw no light on the point. Possibly Mackay's *Lord Byron at the Armenian Convent* (London, 1876) may have something on this question; I have not access to this.

Byron's fondness for Gray is well known. As anyone can see from going through Coleridge and Prothero's indexes, there are frequent quotations from and echoes of Gray in Byron's works. His interest in Gray extended beyond the latter's writings. For example, in his letter to Leigh Hunt, November, 1815, Byron says:

"I have heard that [Gray] was afflicted by an incurable and very grievous distemper, though not generally known."

But even if Byron did not make these translations himself, it is possible to suppose that it was indirectly due to him and his passing interest in Armenian studies that Gray's two poems were rendered into this ancient Asiatic tongue—the language, as the monks

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themselves believed, of the Terrestrial Paradise. For if Byron had not sojourned at the monastery as he did in 1816-17, it is possible that the attention of the monks might not have been turned in the direction of his writings and those of the other authors in whom he was especially interested.

CLARK S. NORTHUP.

Cornell University.

BYRON AND SHELLEY

There is evidence in Byron's poetry of some kind of relation between him and Shelley in the matter of the idea of Prometheus. The two poets first met in 1816, during Shelley's trip on the Continent with Mary Godwin and Jane Claremont. In the words of Richard Garnett (*D. N. B., s. v.* Shelley), "Byron's poetry, to its great advantage, was deeply influenced by his new friendship." From this epoch, July, 1816, dates Byron's poem *Prometheus,* some lines of which strikingly anticipate Shelley's interpretation of the myth of the rebellious Titan; the following will serve as examples:

> Titan! to whose immortal eyes
> The sufferings of mortality,
> Seen in their sad reality,
> Were not as things that gods despise;
>
> Titan! to thee the strife was given
> Between the suffering and the will,
> Which torture where they cannot kill;
> And the inexorable Heaven,
> And the deaf tyranny of Fate,
> The ruling principle of Hate,
> Which for its pleasure doth create
> The things it may annihilate,
> Refused thee even the boon to die:
>
> Thy Godlike crime was to be kind,
> To render with thy precepts less
> The sum of human wretchedness,
> And strengthen Man with his own mind;
>
> Thou art a symbol and a sign
> To Mortals of their fate and force.

Again in *Manfred,* I, 2, the hero's soliloquy on the cliffs of the Jungfrau at sunrise shows an anticipation of the opening soliloquy of Prometheus in Shelley's poem; both, of course, derive from the apostrophe, "O dios aither," in Æschylus' *Prometheus Bound.* The point to be noted is that *Manfred* preceded *Prometheus Un-*

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bound by two years. Then, when we compare the passage beginning,—

> My mother Earth!
> And thou fresh breaking Day, and you, ye Mountains,
> Why are ye beautiful? I cannot love ye,
> And thou, the bright eye of the universe
> That openest over all, and unto all
> Art a delight . . .

from Byron, with that from *Prometheus Unbound,* Act I, beginning,—

> I ask the Earth, have not the mountains felt?
> I ask yon Heaven, the all-beholding Sun,
> Has it not seen? . . .

we are confronted with the question, which of the two poets inspired the other. The evidence of the poems points toward Byron as the original, in that in 1816 he had written a poem setting up Prometheus as the prototype and symbol of the liberators of the human mind, and in 1817 had embodied an imitation of perhaps the most striking passage of the Greek tragedy in a lyrical drama of his own.

On the other hand, in Mrs. Shelley's *Note on the Poems of 1816,* to be found in most editions of Shelley, "the *Prometheus* of Æschylus" occurs in the list of books read during that eventful year. Does it not, then, seem better in accord with what we know of these two poets to suppose that Shelley read the play of Æschylus and saw clearly the significance of the figure of Prometheus for the world of the Restauration, that he talked about it with Byron in Switzerland, and that the more facile poet gave the earlier expression to ideas which he must have regarded as developed in common? The figure of Prometheus made a lasting impression on Byron's mind, for in 1823 he compares Napoleon at St. Helena to Prometheus,—

> Hear! hear Prometheus from his rock appeal
> To earth, air, ocean, all that felt or feel
> His power and glory. . . .
>
> *The Age of Bronze,* v.

Certainly here is a neat little problem in sources and origins.

LLEWELLYN M. BUELL.

Yale University.

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Two Borrowings of Wordsworth

William Wordsworth is not usually set down as one of that company, including Shakspere and other less illustrious ones, who, to use Montaigne's phrase, take their own where they find it. Such poetic borrowings and hints as he made use of he was generally careful to acknowledge in his notes. We find him telling of suggestions from the writings of Shakspere, Milton, Scott, Lady Winchilsea, and even such comparatively little known authors as Sir John Beaumont, brother of the dramatist, and Rev. Joseph Simpson. There are two instances of apparent indebtedness, however, which neither he nor his editors, so far as I have been able to discover, have ever pointed out.

The first is the opening lines of the sonnet beginning

> **With how sad steps, O moon, thou climb'st the sky,**
> **"How silently, and with how wan a face!"**

They are the exact words of the first two lines of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, Sonnet XXI, except that Sidney uses the plural "skies." Wordsworth was probably aware that he was quoting, as is shown by his putting the second line in quotation-marks, while the first, which varies slightly from Sidney, is not so marked. That his thoughts were on Sidney at the time is indicated by his statement in the notes that a line and a half in the sonnet entitled "November, 1806," written in the same year, were suggested by "words in Lord Brooke's Life of Sir P. Sidney."

Beyond the opening lines the sonnets show no similarity, either in thought or phrasing. Just why Wordsworth did not see fit to ascribe them to their proper source is not quite clear. Probably he considered Sidney's sonnet too well known to require this acknowledgment, and took the first two lines as a suitable point of departure for his own verse.

At the beginning of the noble *Ode to Duty*, the poet apostrophizes duty as

> **Stern daughter of the voice of God!**

This expression, which has occasioned some discussion, I believe finds its inspiration also in the writings of one of his predecessors. One editor[1] suggests that by "the voice of God," Wordsworth "probably means conscience." This explanation seems most in accord with the thought of the poem; and the idea is borne out by a passage in *Paradise Lost*, IX, 651-53. Eve, in explaining the injunction not to touch the fruit of the tree, says to the serpent:

[1] Gayley, *English Poetry: Its Principles and Progress*, p. 523.

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> **But of this tree we may not taste nor touch;**
> **God so commanded, and left that command**
> **Sole daughter of his voice.**

Wordsworth's reverence for Milton and familiarity with his works are well known. It is possible that he may not have recalled at the time this expression of Eve's, in giving duty, awakened by conscience, as the reason for her refusal to partake of the forbidden fruit. But the similarity is so apparent that it is difficult to escape the conclusion that, whether he was conscious of it or not, this speech of Eve suggested to the poet the first line of his great ode.

W. H. VANN.

Columbia University.

A PARALLEL IN LITERARY BIOGRAPHY

John Keats and Joseph Rodman Drake naturally do not suggest each other; one is a noted English poet, the other a somewhat forgotten writer of American verse. A close examination, however, of the lives of these two men reveals a similarity in several details which furnishes a striking literary coincidence.

Keats was born in 1795 and died in 1821. Drake was born in 1795 and died in 1820. Both poets, in their early years, were familiar with poverty. Both of them were poets from childhood. Keats was a licensed surgeon before he engaged in poetical composition as his professional work. Drake graduated in medicine before he wrote any of his best-known pieces, including *The American Flag*. Keats contracted consumption and went to Italy in search of health. Drake developed the same disease and visited Louisiana in the hope of driving off what his friend Halleck called "consumption's ghastly form." Both men failed in the fight for life.

Although there is nothing in the works of these two poets, aside from the romantic spirit, to constitute a literary parallel, either by accident or influence, the biographical facts nevertheless record two pathetic life-histories being worked out at almost exactly the same time on opposite sides of the Atlantic. Just as we speculate about the work Keats might have done in later life, we may wonder what Drake's full contribution to American poetry would have been had he not gone the way of Adonais himself.

WILLIAM EBEN SCHULTZ.

Christian University.

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BRIEF MENTION

The Social Criticism of Literature, by Gertrude Buck (Yale University Press, 1916). This is a booklet of only sixty pages, but it contains matter enough to inform the average reader of much that pertains to the theories and principles of literary criticism and the function of the critic. The treatise may, conceivably, be widely welcomed, for a large class of readers is usually ready to be captivated by the promise of a very brief exposition of a profoundly important subject. This preference for little books on large subjects is, for obvious reasons, not to be regretted,—publishers of the shilling-series value it in their own way,—but it is also to be guarded against, in so far as it may be symptomatic of superficiality, of a disposition to evade assiduous effort. Writers of elementary text-books are peculiarly exposed to the temptation—too often not resisted—to save the pupil's effort by excessive brevity, simplification, and dilution at the cost of impairing the wholeness and lowering the dignity of the subject handled.

By distinguishing the plastic arts as the arts of space and rest from the rhythmic arts as the arts of time and movement, one directs special attention (leaving aside the art of music) to the office of the reader, not only of poetry but of all forms of writing. The act of reading is to be considered as the process by which a composition in any department of the art of writing is made complete and effective. This coöperation of author and reader should be well taught in the schools, and it should be kept in mind steadfastly by the general reader so that his reading may be profitable in a worthy sense, and that he may be less prone to stand in indiscriminate awe of the reputed 'well-read' man,—a designation that is not forthrightly interchangeable with 'well-informed' or 'well-poised.' To teach reading should mean to teach a sympathetic approximation to the act of creating the composition; and the reader of whatever class of writings should thruout life grow in this power of sympathetic and unbiassed approximation. The application of this indicated test to large classes of readers would undeniably reveal a discouraging prevalence of feeble and uncertain notions of what constitutes right reading, and one may reasonably suspect that this result is in some measure due to an excess of codified professionalism in the methods of teaching literature in the schools and colleges. More right reading, aiming at personal appreciation and the completion of the author's creative act would enable the teacher to obviate much idle questioning of the value of the study of literature, and furnish occasion for pertinent instruction in how to think and how to exercise the imagination constructively. In the average mind the words culture and æsthetic appreciation would thus inevitably take on more of the

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deep meaning of what is essential to well-ordered habits of the mind. No doctrine is more in need of inculcation than that of the practical value of a sure and refined sense of intellectual and social proprieties, which is not the fastidiousness of a Bembo, but the good taste that betokens the enlightened mind.

It is not digressing from the specific subject of the book in hand to offer reflections on the true meaning of reading, for Miss Buck interprets right reading as the gate-way to right criticism. The suspected digression may now be justified by direct citation: "The essential character of reading, whether elementary or advanced in its type, is found in no mere perfunctory turning of leaves, but in active participation, however limited it may be, in the experience which the writer would communicate. One reads, in any real sense of the word, only in so far as he thinks the writer's thoughts after him under the stimulus of his words, sees what the writer saw, feels what the writer felt" (p. 20). "In some sense one must, as Ruskin says, in order to read at all, ascend to the writer's level. . . . One must approximate the writer's position in order even to begin to read him. . . . The active minded reader finds that, in order to think the writer's thought after him, he must, for a time in very truth, be the writer. He must reconstruct the writer's *milieu*, social, industrial, political, and the writer's individual life as thus determined, or fail fully to apprehend the thought which grew out of and was modified by this particular set of conditions. And he must furthermore know the writer's tools, the form with which he worked, its limitations and possibilities" (p. 21 f.). As to the interrelation of reading and criticism, in the same context: "Reading begins the process of criticism at the impressionistic stage. . . . It is true that only in the degree of his training and sensitiveness has the reader's reaction value for anyone else. But this training and sensitiveness are by no means fixed quantities. They develop in and through the very act of reading." . . . "the simple, unanalytic process of reading [may] pass by imperceptible degrees into the furthest reaches of that extremely complex activity called criticism."

Hitherto, is the assumption, the theories of criticism have been at variance with each other, rending a seamless robe into shreds (p. 31); "but a new commandment has been given by social criticism, namely, that the critic, having reached [by good reading] conclusions for himself, shall then hold them as essentially tentative and personal, not only refusing steadfastly to impose them upon other readers, but giving no sanction to their use by any reader as a substitute for his own critical activity. This is indeed a hard saying, for the critic as well as for the reader; and it can be fulfilled by the critic only as he definitely acknowledges his primary obligation to help, not hinder, the reading of others" (p. 51). Taken together, the passages cited must give a clear notion of the particular point of this treatise. A precise definition of social

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criticism does not seem to be possible because of its complex implications. This complexity is due to the admission of the contributory value of all preceding theories and methods of critical study and evaluation, which are here reviewed with comment, which is, however, at places marred by a touch of rather inappropriate sprightliness, betokening lurking prejudice against some methods of study, and a too sparing recognition of the principle of division of labor adopted by scholars to secure the valid whole. But if Miss Buck's pages be subjected, as they should be, to "genuine reading," the act on which she places so strong an emphasis, all will willingly be allowed to pass for the sake of submission to an enthusiastic discussion of the relation of reader to critic and of critic to reader.

Logically "social criticism" is not to be placed in the category of methods described as deductive, inductive, æsthetic, etc.; it merely concerns the motive that should impel the critic. A new stress is thus put on the old truth that a composition attains its varying degrees of finality in the effect produced on the reader, the completest reading producing the completest effect; and the timeliness of the lessons to be drawn from this discussion may be supposed to be undeniable. Surely many a reader and many a teacher of literature might, by this little book, be induced to put a higher value on the act and discipline of reading, and it should just as surely help the professional critic to execute with greater zeal the social function of mediating between author and reader.

J. W. B.

James Macpherson's Fragments of Ancient Poetry (1760). In diplomatischem Neudruck, mit den Lesarten der Umarbeitungen. Hrsg. von Otto L. Jiriczek (Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 47; Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1915). Excepting an extremely rare and rather inadequate publication of the Aungervyle Society (Edinburgh, 1881, privately printed, only 150 copies), this first specimen of Ossianic poetry has not hitherto been accessible to scholars. The original sixteen fragments are now offered in a strictly diplomatic reprint, with a short introduction and a complete list of the variant readings of the early editions, particularly of the three issues of 1760, *Fingal* (1762), and of the *Poems of Ossian* (1773). Some of the variants are noteworthy for showing Macpherson's growing tendency to impair by over-refinement the primitive soberness of the fragments.

W. F.

Parts of the Body in Older Germanic and Scandinavian. By Torild A. Arnoldson (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1915. xii + 217 pp. Linguistic Studies in Germanic, Edited by Francis A. Wood, No. II). This book presents to us an imposing collection of semantic synonyms. The purpose is not to furnish an

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etymological dictionary of words denoting parts of the body, nor the semasiologic development of such words in the usual sense of the term, but rather to trace the rise of the varied ideas expressive of the human body, in Gothic, Old and Modern Norse, and in the older West Germanic dialects. The process, in fact, is "different." Instead of a search for root-relationships, as Old Norse *hǫfuð*, Old English *hafud-*, Sanskrit *kapálam*, Latin *caput*, Lithuanian *kāpas*, etc., or following up the varied fortunes of such words as OE. *cēace*, 'cheek,' originally 'swelling,' but to-day 'impudence, front, brass'; OE. *heorte*, 'heart,' become thru international loan-translation 'courage, resolution,'—the lexical aspects of the parts of the body are scrutinized with respect to their primary significations. Granted the 'head.' The question is, what original meanings, thru later restriction or extension, developed the ultimate idea corresponding to 'head'? We learn that the concept of 'head' in the Germanic languages grew out of such disjointed notions as 'top, summit,' 'edge, projection,' 'dot, point,' 'round object: ball, bowl, pot, mound, nut,' 'brain-bowl, brain-place,' 'lump,' 'shell,' 'bare spot,' 'something ruffled, tousled,' 'scurf' and 'covering'; and on the basis of MHG. *gebel* 'head,' *schedel* 'skull,' *houbet* 'head' we can collect such a varied crew of semantically cognate words as OE. *gafol* 'fork,' *scēaf* 'sheath,' OBret. *scoit* 'shield,' OPers. *kaufa* 'mountain.'

Separate chapters are assigned to the Head, Limbs, Trunk, Organs and such miscellaneous parts as 'nerve,' 'marrow,' etc. The words are arranged according to the respective parts of the body, and under each part the groups of meanings, in etymological units, so that a sample entry appears as follows: (Limbs: Toe:) "Point, Digit: ON. *tá*, Sw. *tå*, Dan. *taa*, OE. *tā*, *tāhe*, MLG. *tē*, OFris. *tāne*, OHG. *zēha*, MHG. *zēhe* toe: ON. *tjá* zeigen, mitteilen, Goth. *-teihan*, Gr. δείκνυμι zeige, Lat. *dīco* sage, *digitus*, etc. Cf. Walde[2] 233 with references." And since the book is full of such entries and consists of nothing but such entries, it is barren in appearance. Albeit interesting in spots, it does not make interesting reading, any more than a dictionary would. One is convinced that it possesses more than the modicum of usefulness ordinarily inherent in such semantic studies; but, without formulation of laws or the drawing of conclusions, it seems to have voluntarily surrendered a good part of its right to existence. Might not the author have succumbed to the temptation of appending at least a brief summary of inferences? How and why the primary concepts evolve into the later functions; suitable citations for the more striking cases as e. g. 'mass, heap' > 'mouth'; 'sight, look' > 'cheek'; 'tube, pipe' > 'arm'; 'bread-hand' > 'left hand'; 'healing-finger, name-finger, nameless finger, gold-finger, poor-finger' > 'ring-finger,' etc.; classifications of how the same concept, such as 'top, summit' becomes 'head,' 'brain,' 'neck'; 'mass' becomes used for 'shoulder,' 'brain,' 'mouth,' 'kidney,'

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etc? In the absence of such deductions, the work, tho of decided merit, seems to be a mere compilation from the various dictionaries listed in the bibliography, in which the author's own part is not sufficiently emphasized. A. G.

Dr. Carl A. Krause's *Direct Method in Modern Languages,* Contributions to Methods and Didactics in Modern Languages (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1916), is not only a highly valuable "theoretical" contribution to Modern Language Methodology, but it is a real help to those teachers who seek practical advice and guidance. The Direct Method has made rapid progress in the last few years, the need of reform being felt everywhere. As a result, theoretical and also stimulating discussions have been going on for some time, but comparatively little has been done by the older and more experienced modern language teachers in giving help and useful advice to the younger generation of their colleagues. The Universities, with a few exceptions, do not train the prospective language teacher in any practical and pedagogical way, at least not in special methodology, so that very frequently the young and inexperienced teacher must find his way alone and struggle along as best he can.

Dr. Krause, for many years a leader in the reform movement, has fully appreciated this need, and has come to the assistance of those desiring practical advice based upon *experience* and *real conditions,* as much as the printed word will permit. His book gives all the information that a modern language teacher is anxious to obtain, and reveals on almost every page the practical school-man, whose advice may be followed safely. We see that the author is intimately acquainted with the real needs of our schools, with the actual conditions of the classroom, and that he is therefore in a position to do much more than to discuss merely *in theory* the important issues and aims.

His critical remarks are sound and to the point. "The trouble," he says, "with many of our school grammars is that they carry too much dead wood which may be of interest and value to the specialist, but not to schoolboys and schoolgirls, who are in no position to assimilate doctoral dissertations" (page 60). Or: "The too hasty striving after the classics is an abomination. If we want to behold a solid, beautiful superstructure, we must have a stable basis. Travelling at railroad speed through the fields of language prevents our going botanizing" (page 61).

Dr. Krause's sound defense of the reform should appeal to every "real, live teacher." Speaking of the Direct Method, he says: "It teaches the language, and not merely about the language, as is done by the indirect procedure." May this excellent book come into the hands of every language teacher!

A. K.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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AN ENGLISH PRECURSOR OF ROUSSEAU[1]

The facts that emerge from the three, in part contradictory, versions of the story of Rousseau's inception of the idea of his first *Discours* seem to be that the negative side of the question proposed by the Dijon Academy appealed to Rousseau, that he was confirmed by Diderot in his choice of that side, and that Marmontel, because of his hatred of Rousseau, attributed to Diderot all the merit of the election of the negative.[2] That Rousseau

[1] The suggestion of the possible relationship between Lyttelton and Rousseau was made to me by Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy, to whom I am further indebted for much valuable criticism and for several references embodied in the following paper.

[2] Rousseau's own account is in the *Confessions*, book viii, and at greater length but without change in any essential fact in his *Deuxième Lettre à M. de Malesherbes*, 1762. Marmontel's version (that Rousseau actually told Diderot that he intended to support the affirmative side and was dissuaded therefrom by Diderot) is in his *Mémoires*, book vii. Diderot's version (that to his remark "You must take the side that no one will think of taking" Rousseau replied, "You are right") is in his *Essai sur les règnes de Claude et de Néron*, chapter 67. Critics are inclined to disregard Marmontel's story and to attempt a reconciliation of Rousseau's and Diderot's, as in my text. See among other authorities: John Morley, *Rousseau*, Macmillan, I, 134, note 2; Emile Faguet, *Vie de Rousseau*, Soc. fr. d'Imp. et de Lib., p. 167; Jules Lemaitre, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, Calmann-Levy, p. 80. Louis Ducros on the other hand, after an examination of Rousseau's writings before the first *Discours*, asserts roundly that "Rousseau was the only person who inspired Jean-Jacques" (*Jean-Jacques Rousseau de Genève à l'Hermitage*, Fontemoing, p. 180). P. M. Masson, *La Formation religieuse de Rousseau*, Hachette, 1916, p. 165 f. (especially p. 166, note 1), follows closely Rousseau's own accounts, declaring that there is no reason for suspecting them. He calls attention to the passage

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borrowed from previous writers was asserted by Diderot, and his specific obligations have been a matter of serious inquiry.[3] Even if we accept his own account of how the inspiration came to him, the fact remains that in defending the thesis that the progress of the arts and sciences had contributed to corrupt rather than to purify morals, far from propounding something hitherto unheard of, he was giving expression, adequate and impassioned, to opinions that had been discussed for generations. "What he took for a novelty," says Beaudouin,[4] "had been for centuries a familiar object at the cross-roads of literature." The same is true of the second *Discours*. Lemaitre has well said[5] that what is true in both Discourses is the seriousness with which the hitherto harmless paradox is taken, and Mornet[6] has shown that their novelty

in the *Dialogues* (*Œuvres*, Hachette, IX, 213 f.) in which Rousseau states that "an indistinct feeling, a confused notion," of the doctrines set forth in the first *Discours* had been in his mind "from his youth."

[3] Gustav Krueger (*Fremde Gedanken in J. J. Rousseaus erstem Discours*, Halle, 1891; also in *Archiv f. d. Stud. d. neueren Sp. u. Litt.*, LXXXVI, 259 f.) notes specific obligations to Montaigne, Hobbes, Locke, and Mandeville, with possible indebtedness to other writers. These borrowings are, however, of a general nature and are nearly always acknowledged by Rousseau himself. Of Krueger's dissertation Ducros has said (*op. cit.*, p. 176): "His title is misleading and his thesis proves nothing: even if Rousseau appropriated the thoughts that he found in the writings of other men, these thoughts have become his own. . . . Many others before him had defended the paradox that he develops, but their works and even their names are absolutely forgotten." An article supplementing Krueger's investigation and written independently is L. Delaruelle, "Les Sources Principales de J.-J. Rousseau dans le Premier Discours à l'Academie de Dijon," *Rev. d'hist. litt. de la Fr.*, 1912, XIX, 245 f. P. M. Masson, "Sur les Sources de Rousseau," *ibid.*, p. 640 f., adds St. Aubin's *Traité de l'Opinion*, 1733 and establishes it, I think, convincingly, as an immediate source. A like inquiry with regard to the second *Discours* has been pursued by Jean Morel. See "Recherches sur les Sources du Discours sur l'Inégalité," *Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, V, 119 f. The more important results of Morel's researches have been summarized by C. E. Vaughan, *The Political Writings of Rousseau*, Cambridge, The University Press, I, 120 f. On anticipations in eighteenth century thought of the religious element in the two *Discours* see Masson, *op. cit.*, chapter vii, especially p. 226 f.

[4] Henri Beaudoin, *La Vie et les Œuvres de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, Lamulle et Poisson, I, 220.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

[6] D. Mornet, "L'Influence de J. J. Rousseau au XVIIIe Siècle," *Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, VIII, 33 f.

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and power lay not in the matter but in the manner, not in the subject but in the presentation. The idea of the State of Nature, with other concomitant or consequent theories, is a commonplace of the time. I wish here to call attention to an almost complete anticipation of Rousseau that tends to support this view of the matter. Whether or not it may be considered as a direct source of the two *Discours* is of secondary importance but shall be discussed later.

The vogue of the "Letters from a Foreign Visitor" type of satire, started by the success of the *Turkish Spy* of Marana and Cotolendi and given new life by its employment in *The Spectator,* reached its height of literary art in the *Lettres persanes* of Montesquieu, 1721, which produced a number of imitations. Among the earliest of these was *Letters from a Persian in England to his Friend at Ispahan* by George, first Baron Lyttelton, which was published anonymously in 1735.[7] As the first English translation of Montesquieu's work (by John Ozell) did not appear till 1730 and as in a letter to his father dated February 4, 1728, Lyttelton writes:[8] "I am glad you are pleased with my Persian Letters," it is evident that he was acquainted with the original. He follows Montesquieu closely despite obvious superficial differences. In dispensing with the plot that holds together the letters from Usbek and his friends and with it all but the most conventional orientalism, and in arranging that all the London letters are written by the same visitor, Lyttelton neglects two methods

[7] Published anonymously but included in Lyttelton's *Works*, ed. G. E. Ayscough, London, Dodsley, 1776, 3 vols. My references ["P. L." standing for *Persian Letters*] are to the third edition of this collection, vol. I, p. 129 f. Lord Lyttelton (1709-1773) was a politician who just lacked the ability to become a statesman and depended for success upon the influence of various great families. He was also a very minor poet (see W. J. Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, Macmillan, V, 376 f.); but he is most pleasantly remembered as the friend of Pope and Thomson, and the man to whom *Tom Jones* was dedicated. His *Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul*, 1747, is memorable for the delightful argument that only the facts as narrated could account for such a conversion and that therefore the narrative must be true. His painstaking *History of Henry II*, 1767-1771, is now forgotten. His *Dialogues of the Dead*, 1760 (in which, as in the juvenile *Persian Letters*, he imitates a French writer) are considerably beneath even those of Prior.

[8] *Works* III, 206. Compare note 12, below.

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of exciting interest. But the loss is greater than that of story and variety. There is but a pale reflection of the light keen wit, the unerring shafts of ridicule, the sure and stinging epigrams of Montesquieu. A piece of third-rate journeyman-work has succeeded the work of genius.

For the purpose of our inquiry we are concerned with but a small portion of the *Persian Letters.*[9] It will be remembered that in *Lettres persanes* Usbek sends to Mirza a sketch of the history of the Troglodytes (letters 11 to 14). This history is continued by Selim in Lyttelton's book; it is addressed to Mirza, the mutual friend of both travelers. "We have often read together and admired," Selim writes (p. 159), "the little history of the Troglodytes, related by our countryman Usbec [*sic*] with a spirit peculiar to his writings," and he announces his purpose to continue the history of that people. In order to follow the continuation of Montesquieu's narrative it is necessary to summarize briefly the original "History."

The Troglodytes, a ferocious people, were governed with great severity by a foreign king, till at last they rose against him and utterly rooted out his entire line. Magistrates were then chosen, but their rule, too, became intolerable and they were killed. The people then decided to have no rulers at all, to break off all social bonds and obligations, and to arrange that each individual look after his own affairs without concern for those of other men. The result was fatal. In times of drought those in the uplands starved for lack of supplies from the valleys; in times of flood the case was reversed. All sorts of crimes were perpetrated and those not aggrieved thereby looked on unconcerned. At last came a great pestilence and many men died. A great physician came from another country and saved the lives of many; but when the plague was stayed and he went to collect his just dues from those whom he had cured, they one and all refused him and he returned home penniless. When next the plague came there was no skilful physician to aid them. So this wretched people perished, all but two families who, unlike their wicked countrymen, had lived innocently. These now profited by the awful example set before them, and

[9] To save space I postpone any account of the entire book till the completion of a study of the "Letters from a Foreign Visitor" type which I have in hand.

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as they increased in numbers the younger generation was reared with ideas of love, fellowship, and unselfishness in their hearts. The elders taught them that individual interest is always best found in the common interest. But this peace and innocence by no means connoted softness and cowardice, and this a neighboring nation found to its cost when it invaded the country of the Troglodytes and its armies were put to flight. The new Troglodytes continued to flourish till in an evil moment they decided to choose a king to rule over them.[10] For this office they selected a venerable old man. With his words on being notified of their choice Usbek's history closes:

I see clearly what is the matter, O Troglodytes! Your virtue is beginning to become burdensome to you. In your present state, without any ruler, you have to be virtuous in spite of yourselves; else you could not live as you do and would fall back into the miseries of your forefathers. But this yoke is too heavy for you: you prefer to become subject to a prince and to obey laws that he will impose, laws less rigid than the customs that you have to follow now. You are well aware that you will then be able to satisfy your ambition, to acquire wealth, and to languish in cowardly pleasures; and that provided you avoid great crimes you will have no need of virtue.[11]

Such words would furnish more than a hint to him who should undertake a history of the later times of the Troglodytes, for Montesquieu's evident implication is that from the moment of choosing a king they commenced to decline from their position of prosperity and virtue. Lyttelton takes up the story at this point; Selim writes:[12]

Unequal as I am to the imitation of so excellent an author, I have a mind, in a continuation of that story, to shew thee by what steps, and through what changes, the original good of society is overturned, and mankind become wickeder and more miserable in a state of government, than they were when left in a state of nature.

[10] It is noteworthy that Montesquieu makes no attempt to explain how the idea of choosing a king came to the Troglodytes. For the possible source of Lyttelton's view of the origin of kingship see note 39, below.

[11] *Lettres persanes*, Garnier Frères, p. 35.

[12] *P. L.*, p. 159. A marginal gloss refers to "Persian Letters from Paris, vol. I. Let. xi. to xiv." This indicates that, besides his knowledge of the original work, Lyttelton had before him an English translation.

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The course of Selim's exposition of this thesis is as follows:

The pleading of the old man induced the Troglodytes to put aside their desire for a king, and they continued to live under "the law of nature and uncorrupted reason" until their enemies returned in greater numbers than before and defeated them. To expel the invaders it was necessary to select a military leader and unite under him. A brave and resourceful young man was chosen and under his direction the foes were driven out. The general then advised that the war be carried into the enemies' country, and in spite of the warnings of the older Troglodytes this revengeful invasion was successfully accomplished. By this their leader was so exalted in the estimation of the Troglodytes that they made him their king. The conquered land was divided among those who had won the victory.

Distinction of rank and inequality of condition were then first introduced among the Troglodytes: some grew rich and immediately comparison made others poor. From this single root sprang up a thousand mischiefs; pride, envy, avarice, discontent, deceit, and violence.[13]

Disputes and grievances necessitated fixed laws, and the king chose a body of wise old men—the Senate—to advise him. The institution of laws had the ill effect "that they began to think everything was right which was not legally declared to be a crime."[14] Presently the original, loose, general laws came to be inadequate to deal with particular cases, and in the attempt to remedy this defect the laws became increasingly complex and difficult of interpretation. So there grew up a group of Troglodytes who undertook to expound the laws and settle disputes, and this, not for love of neighbor and in the cause of justice, but for gain. Hence arose the evils of protracted and technical legislation.[15] The primitive religion of the people underwent a change analogous to that of their manners: superstition introduced itself.[16] The son of

[13] *P. L.*, p. 163. With this passage compare note 42, below.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 168. Here and elsewhere Lyttelton refers with satiric intent to actual conditions in England.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 170. Lyttelton's words are: "Their morals being corrupted, their religion could not long continue pure: superstition found means to introduce itself, and compleated their depravation." Note that he does not account for the origin of superstition.

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the first king had succeeded his father, not through any hereditary principle but because of the love that the nation bore to his family. This second king now had his father deified,—a proceeding that shows how superstition had changed the religion of the land. The priests hunted for sinecures, simony was rife, worship became splendid and hypocritical. Men believed God's anger at theft might be appeased "by an offering made out of the spoil."[17] Priests made no attempt to reform the morals of those in their charge; their concern was only with men's opinions.[18] The tie between the court and the church was very close, and to gain favor and power the clergy inculcated the doctrine of divine right which greatly aided in the development of absolutism. This second king was powerful and ambitious and was at last killed in an unsuccessful war of conquest. His successor came to the throne, not by the free choice of the people, but *de jure divino*. He was young, soft, and pleasure-loving; and under his influence the Troglodytes "began to polish and soften their manners."[19] They traveled and brought home ideas of luxury which created a thousand wants hitherto unknown. Their morals became lax, their minds depraved, and their bodies weak.[20] When they had thus grown "polite" the Troglodytes interested themselves in the arts and sciences. In their former simple state they had had time for only the practical sciences: mechanics, agriculture, and medicine, with which last their few ailments rendered a rudimentary acquaintance sufficient. As for the arts, of old they had amused themselves with poetry and music and with the invention of fables to which a moral was generally attached.[21] History they

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 173. The allusion is of course to the abuse of indulgences.

[18] The satire here is directed against the various theological controversies of the eighteenth century.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 177.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 178. Note especially: "The women brought their children with more pain, and even thought themselves too delicate to nurse them." Though Lyttelton wrote very shortly after Toland's *Directions for Breeding of Children*, 1726, in which the placing of children out at nurse is spoken of as merely the normal procedure, he anticipates, long before Morelly and Buffon, one of Rousseau's most famous, influential, and practical doctrines: the nursing of children by their own mothers—doubtless a commonplace by the time that Rousseau wrote *Emile* but by no means so trite in 1735.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 179. This portion of Lyttelton's narrative goes back, to some

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had neglected save for the bare record of public transactions. Now, in their more cultured state, there began much abstract speculation and many sects and systems of philosophy arose. Occupation with such matters withdrew many of the wisest men from the service of the commonwealth, the introduction of philosophy being thus detrimental to the public good. The court, meanwhile, became a centre of corruption. The slothful king delegated his powers to a grand vizir, and soon a coterie of women (the king's mistress, the vizir's mistress, and other such) controlled affairs with their own selfish ends always in view. The nation at last aroused itself to remedy this corrupt absolutism and reforms were carried out vigorously and justly by which, though the hereditary principle was preserved, powers that limited the monarchy were given to the Senate and the ministers were made responsible to the people.[22] On the whole affairs were now better, though delays in legislation increased and the evils of party politics began to appear. At last a certain man told the king how to get back much of his lost power, namely, by setting up private interest against public.[23]

extent even verbally, to the penultimate paragraph of Montesquieu's twelfth letter.

[22] It is hardly necessary to point out the references to the corruption of Restoration court life and the reforms instituted after the Revolution of 1688.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 188. "Shew those who lead the people," said this adviser, "that they may better find their account in betraying than in defending them." The cynical nature of this conclusion was evidently occasioned by observation of the shameless corruption and bribery which flourished under Walpole's administration. While on the continent during an unusually extended "grand tour" (1728-1731), Lyttelton had written: "The spirit of Whiggism grows upon me under the influence of arbitrary power" (*Works* III, 282), and there are frequent remarks that show his respect for Sir Horace Walpole. But on his return to England he became a member of the Opposition party of "Patriots" which Bolingbroke had been organizing since his return from exile and which comprehended not only Tories but malcontent Whigs (*Cambridge Modern History* VI, 71). Lyttelton and the youthful William Pitt became two of the most prominent opponents of Walpole's corrupt methods of administration. We have seen that part at least of the *Persian Letters* was in existence in 1728, but I suspect that much of the satire dates from the time of Lyttelton's active opposition to Walpole, which was at its height in 1735, the year of the publication of the *Letters*.

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To anyone acquainted with Rousseau's two *Discours* it must be obvious that they do not cover precisely the same ground as the continuation of the History of the Troglodytes. There is in Lyttelton nothing to correspond to the description of the state of nature which occupies the first part of the *Discours sur l'Inégalité*. On the other hand, Lyttelton's account of the corruptions in the church are not paralleled in Rousseau save in the most general way.[23a] It is obvious, moreover, that neither *Discours* supports quite the same thesis as that advocated by Lyttelton. Lyttelton's is broader in scope and includes the subject of both Rousseau's treatises (with the omission, as I have said, of the Roussellian state of nature) and something more. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts* must be regarded as but one side-issue embraced in the larger question of the *Discours sur l'Origine de l'Inégalité*.[24]

Like Montesquieu, Lyttelton treats of one people only; Rousseau generalizes for all humanity. I cannot agree with those writers who, like Morel,[25] hold that Rousseau's aim was to construct a true historic account of the development of human society. I cannot accept the theory that the famous remark "Let us begin by putting the facts to one side" was due to anxiety to conciliate the Church. One must approach Rousseau's point of view from another direction; Beaudoin and Lemaitre point the way. The former notes [26] that those vices of society which Rousseau enumerates with most complacency are the faults of the great world and the salons. His satire spends itself especially upon his contemporaries. Lemaitre [27] interprets Rousseau's use of the word "corruption" as applicable particularly to the conventions,

[23a] On the religious element in the first *Discours* see Masson, *op. cit.*, p. 166 f. and, for the second *Discours*, p. 213 f. Masson notes that religion was bound to profit by Rousseau's "impassioned return to the past" and that religion presented itself to him as one of the remedies for science and philosophy. The desire to rehabilitate "ces vieux mots de patrie et de religion" certainly indicates a dissatisfaction with contemporary ecclesiastical affairs, but there is no such direct satire as is found in Lyttelton.

[24] To give an analysis of each *Discours* might make for clearness but would occupy much space. Morley's fifth chapter (*op. cit.*, I, 132 f.) contains good summaries; and many other such are easily accessible.

[25] *Op. cit.* Morel's general conclusion is stated on p. 198.

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 228.

[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

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prejudices, worldly deceptions, luxury, softness, frivolities, and artificialities of the life of the fashionable salons. The latest student of Rousseau's political thought, Professor Vaughan,[28] has adopted this interpretation of the second *Discours*. He writes:

> The opinion that the *Discourse* is a treatise on political theory . . . must be rejected. . . . The chief purpose of the writer is to expose the vices which for ages have poisoned the life both of the individual and the race.

This is the first point of connection with Lyttelton; both *Discours* are, like the History of the Troglodytes, satires on society.

At the end of Montesquieu's account of the Troglodytes and the beginning of Lyttelton's they are living under "the law of nature and uncorrupted reason,"[29] in a state of society that about corresponds to the Lockean idea of the state of nature and precisely corresponds to that first remove from the state of nature, according to Rousseau, in which men are no longer solitary, wandering, homeless, self-concerned and self-dependent individuals, but are in that happy period of development in which the family is considered as the centre of society but wherein the good of the individual is subordinated to the good of the whole. How was this stage reached according to Rousseau? Differences of environment gradually superinduced differences in manner of life; each man saw that those savages with whom he came oftenest in contact were actuated by desires and needs such as his own; a sort of union began where united efforts promised more than the individual had hitherto achieved.[30] Lyttelton is not troubled with the need to account for the arrival of the Troglodytes at this stage of development, since when he takes up Montesquieu's narrative that stage is already reached. He is able to assume so much. It would seem, though he is here rather vague, that he allows the Troglodytes the right of ownership in equal shares.[31] Here is a marked distinction from

[28] *Op. cit.*, I, 14.

[29] *P. L.*, p. 160. References to the *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts* are to the Hachette edition of Rousseau's *Œuvres completes*, vol. I ("Hachette"); those to the *Discours sur l'Inégalité* are to Vaughan's edition of the *Political Writings*, vol. I ("Vaughan"). It is to be regretted that the first *Discours* is not in Vaughan's collection.

[30] Vaughan, p. 170 f.

[31] This is at least open to question; if Lyttelton conceives the happy Troglodytes as holding their possessions in common he is all the nearer

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Rousseau who, in the most famous passage in either *Discours*, traces to the institution of the idea of property, though the immediate consequences were not terrible, the woes of civilization.

This stage of development, "keeping a happy balance between the idleness of the primitive state and the petulant activity of our modern selfishness," [32] Rousseau imagines to have been the happiest through which humanity has passed. Lyttelton's view is the same. The Troglodytes were skilled in mechanics and agriculture; Rousseau allows some knowledge of the latter to man in this stage of growth though he finds in agriculture and mettallurgy the arts that led directly to the institution of property.[33] Lyttelton [34] tells how at their leisure the Troglodytes

> amused themselves with music and poetry, and sung the praises of the Divine Being, the beauties of nature, the virtues of their countrymen, and their own loves.

Such rudimentary efforts towards the arts are also admitted by Rousseau and he finds in the rivalry occasioned thereby the first step towards inequality.[35] Why, then, did mankind ever abandon this happy life? Rousseau ascribes the change to "some wretched chance"; [36] Lyttelton, whose assumption (derived from Montesquieu) of neighbors to the Troglodytes not living in the same stage of society as theirs and able to influence their development is an important distinction from Rousseau, accounts for the change by inroads from these nearby nations that forced the Troglodytes to unite under a single chief.

> As the danger required vigour and alacrity, they pitched upon a young man of distinguished courage, and placed him at their head.[37]

Note that this is a physical basis of choice and corresponds to those natural differences between men which Rousseau grants have always existed, though originally in less marked degree than now.[38] The

to Rousseau. Montesquieu himself is not clear on the question of property; he says that the good Troglodytes "regarded themselves as one family; the herds were *almost always* [my italics] kept in common" (*confondus*). But in the next letter he makes a Troglodyte speak of "my father's field." (See *Lettres persanes*, XII and XIII.)

[32] Vaughan, p. 170 f. [34] *P. L.*, p. 179. [36] *Ibid.*, p. 175.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 176. [35] Vaughan, p. 174. [37] *P. L.*, p. 160.
[38] Vaughan, p. 140 and p. 166.

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successful general of the Troglodytes presently becomes their king;[39] Rousseau accounts for the origin of monarchy in the same way.[40] But he categorically denies the possibility that kings existed before laws and in this is directly opposed to Lyttelton:

To say that chiefs were chosen before the confederation was accomplished and that those who administered the laws existed before the laws themselves is a supposition which one cannot combat seriously.[41]

[39] Compare Pope's view of the origin of tyranny (*Essay on Man*, III, 245 f.):

> "Force made the Conquest, and that conquest, Law;
> 'Till Superstition taught the tyrant awe,
> Then shar'd the Tyranny, then lent it aid,
> And Gods of Conqu'rors, Slaves of Subjects made."

Pope distinguishes between tyrants and those rulers of an earlier, better time who had "sway" in accordance with the "common int'rest" (lines 209-210). He thus agrees with, or rather anticipates, Rousseau's view that the institution of laws preceded the choice of rulers. With the entire History of the Troglodytes should be compared the account of the State of Nature in the *Essay on Man* (III, 147 f.) Here arises a question of priority that can be barely touched upon now and that I am unable to answer satisfactorily. Pope knew Lyttelton; in *The First Epistle of the First Book of Horace* (lines 27 f.) occur the lines:

> "Sometimes a Patriot, active in debate,
> Mix with the World, and battle for the State,
> Free as young Lyttelton, her Cause pursue,
> Still true to Virtue, and as warm as true."

This tribute, published in 1737, testifies to an acquaintance of some years' standing; what makes this the more likely is that Lyttelton's alliance with Bolingbroke, the intimate friend of Pope, dates, as I have said, from 1731. Now some at least of the *Persian Letters* were in existence in 1728. It is just possible that Pope may have seen Lyttelton's manuscript (for there is no indication that there was a printed text of the *Letters* in circulation so early) and have derived therefrom his glorification of the State of Nature. If, on the other hand, the portion of the *Letters* that contains the History of the Troglodytes dates from after 1733, the year of the publication of the third Epistle of the *Essay on Man*, Lyttelton's whole History may be a mere elaboration of suggestions obtained from Pope. Or Bolingbroke, who supplied Pope with so much material for the *Essay*, may well have stimulated Lyttelton's mind in this realm of speculation. The whole question at least serves to illustrate further the wide currency that such ideas had obtained long before Rousseau.

[40] Vaughan, p. 189.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

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The conqueror-king of the Troglodytes divided the territory of their vanquished foes "among those who were companions of his victory," keeping of course a share for himself. Through this act distinction of rank and inequality of condition came among the Troglodytes; "some grew rich and immediately comparison made others poor." In this passage are the essentials of Rousseau's doctrine that in the institution of private property lay the primary cause of social inequality and hence of moral evil.[42] Lyttelton, as we have seen, admits that institution among his happy Troglodytes; but property then existed in equal proportions; *now* the king's followers have more than other folk, and this inequality is "the sad source of all our woe." Rousseau enlarges upon the idea but with no fundamental change. "Unheard of disorders" followed the unequal division of property among the Troglodytes;[43] for the same reason "new-born society," according to Rousseau,[44] "gave place to the most horrible state of war." Hence, according to both writers, the need to determine right by stated laws. Lyttelton, lacking Rousseau's deep sense of social injustice and his bitter feeling towards the wealthy classes, does not see in this institution a conspiracy on the part of the rich to retain their disproportionate share of the world's goods and to hinder the poor from ever regaining that of which they had been deprived by force or fraud. The people, according to Lyttelton,[45] "freely bound themselves, by consenting to such regulations as the king and senate should decree"; there is no hint that they suspected chicane. Both writers

[42] Lyttelton here anticipates by twenty years the enunciation of this doctrine in Morelly's *Code de la Nature* from which Rousseau is generally thought to have derived his views on the subject of property. Rousseau, despite his eloquent denunciation of property, is a bit vague on the subject. He speaks of the "sort of property" which was established at the same time with the distinction of men by families (Vaughan, p. 172). Later he says that if the balance could have remained exact all might have been well; "but the proportion . . . was soon broken" (p. 178). He also notes that wealth must first have consisted in land and cattle, and that quarrels did not result until individual properties had so grown as to cover the whole earth and overlap (p. 179). With Lyttelton's idea of the relativity of poverty and wealth, already quoted, compare, from the *Réponse au Roi de Pologne*: "The words poor and rich are relative, and wherever men are equal there will be neither rich nor poor" (Hachette, p. 41).

[43] *P. L.*, p. 163. [44] Vaughan, p. 180. [45] *P. L.*, p. 164.

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hold that the institution of laws, instead of removing injustice, increased it and that the enactment of new laws to remedy individual defects increased the confusion and the inequality of conditions.[46] The result of the confusion following the attempt to regulate disputes by law is, according to both writers, the beginnings of courts and magistrates.[47]

Just at the point where logically the thesis developed in the *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts* branches off from the main line of Rousseau's theme there follows a parallel side-track in Lyttelton's work. It is unnecessary to examine in detail what has been so often attacked and defended: the self-contradictions in the first *Discours* and the resultant qualifications introduced in the various *Réponses*. But it is convenient to quote the passage which best sums up the position that Rousseau finally adopts:

I never said that luxury was the offspring of the sciences, but that they were born together and that the one was hardly ever found without the other being present also. Here is how I would arrange this genealogy. The primary source of evil is inequality: from inequality came wealth; for the words rich and poor are relative and wherever men are equal there will be neither rich nor poor. Luxury and idleness sprang from wealth; from luxury came the fine arts and from idleness the sciences.[48]

This is precisely Lyttelton's argument. Under their third king the Troglodytes began to polish and soften their manners. They traveled,[49] and new wants were suggested to them every day. Increased knowledge of mechanical contrivances caused a lessening of bodily vigor. When their minds

[46] It is at this point, in Rousseau's view of the matter, that government, whether by king or senate, arises. We have seen that in Lyttelton the king preceded the institution of laws.

[47] There is no exact parallel in Rousseau with Lyttelton's satire upon the law's delays and abuses. But compare various phrases in that remarkable note *i* to the *Discours sur l'Inégalité*, a note that in its indignation and despair recalls Shakespeare's "Tired with all these, for restful death I cry"—and is without Shakespeare's solace.

[48] *Réponse au Roi de Pologne*, Hachette, p. 41. Rousseau's original thesis was that luxury and idleness spring from the arts and sciences; here he is content to affirm the reverse. But he several times declares that more luxury and more idleness follow in the wake of the arts and sciences.

[49] The presupposition of neighbors to the Troglodytes permits Lyttelton to imagine the influence of more civilized peoples upon them. There is of course no parallel to this in Rousseau.

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were thus relaxed, their bodies became weak. They now complained that the summer was too hot, and the winter too cold. They lost the use of their limbs, and were carried about on the shoulders of slaves.[50]

Compare the results of increased refinement as set forth in the first *Discours:*

At the same time that the conveniences of life were multiplying, the arts becoming more nearly perfect, and luxury spreading, true courage was growing feeble and the military virtues disappearing.[51]

Again:

If the cultivation of the sciences is harmful to warlike qualities it is even more so to moral qualities.[52]

Rousseau recurs to the idea in the second *Discours;* for example:

As a savage's body was the only tool with which he was acquainted, he used it for different purposes for which for want of practice ours are incapable; and our industry has robbed us of the strength and agility which necessity forced the savage to acquire.[53]

We have seen that the primitive Troglodytes, like Rousseau's people in the state first removed from that of nature, knew the arts of poetry and music. Note now, again, that they have no history except "short accounts of public transactions," "having no party disputes, no seditions, no plots, no intrigues of state to record."[54] Compare Rousseau's question: "What would become of history if there were neither tyrants, nor wars, nor conspirators?"[55] Lyttelton singles out for special reprobation those who, when they might be of service to the state, employ their time in abstract speculation and inquiry into the secrets of nature.[56] This loss Rousseau declares to be one of the worst which the progress of the arts and sciences has occasioned:

Who would . . . pass his life in sterile contemplation, if each man, considering only his duties and the needs of nature, had time only for his country, for the unfortunate, and for his friends?[57]

Note also his impatient demand of "illustrious philosophers" that

[50] *P. L.*, p. 177-178.
[51] Hachette, p. 14.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[53] Vaughan, p. 143.
[54] *P. L.*, p. 179.
[55] Hachette, p. 10. The idea is of course almost proverbial.
[56] *P. L.*, p. 180 f.
[57] Hachette, p. 10.

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they show results to justify the time spent upon their investigations.[58]

The last three letters in the History of the Troglodytes deal, as I have pointed out, with actual history and politics in England. There is therefore but one noteworthy parallel with the *Discours* other than vague generalities as to the part played by bribery and corruption in governments. The parallel is contained in Lyttelton's reference to the Revolution of 1688,[59] by means of which the reform of the government was carried out "with equal vigor and moderation," and "many public grievances were redressed." After this reorganization things were on the whole better. Is there an echo of this in Rousseau? The course of the argument of the *Discours sur l'Inégalité* is directly towards despair; Rousseau admits to Stanislas his hopelessness of betterment; "there is no remedy left; unless it be some great revolution." [60] Followers of Rousseau have liked to take this remark as a prophecy of the French Revolution; perhaps it is. But was the prophecy suggested by the remedy of which the Troglodytes availed themselves?

It will be seen that, remarkable as are the resemblances between Lyttelton's and Rousseau's work, resemblances amounting often to identity of doctrine, they are not so close as to warrant the assertion that Rousseau had read the *Persian Letters*. But it remains possible,—I think probable—that he had done so. Before 1750 his knowledge of English was still slight and those authors whom he had read he knew in French translations. Lyttelton's *Persian Letters* had been translated in 1735 or 1736.[61] In 1744 Rousseau had been in Paris in contact with English affairs and the friend of various men, chief among them Diderot, who were interested in English thought and life.[62] A third consideration that supports the

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 11. [59] *P. L.*, p. 185.

[60] *Réponse au Roi de Pologne*, Hachette, p. 46.

[61] Gustave Lanson, *Manuel bibliographique de la Littérature française moderne*, Hachette, III, 742 (No. 10198), gives the date as 1736; new edition 1770. Pierre Martino, *L'Orient dans la Littérature française au xvii^e^ et au xviii^e^ Siècle*, Hachette, p. 299, note 3, mentions the *Nouvelles lettres persanes, traduites de l'anglais*, with date 1735. This I have not seen, but it can hardly be other than a translation of Lyttelton's book.

[62] Joseph Texte, *Rousseau et les Origines du Cosmopolitisme littéraire au xviii^e^ Siècle*, p. 122, gives the names of various men among Rousseau's acquaintances who were interested in English matters.

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contention that Rousseau may well have known Lyttelton's imitation of Montesquieu is the fact that it was avowedly such an imitation and that Rousseau, even at the time of writing the *Discours*, was coming under the influence of the *Esprit des Lois* and would have been interested in the work of a disciple of Montesquieu. There is, then, no external evidence that contradicts the belief that Rousseau knew the History of the Troglodytes; the internal evidence has appeared in the course of our examination of the History and the *Discours* and favors the same conclusion. In any case I prefer to leave the minor question of Rousseau's indebtedness an open one. The real interest of the matter is the detailed evidence that it offers that Rousseau's doctrines were the merest commonplaces of thought, that many theories for which he has received the credit appear in the earlier work of Lyttelton, that the indebtedness of the Frenchman is possible, and that the priority of the Englishman is certain.

SAMUEL C. CHEW.

Bryn Mawr College.

THE MIRACLE PLAY AT DUNSTABLE

Dr. Coffman [1] has localized the cult of Saint Catherine of Alexandria in the West during the tenth and eleventh centuries at Rouen, Normandy. After further study of this cult, I wish to offer evidence for the view that wherever in Normandy or in England especial honor was paid to Catherine it was always ultimately due to the veneration in which she was held by William the Conqueror and Henry the First of England. The central point of interest in the following discussion lies, however, in Geoffrey's selection of this saint as the subject of his Dunstable play.

The first Western monastery dedicated to Saint Catherine was built on land belonging to Goscelinus d'Arques, a member of the ducal family; [2] was chartered and enriched by Duke Robert the

[1] George Raleigh Coffman, *A New Theory Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play*, Chicago, 1914, pp. 72-78.

[2] Richard II of Normandy had a son, William d'Arques, who was also Count of Talou (William de Jumièges, *Histoire des Normands*, p. 175). The charter of the Catherine Monastery at Rouen mentions certain gifts from its founder, among them estates in *Tallou;* and in some ancient

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Magnificent;[3] and afterwards fell under the especial protection of his son William. From this point on the extension of Catherine's cult in Normandy is always traceable to William. Pommeraye (pp. 14-20) records a long list of bequests granted to the Monastery at Rouen, which are for the most part particularized as being in honor of either William or Matilda; and as other monasteries came to be founded by the ducal family and those officially connected with it, the heads of the new institutions were generally obtained from the establishment at Rouen.[4]

Nor did William forget his attachment to this church when he became king of England, but transferred to it and to its members large Saxon estates in Middlesex County,[5] and inspired his nobles to acts of similar generosity.[6] Yet, although he was responsible for introducing the veneration of Catherine of Alexandria into England, it was his son Henry who caused it to spread and prosper, and who became in the English mind—as William had been in the Norman—inevitably associated with the honoring of Catherine. Of all the early English references to any endowment of this saint, only three[7] cannot be traced directly to Henry's influence,

verses on Goscelinus's tomb, he is called "homme royal," and said to be "*allié du sang François, Semblablement du Duc de Normandie*" (François Pommeraye, "Histoire de l'Abbaye de la Tres-Sainte Trinité Dite Depuis de Sainte Catherine du Mont de Rouen," pp. 4-9, in his *Histoire de l'Abbaye de St. Ouen de Rouen*, Paris, 1764). Odericus Vitalis states explicitly that *Arques* and *Talou* were interchangeable titles (*The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*. Bohn's Library Ser., III, 382, n. 2).

[3] Pommeraye, *op. cit., passim.*

[4] In this way Ainart became Abbot of St. Mary-sur-Dive (Vitalis, I, 383; II, 106), and Osbern head of Cormeilles (Vitalis, I, 442). William himself, when he deposed Abbot Robert of St. Evroult, substituted in his stead a monk from the Catherine Monastery (Vitalis, I, 432).

[5] *Domesday Book*, I, 128 v.

[6] When Roger de Builly and Muriel, his wife, endowed the Priory of Blythe, they did so upon condition that it pay a certain stipulated annual sum to the Monastery of St. Catherine of Rouen for the good of King William and of Queen Matilda (Dugdale, IV, 620 ff.); and it may be interesting to note that five hundred years later a member of the Builly family, upon the consecration of the Cathedral of Lichfield, gave to it a silver image of Saint Catherine (Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, Pars I, 455 O).

[7] The Hospital of Sts. Nicholas, Catherine, and Thomas the Martyr of Eastbridge (Dugdale, VII, 691 f.), the St. Katherine Hospital at Bath (*id.*, VII, 774), and Flixton Nunnery in Suffolk (*id.*, VI, 593). The Eastbridge Hospital was not founded until the time of Henry III.

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and, of these three, one [8] may with reasonable certainty be attributed to it. It was a member of his family who established the Nunnery of Polslo, commonly called the Priory of Saint Catherine,[9] and one of his protégés who founded Katherine Priory [10] outside the walls of Lincoln; and in the Hospital and Collegiate Church of St. Catherine at London this linking of Henry with Catherine in the popular imagination is clearly indicated.[11]

The honoring of Catherine in England appears then to have been accompanied by a desire to please Henry, or, conversely, the desire to please Henry inspired an attendant thought of Catherine; but had Geoffrey of Cenomannia reason for such a desire? A

[8] Flixton Nunnery. The Duke of Suffolk married the daughter of Fitz-Osbern, kinsman to William the Conqueror (Cobb, *Norman Kings*, Table IV; Stowe, *Annales*, ed. 1631, p. 2). Fitz-Osbern had placed Osbern of St. Catherine of Rouen at the head of Cormeilles (Note 4); and it is significant that, besides this Nunnery, many Suffolk churches, such as that of Limpenhoe, have mural and fenestral decorations in honor of Catherine of Alexandria.

[9] Dugdale, IV, 425.

[10] Dugdale, VII, 968. This monastery was afterwards enriched by Henry II (*id.*, VI, 969, Num. 1) and by his natural brother Hammelin, Earl of Warren (R. E. G. Cole, *The Priory of St. Katherine Without Lincoln*, in the publications of the Architect. and Archæolg. Soc. for the County of Lincoln, XXVII), for the good of the souls of Henry I, and of his daughter Matilda. Henry II did not become king of England for nineteen years after the death of his grandfather. This association of Henry I with Catherine at so late a date is, therefore, really significant. Even after the Norman line had been replaced by other houses, the English kings seem to have regarded this Priory with especial favor. When James visited Lincoln in 1617 it was at Katherine House (formerly the Priory) that he lodged and upon his own request (*Report Appendix Pt. VIII, the Mss. of Lincoln, Bury-St.-Edmunds, and Gt. Grimsby Corporations, etc.*, p. 92); and I may add in passing that when the Priory was finally suppressed, its site was given to Charles Brandon, brother-in-law to King Henry VIII (Dugdale, VII, 968).

[11] Dugdale, VII, 694-96. Founded by Matilda, daughter to Henry I, it was protected and enriched by successive kings and queens, and made finally by law a part of the dower rights of the queen consort; failing a queen consort, it passed to the queen dowager, and failing a dowager, to the king himself. So late as 1878, this church was still a part of the queen's property, and I have found no evidence of any subsequent annulment of its charter (J. B. Nichols, *Account of the Royal Hospital and Collegiate Church of Saint Katherine Near the Tower of London*, London, 1824, *passim;* Frederick Simcox Lea, *The Royal Hospital and Collegiate Church of Saint Katherine Near the Tower*, etc., London, 1878, *passim*).

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reference to Matthew Paris [12] reminds us that the author of the Dunstable Play was called to England by Richard, Abbot of Saint Albans. Does it not seem likely then that he would, as Mr. Coffman says,[13] have been occupied with thoughts of that church, with its atmosphere full of recollections of the first English martyr, rather than have been endeavoring to attract the attention of a king whom he most probably had never seen? This objection is easily set aside. Even if Geoffrey had never seen Henry, sufficient ties subsisted between his birth-place and England to have made it utterly impossible for him to seek that country without the strongest inclination to attempt to win the favorable notice of its king. Cenomannia was for years bound up with the political life of William the Conqueror,[14] and Henry I had long been favoring its bishops and clergy. He was in fact the close personal friend of its bishop, Hildebert,[15] when Geoffrey was invited to England; and manifested at all times an unusual interest in Cenomannia and its people, even going so far as to appoint the dean of its Cathedral to the Archbishopric of Rouen,[16] a post for generations past filled

[12] Thos. Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, I, 72-73, Rolls Series, 28, 4; also quoted by Coffman, p. 5, n. 17.

[13] Coffman, pp. 74, 78 n. 19.

[14] When Bishop Gervaise fled from Le Mans, William received him at his Norman court, and made him afterwards Archbishop of Rheims, one of the highest church-dignities in all of France (Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, p. 306). He called William de St.-Calais, of St. Vincent-du-Mans, to the bishopric of Durham,—from which office he was afterwards raised to be Chief Justiciary of England (Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, Pars I, 704). William was also a generous contributor to the Cathedral and other religious institutions of Le Mans (Robert Latouche, *Histoire du Comté du Maine Pendant le Xe & XIe Siècle*, in Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Paris, 1910, vol. 183, pp. 146-48).

[15] William Rufus had deposed this prelate from the Episcopal chair of Le Mans and brought him captive to England, but Henry, upon his accession to the throne, reinstated him in his old position (Migne, 171, pp. 68-69). This intimacy was never broken as many letters from the prelate to Henry and his family indicate (Migne, 171, pp. 154, 172-77, 189-90).

[16] Odericus Vitalis, III, 438. Henry called this priest to officiate at the dedication of St. Albans in 1116 (Roger de Wendover, *Flowers of History*, vol. I, p. 467, Bohn's Library Series; Twysden, *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores*, ed. 1652, 502, 45. The Cenomannian was upon this occasion the only representative of a foreign monastery participating in the services (*Gesta Abbatum*, I, 71).

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almost exclusively by members of the ducal family.[17] Geoffrey had besides a strong personal reason for being interested in Henry. When we learn that the Abbot of St. Albans had been for some years supporting the appointment of Neustrians to the gifts of his monastery, even to the detriment of that church,[18] and remember that the real disposition of its offices lay in the hands of the king,[19] it becomes practically certain, in the light of his continued and marked partiality for Le Mans, that Henry was himself responsible for Geoffrey's call to England, and that Richard was only acting as the king's agent in the matter.[20]

To these ties of gratitude were added those of local interests. Geoffrey had, as we know, been somewhat tardy in responding to the invitation which had been extended to him, with the result that the position offered him had been given to another, *quia non venit tempestive*,[21] and he had settled in Dunstable while awaiting its reversion to himself at some future date, *sibi repromissam*.[22] Henry had erected a splendid hunting-palace at Dunstable, and was endeavoring to build up a flourishing municipality by offering unusually liberal privileges to any who would settle there.[23] Here

[17] Mabillon, *op. cit.*, 224; Jumièges, *op. cit., passim;* Pommeraye, *op. cit., passim.*

[18] *Gesta Abbatum Monast. S. Albani*, I, 71.

[19] Cobb, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 199. Richard had been himself appointed to the Abbacy of St. Albans by Rufus and Henry, and this in opposition to the desires of the English clergy (*Gesta Abbatum*, I, 66).

[20] When this same Geoffrey was appointed Abbot of St. Albans in 1119 (Dugdale, II, 184), it was Henry's consent that was asked (*Gesta Abbatum*, I, 73), and not that of the Bishop of Lincoln, in whose see the Monastery of Albans was situated (*Gesta Abbatum*, I, 72).

[21] *Gesta Abbatum Monast. S. Alb.*, I, 73.

[22] *Id.*, I, 73.

[23] W. H. Derbyshire, *A History of Dunstable*, 1872, pp. 23-25. The rental of an acre of land at Dunstable was only twelve pence per annum; the town had a free gallows, and its inhabitants were never required to answer before any "of the itinerant justices, or any other of the king's ministers, without the town and liberty of Dunstable; but the judges and deputies of the sovereign came down to Dunstable, and all pleas were determined by twelve jurors, sworn in from the burgesses, without the association of any stranger." At a later period, Henry founded a Priory at Dunstable, with the intention of converting it finally into a Cathedral with Dunstable as its Cathedral town; a future very glorious for any city in the mediæval mind. Although this plan was never brought to fruition, it serves to indicate the magnitude of Henry's expectations for Dunstable. According

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Geoffrey lived, not, as is commonly supposed, as a teacher in a school subordinate to Saint Albans,[24] but as a simple citizen [25] of a royal town and own burgher to the king.[26]

The foregoing exhibit of evidence, then, clearly gives warrant for considering it natural and inevitable that Geoffrey should have desired to attract Henry's attention and to win his approbation. Not with material endowment of Catherine of Alexandria, however, did he attempt to effect his purpose. It was not unusual to strive for the favor of kings by literary productions; nor was worldly advance-

to an old record (quoted by Derbyshire, p. 54 f.), his successor, Henry VIII, proposed at one period of his life to carry out Henry's intentions concerning the Priory, and even went so far as to nominate a certain Dr. Day for its first Bishop (Luard, *Annales Monastici*, III, 15, Rolls Series 36).

[24] In the middle ages, all instruction in literary arts was confined to the monasteries. Since the latest date possible for the composition of Geoffrey's play is prior to 1119 (Note 20), and Dunstable Priory was not built until after June, 1131 (Luard, *Annales Monastici*, III, Pref. XXVI, n. 1), Geoffrey could not possibly have been teaching at Dunstable when he wrote his *miraculum*. This mistake, common to almost all commentators, is probably due to Bulaeus, who, in relating the origin of the Dunstable Play, says that Geoffrey composed it while teaching at St. Albans, or at least in a school belonging to it, "*certe in scholiis ejusdem*" (Quoted by Coffman, pp. 20-21). Bulaeus is, however, putting his own interpretation on the word *legit* in Matthew Paris's account, and translates it as 'taught,' whereas its real connotation is 'read.'

[25] The fact that Paris recounts the destruction by fire of Geoffrey's *domus*, together with all his books, serves to show us that he was not the member of any monastic school (*Gesta Abbatum*, I, 72-73); and the mention of the possession by St. Albans Monastery of a Manor of Westwick or *Gorcham* (Goeffrey's last name was Gorham) clinches the argument (Dugdale, II, 253). It is fair to suppose that when Geoffrey became Abbot of St. Albans in 1119, he took his private estate with him and endowed the monastery with it.

[26] W. H. Derbyshire, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-45. Henry had rebuilt the town of Dunstable, and had appropriated it to himself as his own personal property, declaring its citizens to be his own especial burghers; and so late as 1459, we find Henry VI forbidding the townsmen of Dunstable to join any Lords' Companies or to wear any signe or lyvere save that of the king or of the king's eldest son, the Prince of Wales. An interesting example of the pertinacity with which the public mind associated Dunstable with the kings of England is to be found in the divorce of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. Though the inhabitants of this town may have felt real sympathy with the unhappy queen, yet their allegiance was certainly felt to be necessarily the king's, and the decree in Henry's favor was read in Dunstable Priory (W. H. Derbyshire, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62).

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ment an unusual reward of literary effort.[27] It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the author of the Dunstable Play adopted as his method of bidding for royal favor, the production of a drama at once new in kind to England—by this the more apt to arouse Beau-clerc's interest—and commemorating the passion[28] of a saint very dear to his heart. And this, I believe, is just what Geoffrey did. As others had sought to please Henry by enriching Catherine with gifts of land or by the erection of churches in her honor, so Geoffrey hoped to win his approbation by a wonderful new drama, a drama enacted on a scale the magnitude of which had probably never been equaled in his day.[29]

The effect of this play upon its royal patron[30] was evidently

[27] Shortly before 1067, Guy of Amiens composed a lengthy poem in the Latin (Petrie, *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 856), in which he heaped the most violent abuse on King Harold, accompanied by as extravagant praise of the Conqueror; and we find the worthy bishop afterwards accompanying Queen Matilda to England as her almoner (Vitalis, I, 492). William de Jumièges composed his *Histoire des Normands* with a view to winning William's favor, and Guy de Poitiers wrote his *Vie de Guillaume-le-Conquérant* (contained in Jumièges) as a tribute to King William. Both Jumièges and Poitiers are as biased in their works as was ever the old bishop.

[28] In support of Mr. Coffman's convincing argument as to the subject-matter of the Dunstable Play, I invite the reader to an examination of the St. Catherine Seal of Dunstable Priory (W. G. Smith, *Dunstable, Its History and Surroundings*, pp. 69-70), that of Polslo Nunnery (Dugdale, VII, 168 n. a), and of the Hospital of St. Catherine at London (J. B. Nichols, *op. cit.*, illustrations in front of page 11, and page 56 n). All of these seals portray the figure of Catherine accompanied by the wheel of martyrdom, and, in the case of the Dunstable Seal, the faces of the angels who came down from heaven to minister unto her. This is true in most instances of all Catherine seals of that time, and would certainly seem to bear out Mr. Coffman's theory that the martyrdom of Catherine was the feature of her legend most commonly represented (Coffman, p. 77).

[29] Mr. Coffman suggests (p. 78) that the borrowing of the copes from St. Albans for the production of the Miracle at Dunstable, would suggest the featuring in the drama of the combat of wits between the saint and the forty wise men. The number of copes which must have been used would argue,—from a study of the only miracles known to have been produced at that time, the German Hildesheim group,—that Geoffrey's drama was uncommonly ambitious, and was on a scale of magnificence well suited to the presence of a kingly witness.

[30] Henry is known to have passed certain periods of local and personal festivity at Kingsbury Palace (Roger de Wendover, *op. cit.*, *passim*), and

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great, for we find the University of Cambridge, which Henry had re-established and was at that time endeavoring to make famous as a seat of learning,[31] accepting and adopting into its practice Geoffrey's *Tractatus de Sacramento;*[32] and we can readily imagine that Henry's recognition of Geoffrey's literary worth was responsible for this adoption. The subsequent endowment of St. Albans with the Dunstable Priory[33] may be taken, I think, as another evidence of the king's acknowledgment of Geoffrey's fame; and Geoffrey's provision at St. Albans, after he became its Abbot, of a bedchamber for the queen,[34] is perhaps an additional indication of the relation between the author of the Dunstable Play and Henry.

Baltimore, Md. CATHERINE B. C. THOMAS.

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANTS BEZIEHUNGEN ZUR DEUTSCHEN DICHTUNG

Etwa ein Jahr nach der Rückkehr von seiner ersten Reise nach Europa veröffentlichte William Cullen Bryant im *New York Mirror*[1] folgendes 1836 in Neuyork geschriebene Gedicht, das wohl bisher manchem Lehrer des Deutschen hierzulande unbekannt geblieben sein dürfte:

A PRESENTIMENT[2]

"O father, let us hence—for hark,
A fearful murmur shakes the air;
The clouds are coming swift and dark;—
What horrid shapes they wear!
A winged giant sails the sky;
Oh father, father, let us fly!"

the presumption must be that this play was produced on one of such occasions, and that the king was present at the entertainment in Dunstable.

[31] Thomas Fuller, *History of the University of Cambridge*, pp. 7-10.

[32] B. Hauréau, *Histoire Littéraire du Maine*, 1872, v, 259.

[33] Dugdale, II, 253.

[34] *Id.*, 184. By this act the queen became the only woman allowed to pass the night within the walls of St. Albans.

[1] XIV, Nr. 42, 15. April 1837, S. 332.

[2] Abgedruckt III, 273 der von Parke Godwin, Bryants Schwiegersohn, besorgten sechsbändigen Ausgabe der *Life and Works of William Cullen*

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"Hush, child; it is a grateful sound,
That beating of the summer shower;
Here, where the boughs hang close around,
We'll pass a pleasant hour,
Till the fresh wind, that brings the rain,
Has swept the broad heaven clear again."

"Nay, father, let us haste,—for see,
That horrid thing with horned brow—
His wings o'erhang this very tree,
He scowls upon us now;
His huge black arm is lifted high;
Oh father, father, let us fly!"

"Hush, child"; but, as the father spoke,
Downward the livid firebolt came,
Close to his ear the thunder broke,
And, blasted by the flame,
The child lay dead; while dark and still
Swept the grim cloud along the hill.

Der hier behandelte Stoff, die Art der Darstellung und der Verlauf des geschilderten Ereignisses erinnern so lebhaft an den *Erlkönig* von Goethe, dass sich einem sofort die Frage aufdrängt, ob denn dieses Gedicht nicht am Ende unter dem Einfluss der Goetheschen Ballade entstanden sein dürfte.[3] Dass solche Beein-

Bryant (New York, Appleton, 1883-1884. Bd. I u. II: *A Biography of William Cullen Bryant with Extracts from his Private Correspondence;* Bd. III u. IV: *The Poetical Works of William Cullen Bryant;* Bd. V u. VI: *Prose Writings of William Cullen Bryant);* ferner S. 179 der 1903 im gleichen Verlag erschienenen einbändigen "Roslyn"-Ausgabe der *Poetical Works of William Cullen Bryant*, welcher chronologisch geordnete, von Henry C. Sturges ausgearbeitete Verzeichnisse der Bryantschen Schriften vorausgehen, die sich laut Angabe der Verleger (S. i) auf dessen mehrjährige Forschungen sich stützen. Soweit nicht anders bemerkt ist, stimmen die Angaben Godwins über Zeit und Ort der Entstehung und Veröffentlichung der betreffenden Gedichte mit denen der Roslyn-Ausgabe überein, nach welcher die Gedichte in diesem Aufsatz angeführt werden.

[3] Vgl. die Inauguraldissertation von W. Otto (*William Cullen Bryants poetische Werke und Übersetzungen*, Leipzig, 1903, S. 40 f.,) der das Gedicht schlechtweg für "eine poetische Nachgestaltung von Goethes *Erlkönig*" hält. S. 41, 5 ff. heisst es: "Der amerikanische Dichter hat den Stoff in sehr gekürzter Form übernommen. An die Episode von Erlkönigs Töchtern erinnert bei ihm nichts. Die Wirkung von *A Presentiment* lässt sich nicht entfernt mit der des *Erlkönigs* vergleichen und doch wird man Bryants Gedicht immer mit Interesse lesen, da er verstanden hat, den

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flussung stattgefunden hat, ist kaum zu bezweifeln, wenn sie sich auch nicht schwarz auf weiss nachweisen lässt. Bryant war nämlich am 24. Juni 1834 nach Europa abgereist in der Absicht, mehrere Jahre drüben zu verweilen, um sich in den neueren Sprachen zu vervollkommnen und seine Kinder dort ausbilden zu lassen.[4] In München und Heidelberg hatte er schon sieben Monate verbracht, als er Ende Januar 1836 durch die gefährliche Erkrankung seines Kollegen in der Leitung der *New York Evening Post* plötzlich von seinen Studien abberufen wurde. Während dieser Zeit hatte er nun angefangen, sich mit der deutschen Sprache und Literatur bekannt zu machen,[5] und es ist kaum denkbar, dass er dabei diese Ballade Goethes nicht kennen gelernt hätte.[6]

Natürlich bleibt doch immer noch die Möglichkeit bestehen, dass Bryant schon früher durch irgend eine Übersetzung mit dem *Erlkönig* bekannt geworden wäre. Im Jahre 1828 hatte er im *Talisman* ein 1827 in Neuyork verfasstes Sonett auf *William Tell*[7] veröffentlicht; wie er aber auf die Tellsage aufmerksam wurde, ist

Inhalt des Goetheschen Liedes geschickt und in selbständiger Weise umzuformen."

[4] Vgl. David J. Hill, *William Cullen Bryant* (in *American Authors*, New York, Sheldon & Co., 1879), S. 90.

[5] Vgl. John Bigelow, *William Cullen Bryant* (in *American Men of Letters*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1890), S. 178 f.

[6] Vgl. die Behauptung Ottos (a. a. O., S. 42), in Heidelberg habe Bryant die Werke von Goethe, Schiller, Rückert und Heine studiert. Die Anregung dazu sei von Margaret Fuller ausgegangen. Worauf diese Angaben beruhen, habe ich nicht ausfindig machen können. Der Name Margaret Fullers wird von Godwin nirgends erwähnt; er kommt wenigstens im Register zur Lebensbeschreibung nicht vor. Diese vier Schriftsteller sind aber genau in dieser Reihenfolge von Godwin (I, 366) aufgeführt (vgl. Anm. 8.). Ob die Behauptung Ottos also bloss auf flüchtige Lektüre dieser Stelle bei Godwin zurückzuführen wäre? Vgl. ferner Anm. 14.

[7] a. a. O., S. 118. Nach Otto (a. a. O., S. 37) sollte man meinen, dieser "kurze Hymnus" sei erst nach dem Aufenthalt in Deutschland (1835-1836) entstanden. Übrigens kommt mir dieser Hinweis auf das Sonett angesichts der oben erwähnten Tatsachen bezüglich Bryants Kenntnisse im Deutschen gänzlich verfehlt vor. Bei Otto heisst es nämlich: "Da sich in Bryants Werken ein kurzer Hymnus: William Tell findet, so dürfen wir annehmen, dass er sich mit Schillers Werken beschäftigt hat." Meines Erachtens aber weist der Ausdruck: thy prison-walls im neunten Vers vielmehr auf oberflächliche Lektüre irgend einer englischen Übersetzung des Schiller'schen Dramas.

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nicht zu ermitteln. Aber wenn man auch überhaupt zur Annahme neigt, dass dieses Gedicht als Nachklang von Schillers Schauspiel gleichen Namens aufzufassen sei, so muss man aber doch nach allem, was über Bryants Studium des Deutschen geschrieben worden, schliessen, es sei ihm dieser Stoff in irgend einer Übersetzung zur Kenntnis gekommen.

Obgleich nun die Frage, ob Bryant den *Erlkönig* in irgend einer Übertragung oder erst 1835 im Urtext kennen gelernt hat, sich nicht so bestimmt, als dies wohl wünschenswert wäre, dahin beantworten lässt, dass er erst während seines verhältnismässig kurzen Aufenthalts in Deutschland mit der Goetheschen Ballade bekannt geworden ist, so erscheint eine solche Annahme doch als das Natürlichste, zumal wenn man ferner die Tatsache mit in Betracht zieht, dass von 1835 an eine beträchtliche Anzahl von Gedichten entstanden ist, die ohne allen Zweifel als Frucht der Beschäftigung mit der deutschen Dichtung aufzufassen sind.[8]

Von *A Presentiment* abgesehen, sind es *The Death of Schiller, The Song of the Sower,* sowie eine Reihe von Übersetzungen, die sein Interesse an der deutschen Poesie bekunden.[9] *The Death of Schiller,*[10] 1838 in Neuyork entstanden, erschien im August desselben Jahres in der *Democratic Review.* Auf *The Song of the Sower*[11] ist aber vor allem hinzuweisen, das 1859 in Roslyn, dem 1843 vom Dichter erworbenen Heim, gedichtet, erst fünf Jahre später im Gedichtband *Thirty Poems* im Druck erschien. Dieses Gedicht hat wohl Schillers *Lied von der Glocke* seine Entstehung mit zu verdanken. Gestaltung und Gedankengang der beiden sind von solch schlagender Ähnlichkeit, dass man in der Wahl des Gegenstands und der Art der Behandlung eine Beeinflussung des

[8] Wegen der spätern Fortsetzung des Studiums deutscher Sprache und Literatur vgl. die äusserst interessante Stelle bei Godwin a. a. O., I, 365 f.

[9] Vgl. die von W. A. Bradley in seinem *William Cullen Bryant* (*English Men of Letters,* New York, Macmillan, 1905), S. 143 ausgesprochene Ansicht über *The Strange Lady* (a. a. O., S. 172). Dass Bradley mit seiner Vermutung, diese Ballade stelle den Versuch dar, einen dem romantischen Sagenschatz Deutschlands entnommenen Stoff zu bearbeiten, irgendwie recht hätte, ist zum mindesten zweifelhaft: erinnert doch die ganze Schilderung vielmehr lebhaft an den amerikanischen Urwald, was ja die erwähnten Vögel u. Bäume zur Genüge beweisen.

[10] a. a. O., S. 184.

[11] a. a. O., S. 244.

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Bryantschen Gedichts durch das ebengenannte Vorbild wohl kaum in Abrede stellen darf.[12]

Bryants Tätigkeit als Übersetzer deutscher Gedichte erstreckt sich von seinem ersten Aufenthalt in Deutschland über einen Zeitraum von beinahe vierzig Jahren. *The Count of Greiers,*[13] eine Nachdichtung von Uhlands Ballade *Der Graf von Greiers,* erschien schon zwei Tage vor seiner Abreise von Heidelberg, d. h., am 23. Januar 1836 im *New York Mirror.*[14] Noch in diesem Jahre wurde *The Sharpening of the Sabre*[15] nach dem Deutschen eines (dem Übersetzer oder dem Herausgeber?) "unbekannten Verfassers" übersetzt und im Juli in der *Evening Post* veröffentlicht. Hierauf folgten nun *A Northern Legend*[16] "from the German of Uhland" (*Das Lied vom Mägdlein und vom Ring*), 1842 in Neuyork geschrieben und 1843 im Januarheft von *Graham's Magazine* erschienen; *I Think of Thee,*[17] eine 1840 in Neuyork vorgenommene Übersetzung von Goethes *Nähe des Geliebten,* die erst nach etwa vier Jahren Januar 1844 in *Godey's Lady's Book* gedruckt wurde; *The Paradise of Tears,*[18] das 1843 nach dem

[12] Was Otto (a. a. O., S. 37 f.) hierüber bemerkt, besteht wohl zu Recht, wenn man auch, wie dies ja bei *A Presentiment* der Fall ist, (vgl. Anm. 2,) zum Einwand völlig berechtigt ist, dass der gewählte Stoff trotz einer gewissen Ähnlichkeit mit dem der deutschen Vorlage doch seinem inneren Wesen nach weit beschränkter war und keineswegs zu so ausführlicher Behandlung Gelegenheit bot wie der *Erlkönig* u. das *Lied von der Glocke.* Und vollends in den Anfangszeilen der neunten Strophe:

> Brethren, the sower's task is done.
> The seed is in its winter bed.
> Now let the dark-brown mould be spread,
> To hide it from the sun. . . .

einen Nachklang der Schillerschen Worte: "In die Erd' ist's aufgenommen. Glücklich ist die Form gefüllt" sehen zu wollen (vgl. Otto a. a. O., S. 38) heisst dem amerikanischen Dichter alle Ursprünglichkeit des Denkens absprechen. Ist dies doch vielmehr als ganz notwendige, im Wesen der Sache begründete, übrigens ganz zufällige Übereinstimmung der beiden Bilder aufzufassen.

[13] a. a. O., S. 152.

[14] XIII, Nr. 30, S. 236. Hat Bryant sich also schon vor der Rückkehr nach Amerika mit den Balladen Uhlands beschäftigt, so ist man sicherlich zur Annahme berechtigt, er habe vorher die Balladen Schillers und Goethes einschliesslich des *Erlkönigs* im Urtext gelesen.

[15] a. a. O., S. 368. [16] a. a. O., S. 155. [17] a. a. O., S. 370.

[18] a. a. O., S. 156. Lies: *From the German of N. Müller* anstatt *Müeller.*

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Deutschen N. Müllers bearbeitet, im November 1844 in *Graham's Magazine*[19] veröffentlicht wurde; *The Saw Mill*,[20] eine Übertragung von Kerners Gedicht *Der Wanderer in der Sägmühle*, 1848 in *Graham's Magazine* erschienen; *The Lady of Castle Windeck*,[21] eine Nachdichtung von dem *Burgfräulein von Windeck* von Chamisso, die 1850 in der Julinummer von *Graham's Magazine* erschien; *The Words of the Koran*[22] nach Zedlitz' Gedicht *Die Worte des Koran* im November 1865 ausgearbeitet, doch erst in der von Godwin besorgten Ausgabe gedruckt; und endlich *The Poet's First Song*,[23] im November 1873 zu Roslyn aus dem Deutschen von Houwald (*Das erste Lied*) übersetzt und 1876 in der Aprilnummer von *The Mayflower* veröffentlicht.[24]

Ferner dürfte wohl von Interesse sein der Brief, den Bryant am 3. Dezember 1862 an Dr. Ad. Laun (aus Oldenburg) schrieb, der einige Übertragungen Bryantscher Gedichte veröffentlicht hatte:[25]

"The additional translations of my poems in the 'Sontagsblatt' [so], forwarded by you, have arrived; and I find them equally well done—so far as a foreigner may be allowed to judge—with their predecessors—specimens of that skill in rendering the poetry of

[19] Vgl. meine Bemerkungen zu Bryants in *Graham's Magazine* veröffentlichten Gedichten, *Mod. Lang. Notes* XXXII, 180 ff.

[20] a. a. O., S. 370. "*From the German of Korner* (so)" hiess es in der Überschrift in *Graham's Magazine*.

[21] a. a. O., S. 157.

[22] a. a. O., S. 392.

[23] a. a. O., S. 393. In der 16. Strophe findet sich eine merkwürdige Verwirrung des Sinnes, die dadurch verursacht wurde, dass der Übersetzer den Ausruf des als berühmter Mann nach Hause zurückkehrenden Dichters sinnlos der abschlägigen Antwort seines ersten, längst vergessenen Liebs einverleibte.

"So nenne seinen Namen!"	"His name?" "Nay, gentle stranger,
"'Nein, lieber fremder Herr!'"	Ask not the name he bore;
"Vielleicht, dass ich ihn kenne!"	Perhaps I, too, may know him,
"'Er kennt doch mich nicht mehr!'"	But me he knows no more."

Houwalds sämtl. Werke, Leipzig, 1859, v, 639. a. a. O., S. 394.

[24] Nachdem Bryant sich 1835 dem Studium deutscher Literatur zuwandte, war es zwanzig Jahre lang nur diese, die ihm zum Übersetzen Anregung bot; und soweit seine Übertragungen seine Beschäftigung mit fremden Literaturen bekunden, behauptete auch fernerhin die erst im reifern Mannesalter liebgewonnene deutsche Dichtung ihren Platz.

[25] Vgl. Godwin, a. a. O., II, 187.

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other countries into your noble language in which your countrymen excel all other nations with whose literature I am acquainted. Your dedicatory words are only too complimentary."

Es sei zum Schluss darauf hingewiesen, dass Bryant am 11. November 1859 bei der Schiller-Gedächtnisfeier in Neuyork eine Rede hielt.[26] Am 17. Mai 1871 nahm er ferner mit einer Ansprache über *The Progress of German Literature*[27] an einem dem deutschen Gesandten, Freiherrn von Gerolt, zu Ehren veranstalteten Festmahl teil, und am 27. August 1875 hielt der achtzigjährige Greis bei Gelegenheit der "Jahrhundertfeier" des Neuyorker Goethe-Klubs eine Rede über Goethe.[28] Noch am 8. April 1878 wohnte er dem von der German Social Science Association dem Faustübersetzer, Bayard Taylor, zu Ehren veranstalteten Kommers bei;[29] den "Nestor der amerikanischen Dichter" liess man dabei hochleben, wofür Bryant sich mit einer Rede in deutscher Sprache bedankte.

Bryant scheint sich demnach mit grosser Vorliebe mit der deutschen Dichtung beschäftigt zu haben.[30] Erst verhältnismässig spät hiermit bekannt geworden,—er war ja bekanntlich fast einundvierzig Jahre alt, als er an das Studium des Deutschen herantrat—,[31] hat er seit 1835 mit Ausnahme von einem aus dem

[26] Vgl. Godwin, a. a. O., VI, 215 ff.

[27] Vgl. Godwin, a. a. O., VI, 287 ff.

[28] Vgl. Godwin, a. a. O., VI, 335 ff. Sturges' Angabe in seiner *Chronology of Bryant's Life* (a. a. O., S. lxiii unter der Jahreszahl 1875): "In September he delivered an address before the Goethe Society" ist nach Godwin (a. a. O., II, 366 sowie VI, 335, Anm.) zu berichtigen.

[29] Vgl. Godwin, a. a. O., II, 392 f. Da der bei Godwin abgedruckte Brief erst Mittwoch, den 10. April geschrieben wurde, kann Sturges' Behauptung (a. a. O., S. lxiv unter der Jahreszahl 1878), der Kommers habe am 10. April stattgefunden, unmöglich richtig sein. Heisst es doch ausdrücklich in dem ersten Satze dieses Briefes: "I saw Bayard Taylor on Monday evening at the 'Commers' usw." Dieser hat also am 8. April 1878 stattgefunden.

[30] Vgl. Hill, a. a. O., S. 119: "His library. . . ."

[31] Schon zehn Jahre früher hatte er das Studium der romanischen Sprachen angefangen. Die Behauptung Ottos (a. a. O., S. 41), im Jahre 1825 habe er begonnen, Französisch, Provençalisch, Spanisch, Portugiesisch und Italienisch zu studieren, bedarf der Berichtigung nach Godwin (a. a. O., I, 205 u. vor allem 189 u. 220) dahin, dass er im Herbste dieses Jahres sein Studium der ersten beiden Sprachen fortgesetzt, sowie der übrigen angefangen hat. In den zehn Jahren 1826-1835 erschienen nun je eine Übersetzung aus dem Französischen und dem Portugiesischen, sowie zwei aus dem Provençalischen und zehn aus dem Spanischen.

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Italienischen übertragenen Gedicht sowie vier aus dem Spanischen nur noch aus dem Deutschen Übersetzungen vorgenommen,[32] und zwar, wie aus dem Gesagten zur Genüge hervorgeht, hat er sich mehrere Jahrzehnte hindurch bis zu seinem Lebensabend in der Übertragung deutscher Gedichte gefallen.

A. H. Herrick.

Harvard University.

A NEW VERSION OF RANDOLPH'S *ARISTIPPUS*

This version is new only in the sense that it has never before been studied, for Sloane MS. 2531, which contains it, has long been in the British Museum. The MS. contains a very heterogeneous collection of pieces and bears no signature or date of any kind; the authorities at the Museum have not been able to learn anything about its history. As early as 1875 Hazlitt referred to it in his edition of Randolph's works, but he did not take the trouble to collate the text of the MS. with that of the printed copies, the first of which appeared in 1630, about three years after the time when we may suppose the play was written. Had he done so he would have made some interesting discoveries for, although the two versions correspond closely, there are a few important differences. The character of these differences makes it appear highly probable that the MS. does not follow the printed copies at all, but is based upon some other text, and in all probability represents an earlier version that was revised before publication.

The first significant thing in the MS. is the list of dramatis personae, a list that does not appear in the printed copies. With the help of this we are able to identify two of the characters in the play with persons actually known to the Cambridge undergraduates of Randolph's own day. Fleay's conjecture[1] that Medico de Campo is intended for Leech-Field or Lichfield is confirmed by the characterization of him in the MS. as a "vaine glorious Quacksalve personating Dick Litchfeild a Barber Surgeon in Cambridge." The "Wildman," who had never been quite comprehensible to me, is

[32] Es ist hier natürlich nur von Übersetzungen aus den neueren Sprachen die Rede.

[1] *Biog. Chron.*

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here described as "Buttler of Trinitie Coll.[2] in Cambridge, & one that keepes a Tipling house." This "tipling house" was, we may conjecture, the Cambridge tavern called the "Wild Man," which is mentioned in an almost contemporary poem.[3]

But more interesting than this list of dramatis personae are a number of passages referring to persons known to the general public outside of the college circle. One of these passages, which might have seemed disrespectful to Jonson, was apparently stricken out by Randolph after he became acquainted with the old dramatist. In the speech of Simplicius,[4] which in the printed copies ends with "Yea, the spring of the Muses is the fountain of sack; for to think Helicon a barrell of beer is as great a sin as to call Pegasus a brewer's horse," we have in the MS. the following additional lines, "The divine Ben, the immortall Johnson knew this very well when he placed his oracle of Apollo at the Taverne of St. Dunstan[5] and perhaps there he wrought his vulpone, the learned fox."

Another change made before the play was printed occurs in the passage where the Wild Man raves against Aristippus.[6] Instead of the sentence, "But he has blown up good store of men in his days, houses and lands, and all," the MS. has, "But I am sure Faux and his tobacco barrells could not have blown up more men in the Parliament than he hath done houses and lands in the countries."

Another set of passages refers to the relations between England and Spain, which had become decidedly strained as a result of the failure of the projected marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta. In the same speech of the Wildman, only a few lines above the sentence just quoted, the reading of the MS. is,[7] "I'll teach my Spanish Don a French trick; I'll either plague him with a pox, or *have him burnt* for an heretic. *What has he to do now the match is broken off? If he be not sent from Gondomar,* or employed by Spinola to seduce the King's lawful subjects from

[2] Trinity was Randolph's own college.

[3] Dated 1630. See Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge* v, 380.

[4] Hazlitt, *Randolph's Works*, p. 20.

[5] The Devil Tavern, in which Jonson set up his oracle of Apollo, stood opposite to the church of St. Dunstan near Temple Bar.

[6] Hazlitt, p. 10.

[7] The parts omitted or changed in the printed copies are italicized.

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their allegiance to strong beer, let me hold up my hand at the bar and be hanged at my sign post if he had not a hand in the powder treason."

Another reference to Gondomar is found in one of the boasting speeches of Medico de Campo.[8] The printed copies read, "I cured the State of Venice of a dropsy, the Low Countries of a lethargy, and if it had not been treason I had cured the fistula, that it should have dropt no more than your nose." In place of the last part of the sentence the MS. reads, "If it had not been treason I had cured Gondomar of his fistula, that it should have dropt no more than his nose," and then the Second Scholar, as he had done before, adds to the list of cures another one, "And England of a Subsidie." There are also a few minor changes, such as the substitution of the harmless "Don Canarios" for the "Don Olivares" of the MS. which point in the same direction. This last change would seem to amount to little, however, since in the next line the reference to "thou Spanish Guzman" is unaltered.

Assuming that this MS. does represent Randolph's original version of the play, a fact of which I am convinced although there is no direct evidence to prove it, we find that the element of satire in the *Aristippus* is much greater than had previously been supposed. This satire does not follow a consistent scheme, for here Randolph's aim was simply to amuse, not, as it was in his later plays, to instruct and reform. Here we find jumbled together in hopeless confusion, humorous parodies of the text-books the students used in their college studies, satiric portrayal of the way in which these same students spent their leisure hours, ridicule of local characters well known to the college audience, disparaging allusions to Olivares, the Spanish prime minister and his general Spinola, much more biting attacks upon his ambassador Gondomar, and references to such delicate subjects as the unsuccessful expedition against Cadiz and the king's many attempts to raise money. It is apparent that some of these things, while they might be harmless enough in a play that was acted by students before a purely academic audience would be likely to give offense if printed; others perhaps referred to events that had wholly lost interest for the public by the time the play was printed. Therefore Randolph acted wisely when he either

[8] Hazlitt, p. 30.

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omitted or modified these passages before he permitted the publication of the play.[9]

JOHN J. PARRY.

University of Illinois.

REVIEWS

The Ancient Cross Shafts at Bewcastle and Ruthwell. Enlarged from the Rede Lecture, delivered before the University of Cambridge on 20 May, 1916, by G. F. Browne. With three photogravures and twenty-three illustrations. Cambridge, University Press, 1916.

In this handsome quarto Bishop Browne reaffirms the general views concerning the date of the Bewcastle and Ruthwell Crosses which he has maintained with reasonable consistency since 1884,[1] when, following George Stephens in 1866 (*Date,* p. 8), he read "Cædmon made me" on the head of the Ruthwell Cross, and, following John Maughan in 1857,[2] thought that the Bewcastle Cross "was erected to King Alchfrith, in the first year of King Ecgfrith, about A. D. 665."[3] "Alchfrith," he went on to say, "was the patron of Wilfrith" (*Accounts,* pp. 83 ff.). In 1896 he wrote of the Bewcastle Cross: "It was set up in the year 670" (*Date,* p. 12). In 1890 he read on the Ruthwell Cross "Kedmon mæ fauœþo" (*Date,* p. 11), Stephens having read: "Cadmon mæ fauœþo," which he interpreted: "Cadmon me fawed (made)" (*Date,* pp. 8, 41); and in 1897 was confident that this cross was erected before the death of King Ecgfrith in 685 (*Date,* p. 12),

[9] There is considerable mystery surrounding the publication of this play, two editions of which, by different publishers, were licensed within two weeks of each other. I consider, however, that the alterations made in the earlier text show Randolph's hand clearly, so if Harper's edition was, as I suspect, a pirated one, it must have been printed from a copy which Randolph had revised with the idea of publication in mind.

[1] See my monograph, *The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses* (hereafter referred to as *Date*), p. 9.

[2] See my monograph, *Some Accounts of the Bewcastle Cross* (hereafter referred to as *Accounts*), pp. 71 ff., 96; Maughan had published something to the same effect in December, 1855 (*Accounts,* p. 136).

[3] Maughan had said 670; Daniel H. Haigh, in 1856, said between 664 and 670 (*Accounts,* p. 136).

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unless it had been brought, by sea according to tradition, from distant parts (p. 42; cf. his *Theodore and Wilfrith*, p. 236). He still adheres (p. 5) to the date of 670 for the Bewcastle Cross, while now inclined, if I understand him, to assume a somewhat later date for the Ruthwell Cross.

In 1890 (*Academy* XXXVII, 153-4) I joined issue with those who contended that the inscription on the Ruthwell Cross dates, in its present form, from the seventh century. This hypothesis I undertook to refute on linguistic grounds alone. In 1901 (*P. M. L. A.*, XVII, 380-390) I extended the linguistic proof, and adduced other considerations, drawn from the meaning, metre, and diction (*P. M. L. A.*, XVII, 375-380). In 1912 I added other arguments based upon the language of the decipherable runes on both the Ruthwell and the Bewcastle Crosses (*Date*, pp. 32-40, 42-44), and endeavored to confirm the resulting conclusions by considerations deduced from the figure-sculpture and the decorative sculpture on the two monuments (*Date*, pp. 45 ff.). In 1915 I showed, by a comparison of the two accounts written by the local archæologists, Haigh and Maughan, in 1857, that they were mutually contradictory in essential points as respects the Bewcastle Cross, and in fact virtually nullified each other (*Accounts*, pp. 36-122; cf. pp. 30, 141-4, and *Date*, plate opposite p. 41).

In 1890 I confined myself to the opinion that "the inscription on the Ruthwell Cross is at least as late as A. D. 950, . . . while certain indications . . . would point to a still later date." In 1901 I said (*P. M. L. A.*, XVII, 390): "We shall not hesitate, I believe, to assume that the Ruthwell inscription is at least as late as the tenth century." In 1912 I was led to the belief that "a date not far from 1150 would perhaps harmonize all the indications better than any other that could be named" (*Date*, p. 146), and more tentatively suggested (*Date*, pp. 147-9) that David I of Scotland might conceivably have been responsible for the erection of the two crosses.

So much it is necessary to premise, since Bishop Browne has done me the honor to make me one of the principal objects of his courteous attacks on those who do not agree with him in favoring the early date proposed by Maughan, Haigh, and Stephens.

Ignoring debatable matters, the issue is simply this: Were the two crosses erected in the seventh century, or in the twelfth? As the argument from language which I put forward in 1890 has

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been, so far as I know, completely ignored by British archæologists, and as I conceive it to be of capital importance, I revert to that, and will endeavor to restate it with as much clearness as I am able to attain.

The basis of such linguistic proof is to be found in the two sentences with which I began my paper of Feb. 1, 1890:

"If the date of an ancient inscribed monument is to be determined by the evidence of language alone, the procedure is manifestly the same as in the case of a manuscript. If we found a number of eleventh-century forms in a manuscript, then, though other forms might clearly belong to the sixth century, we should be warranted in dating the manuscript not earlier than the eleventh century."

To which may be added a subsequent statement:

"The occurrence of earlier forms, though in considerable number, does not invalidate such evidence of lateness as has been mentioned, since these earlier forms may have been introduced into a late copy either accidentally or intentionally, while it is impossible that late forms should have been introduced into an early document."

It is well understood that the course of the English language for the first few centuries may be traced by the changes which take place in the forms of words—among these being the losses and modifications experienced by their endings, and occasioned by the lack of stress. One of the commonest of these is the passage of the final vowels *a* and *u* into a neutral *e*, pronounced like the *a* in *vista*, the *e* afterwards becoming silent: thus OE. *mōna* becomes ME. *mone, moone,* and finally *moon; sunu* becomes *sune, sone,* and finally *son*. But the change which most concerns us here is the loss of final *n* in the endings of verbs, especially in the infinitive and the preterit plural. The infinitive *cuman* thus appears in Luke 18. 16 (MS. from about A. D. 1000): "Lætað þā lȳtlingas tō mē *cuman*." The MS. of about 1160 reads: "Læteð þā lītlinges tō mē *cumen*." By Chaucer's time the infinitive appears as *come:* thus in *Book of the Duchess* 708: "For that is doon is not to *come*." However, the *-en* of 1160 still persists in Chaucer's time, and even sporadically for half a century later; thus, *Parl.* 75-6:

> Thou shalt nat misse
> To *comen* swiftly to that place dere.

But here it is important to observe that the Northumbrian dialect

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of OE. loses the final *n* of the infinitive[4] much earlier than Chaucer's time, and indeed earlier than in the earliest manuscript of the West Saxon Gospels, namely by 950-1000,[5] the date of the Northumbrian Gospels in the Durham Book (see my *Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels*, Halle, 1894). Thus in Lk. 18. 16 (see the West Saxon above) we have: "Lētas ðā cnaihtes *cuma* tō mē." Here it is evident that the final *n* is already gone, more than four hundred years before the date of the *Canterbury Tales*. But the Northumbrian dialect had not always been without the final *n* of the infinitive. It occurs before 750 (*P. M. L. A.*, XVII, 381) in the *hergan* of *Cædmon's Hymn*,[6]

Nū scylun *hergan* hefænricæs Uard,

in the *haatan*[7] (i. e. *hātan*) of the *Leiden Riddle*, and in the *cnyissan* (i. e. *cnyssan*) of the same,[8] which exists in a manuscript of the ninth century. Down to some date in the ninth century, then, the final *n* of the infinitive continues to be found, but in Northumbrian is lost by some period between 950 and 1000.

But what is the bearing of all this upon the date of the Ruthwell Cross? Simply that all authorities[9] agree that the only two infinitives that can be read on the cross, *gistīga* and *hælda*, end in *-a*, and not in *-an*. It follows at once that, by this test, the inscription can not be earlier than about the tenth century.

This is not all, however. There is a Northumbrian verbal form which is much more tenacious of its final *-n* than the infinitive—that is, the preterit plural. This typically ends in *-on* or *-un*, which, as in all the dialects, may become *-e* when followed by the subject-pronoun of the first and second persons (Sievers, § 360. 2). In the period to which the Lindisfarne Gospels belong, any other ending than *-on* or *-un* was so rare that Sievers, in the third edition of his *Grammatik* (1898) categorically denied (§ 364, note 4; cf. Bülbring, § 557. e) that any such existed. There are, how-

[4] Cf. Sievers, *Grammar*, § 188. 2; Bülbring, *Elementarbuch*, § 557, a.

[5] So Skeat, *St. John*, p. ix: "The latter half of the tenth century."

[6] Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 149; Zupitza-Schipper, *Alt- und Mittelenglisches Übungsbuch*, p. 2.

[7] Sweet, p. 151; Schlutter, *Anglia* XXXII, 387-8; XXXIII, 466.

[8] Schlutter, as above; and see particularly *Anglia* XXXIII, 465.

[9] So Zupitza-Schipper, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 7; Grein-Wülker, *Bibl. der Ags. Poesie*, II, 114-5; J. R. Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland*, III, 445-8; Vietor, *Die Northumbrischen Runensteine*, p. 6.

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ever, a very few sporadic forms in *-o*, in contrast with a vastly larger number of instances (354 of *wēron*, etc., the preterit plural of the verb *to be*, in the Gospels) of *-on*, *-un*. In other words, there is an overwhelming predominance in the Northumbrian of 950-1000 of *-on*, *-un* in the preterit plural of verbs, both strong and weak. Now how does it stand with the inscription on the Ruthwell Cross? Here there are five plural preterits; three of them end in *-un* (*ālegdun*, laid; *bihēaldun*, beheld; *gīstōddun*, stood), while two (*cwōmu*,[10] came; *bismæradu*,[11] reviled) end in *-u*. In other words, 40 per cent. of the instances have the shorter form, and thus point to a later date than 950-1000.

Other linguistic considerations might be added here, but may be read at length in the pages cited above. Nothing could be

[10] The West Saxon MS. of Matthew 25, 36 (ca. 1160) has: "Ge *cōmen* tō mē"; the Northumbrian: "Gīe *cuōmun* tō mē." In 1048 the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle has *cōmon*, and in 1070 *cōmen* (Earle and Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, pp. 174, 205). Forbes and Dickins (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, X, 32) object that "it can not fairly be inferred from this that the Ruthwell forms are later than those of Lindisfarne, Ritual, etc., for the latter usually have *-on*, with the change of unaccented *u* to *o*, which took place apparently in all Anglo-Saxon dialects in the course of the ninth century, whereas the Ruthwell forms invariably [that is, in five cases] have *-u*." But we are expressly told by Lindelöf (*Die Südnorthumbrische Mundart des 10. Jahrhunderts*, § 209, p. 130) that the Rushworth Gospels (cf. Bülbring, § 24. b) have about 500 instances of *-un* to about 90 of *-on*. Moreover, though *-on* preponderates in the Lindisfarne Gospels, there is a not inconsiderable number of *-un*'s: thus *cuōmun* (*cwōm*(*m*)*un*), Matt. Introd., p. 5, lines 12, 13; 2. 1; 3. 7; 13. 4; 21. 1; 25. 39; 26. 55; 28. 11, 13; Mk. 3. 13; 6. 31 (MS. reading, as against Skeat); Jn. 6. 17 (like last); 7. 45; in the Rushworth Gospels *cōmun* occurs 43 times, *cōm*(*m*)*on*, 29.

[11] The MS. of ca. 1160 has *bysmeredon* in Matt. 25. 39, 41; *bismeredon* occurs in Lind. Matt. 27. 29, 31 (cf. 41); Mk. 15. 20; Lk. 22. 63; 23. 35; *bismeradun* in Rush. Mk. 15. 20; Lk. 22. 63; 23. 35, 36. As another mark of lateness in the inscription, I may instance the ending *-e* in *walde* (*Dream of the Rood* 41, *wolde*); the ancient ending was *-æ*, as is shown by the *āstelidæ*, *tiadæ* of *Cædmon's Hymn* (cf. Sievers, *Grammar*, § 44, note 1). Forbes and Dickins (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, X, 29) object that the final *e* is marked as doubtful by Victor. What he says is (*North. Runensteine*, p. 7) that the last stroke of the four constituting the letter (resembling M) is lacking; and my photograph (*Date*, Fig. 16, end of 13th line on right) shows that this is true; but the most recent critical edition of the Ruthwell runes (Zupitza-Schipper) accepts this reading (p. 3, l. 2, end of third word; p. 6).

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clearer, however, than the conclusions to which the facts just adduced point. They are not decisive with respect to the twelfth century, but they seem to me convincing with respect to the seventh.

It is hardly necessary to repeat, at this date, that the inscription on the Ruthwell Cross is extracted, or adapted, from the *Dream of the Rood*. This, which has been called by Dr. Henry Bradley "the noblest example of Old English religious poetry," was first definitely attributed to Cynewulf by Dietrich in 1865 (see my edition, p. xvii). After weighing the arguments and counter-arguments, I expressed in 1905 (my edition, p. xl) the opinion that "the balance of probability seems to incline decidedly in favor of Cynewulfian authorship." Bishop Browne, following Haigh (my edition, p. xi; *Date*, p. 7) and Stephens (my edition, pp. xii-xiv; *Date*, p. 8), who had attributed the whole poem to Cædmon, assigns (p. 68) to him "the earlier and finer half of this great poem," down to line 64—a portion, be it noted, which contains all the passages drawn upon for the inscription on the cross, except (what he has overlooked) the phrase "fore (allæ) men," which occurs, as "for ealle men," in line 93 (cf. *P. M. L. A.*, XVII, 378).

What shall we say, then, to this ascription to Cædmon of the whole, or a part, of the *Dream of the Rood*, supported (pp. 68-71), as it is, by the statement that the head of the cross bears the runic *Kedmon mæ fauæþa?* This reading, in the first place, is not confirmed by Vietor (*op. cit.*, p. 11), who doubtfully discerns: :(R?) D (D?) Æ þ (:) (M͡Æ?) (F) A Y R þ O, out of which nothing can be made.[12] "But," as Sweet said in 1885, "assuming the name Cædmon, it can only be taken as that of the sculptor who devised the ornamentation and carved the cross." We have seen the date assigned by Bishop Browne to the Ruthwell Cross. How does it accord with the hypothesis that the lines upon it were written by Cædmon? Of the latter Dr. Henry Bradley has said:[13] "It is commonly stated that he died in 680, in the same year as

[12] Dr. Henry Bradley says (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th edition, IV, 935, note 2): "Stephens read the inscription on the top-stone as *Cadmon mæ fauæþo*, which he rendered 'Cadmon made me.' But these words are mere jargon, not belonging to any known or possible Old English dialect."

[13] *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th edition, IV, 934; cf. Plummer's edition of Bede, II, 251.

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the abbess Hild, but for this there is no authority. All that we know of his date is that his dream took place during the period (658-680) in which Hild was abbess of Streanæshalch, and that he must have died some considerable time before Bæda finished his history in 731." It may be added that the manuscript of his only ascertained poem, the brief *Cædmon's Hymn,* is probably rather later than 737,[14] while that of *Bede's Death-Song* occurs in a St. Gall manuscript of the ninth century.[15] We have nothing, then, of an earlier date than about 737 that represents Cædmon's authentic composition. This brief poem may have been produced at any time before Nov. 17, 680 (when Hild died), and his own death may have occurred at any time before (say) 710 (or even later). Such being the case, is it likely that some time before 685 (see above, p. 354) a great cross was erected about 112 miles northwest of Whitby, in a wild and desolate region of the Scotch border, bearing fragments of a poem composed by Cædmon (who, so far as we know, never was able to write, or even read), a humble herdsman who had become a humble monk? And who should have done it? Wilfrith? But about 685 he seems to have been occupied with quite other matters than the arts, his palmy era as a church-builder being placed by Bishop Browne[16] "about 670 or 671" (cf. *Date,* p. 76, note 2), when he was sufficiently employed elsewhere (cf. Plummer II, 678).

But what as to the assignment of the Bewcastle Cross to the seventh century? Here, as in the case of the Ruthwell Cross, we must limit ourselves, in order to avoid undue prolixity, to one or two considerations. Take the chequers. In 1906, in a new and revised edition of his *Conversion of the Heptarchy* (p. 194), Bishop Browne called them "perhaps the most difficult thing to explain on the whole cross, whether as to purpose or as to date." No wonder that he found them so, seeing that the distinguished archæologist, Rivoira, expressly states that the earliest instance of

[14] Plummer I, p. lxxxix; II, 251.

[15] Plummer I, p. lxxii, note 1.

[16] P. 18. Bishop Browne, who is inclined to associate Wilfrith with Bewcastle especially (p. 17; cf. p. 22, and his *Theodore and Wilfrith,* p. 37), seems not to be quite sure whether the Bewcastle and the Ruthwell crosses were done by the same hands or not. On p. 7 he speaks of "the skilled mason who carved the vine scrolls at Bewcastle and Ruthwell"; on p. 27 he doubts "if the artist was the same for the two crosses"; cf. pp. 43 ff., especially p. 47.

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the chequer-pattern in ecclesiastical architecture is to be found in the abbey-church of Jumièges[17] (1040-1066). This Bishop Browne now disposes of by saying (p. 37): "Chequers are an attractive ornament on a small shrine of wood or metal. . . . An Irish shrine thus adorned is in existence. The effect is admirably reproduced on the Bewcastle shaft."

After discussing the word *Cynnburug* on the Bewcastle Cross (*Date*, pp. 43-4), I ended thus: "Both *cynn-* and *burug* are comparatively late forms, which do not flourish till the 10th century, and persist long after that." This is waved aside with the remark (p. 77; cf. p. 15): "Enough has been said already about these confident assertions based on the assumption that philological accuracy was achieved by the designers or sculptors of these ancient monuments."

Bishop Browne's book abounds in digressions, and in many parts is characterized by vagueness. He leans much upon the testimony of early, or supposedly early, ivories, medallions, and such small objects. He too often transgresses what I believe to be cardinal principles in arriving at a just decision concerning the points at issue. One of these, which I had occasion to formulate a couple of years ago (*Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XIV, 305 f.), I venture to reproduce here:

"So far as the archæological element is concerned, these crosses must be dated by ecclesiastical stone-sculpture whose approximate period is beyond reasonable doubt. They must be dated by stone-sculpture, because the minor arts, with which comparison has frequently been made, flourished before the age of mediæval stone-sculpture in northwestern Europe; and since the crosses, taken together, are predominantly ecclesiastical, they should be considered in relation to approximately contemporary specimens of that class. It is not sufficient to show that forms resembling these are to be found at a given period on ivories or in manuscripts, or incised in wood."

Bishop Browne's mode of procedure may be illustrated by a few details.

He defends Maughan's reading of *ean kyniing*—understood as "one king" (*Accounts*, p. 72)—on the quite illegible part of the Bewcastle inscription, and defends it by saying (p. 76): "*Ean* is merely phonetic. It has never changed its sound in Northum-

[17] *Lomb. Arch.*, II, 83; cf. *Date*, p. 85.

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bria"—and that sound, he says, is *yan*. Yet he needed only to look at the *NED.* under *one* to discover that this Northern pronunciation did not originate until the latter part of the seventeenth century.

He goes back (pp. 22, 49, 61) to the notion that Wilfrith brought foreign artists to England, apparently from Italy, "with their portfolios full of the choicest patterns of panels in wood and stone and ivory." He seems not to have read with attention my long note (*Date,* pp. 76-7), in which I show that Eddi, Wilfrith's contemporary biographer, says nothing of his bringing artists *from abroad,* and that the statements to that effect were all invented by William of Malmesbury and others who lived four hundred years later, and who could have had no information on the subject save what they obtained from Eddi; yet on another point Bishop Browne remarks (p. 87): "When we look more closely into the position of Eddi and Bede, it seems rather absurd to reject them in favour of William of Malmesbury."

Apropos of my remark (*Date,* p. 53) that the crucifixion "is rarely figured in sculpture in the 10th century, and does not become at all common till the 13th," he observes (p. 29): "It would be idle to dwell upon that argument: Ruthwell and Bewcastle attract us because they are uniquely uncommon."

He discusses the Brussels Cross inscription, assigning it to a date before 982 (p. 72), being apparently unacquainted with my article in the *Modern Language Review* (Cambridge) for April, 1915, in which I endeavored to show the probability of its having been made toward 1050.

He remarks (p. 40):

"I have not seen anything that can be called an attempt to explain why David . . . should cover his monuments with Anglian runes, which were no longer the script of the English. . . . If it was done by him as a compliment to the English people who might see the crosses, I fear that archæology had not in that age come sufficiently into its own to make the compliment strike home."

He has apparently not read my paper in the *Scottish Historical Review* for July, 1914, where I said:

"That a writer of the early thirteenth century was familiar with the idea of runic monuments is clear from a passage in Layamon's *Brut* (*ca.* 1205), where he describes a stone erected to commemorate the victory of a mythical British king, Marius, over an equally mythi-

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cal Pictish king, Rodric, as carved with 'strange runic letters' (*sælcuðe runstaven*). The same word for runic letters had been used three times in Old English poetry, in its plural form *rūnstafas*. Considering his extensive journeys through England (27-8), it is tempting to conjecture that the then recent erection of our two runic crosses on the Border, each within twenty-five or thirty miles of Westmorland [where Geoffrey of Monmouth places the stone], suggested the traditional old term to Layamon."

Just as little does he seem acquainted with my article in the same periodical for January, 1915, entitled "Archaic English in the Twelfth Century," where I quoted Professor Earle (d. 1903), of Oxford, commenting on the "recondite scholarship" displayed in a certain group of charters of that period:

"[This group] belongs to the latter end of the 12th century. Though varying much in quality, it may be characterized generally as exhibiting a scholastic attention to the ancient forms of the language. The study of old models is sometimes overdone. . . The whole effect of the book is to impress us with the idea (which other writings support) of an Anglosaxon Renaissance at the close of the twelfth century."

I added:

"One of these charters, . . . purporting to date from about 856-8, . . . has been thus characterized by Kemble . . : 'It bears marks of forgery in every line.'"

From the first I have tried to make it clear that the acceptance of a late epoch for a monument and its inscription did not necessarily imply a belief that the inscription was, as a whole, invented at such late epoch. Thus in 1912, not to quote earlier remarks, I referred (*Date*, p. 30) to the famous Columna Rostrata; but as my critics have not applied the natural inference from this example to the two Northern crosses, it may not be superfluous to enter into greater detail concerning the Latin inscription referred to. The Columna Rostrata was erected in the Roman Forum on the return of Gaius Duilius to Rome in 260 B. C., in honor of his naval victory—the first ever gained by the Romans—over the Carthaginians. The inscription, which was recovered in 1565, is not the original, but "has been preserved in a restored form in pseudo-archaic language, ascribed to the reign of Claudius"[18] [A. D. 41-54]. "The shape of the letters plainly shows that the inscription,

[18] *Encyc. Brit.* VIII, 650.

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as we have it, was cut in the time of the empire. Hence Ritschl and Mommsen pointed out that the language was modified at the same time, and that, although many archaisms have been retained, some were falsely introduced, and others replaced by more modern forms. The most noteworthy features in it are—C always written for G (CESET = *gessit*), etc. . . . [This] is probably an affected archaism, G having been introduced some time before the assumed date of the inscription . . . The doubts hence arising preclude the possibility of using it with confidence as evidence for the state of the language in the 3rd century B. C." (*Encyc. Brit.* XVI, 251). In this connection I quoted (*Date,* p. 31) the words of Wimmer, the first authority in the world on runes: "The oldest forms of runes occur not infrequently on the latest monuments." I also quoted: "It appears certain that in Ogamic writing stereotyped forms were used long after they had disappeared in ordinary speech" (*Encyc. Brit.* V, 614). And again I said (*Date,* p. 32): "Henry Rousseau tells of certain sepulchral slabs in Belgium which bear inscriptions evidently copied from earlier ones." In 1914 I suggested (*Accounts,* pp. 132-3), with regard to the cross-head found at Bewcastle in 1615, but since lost:

"Why may we not assume that this was the head of an older cross [than the present Bewcastle Cross], of quite different shape, fallen, perhaps overthrown and covered with earth, and with some of the letters illegible? Might not such an older cross have been removed when the newer, and perhaps more highly ornamented one, was erected? In thus superseding the older one, the sculptor of the present cross might or might not have adapted the work of his predecessor. If so, an older *Cyniburg* might in this way have become *Cynnburug.*"

Thus I have steadily borne in mind the possibility that earlier copies may have lain before the sculptor or designer of the inscriptions on our present crosses.

Let us see how this applies to the poetic extracts on the Ruthwell Cross. We do not certainly know who wrote the *Dream of the Rood,* not even whether he wrote in Northumbrian or some more southern dialect. But the inscription on the cross is at least mainly Northumbrian.[19] Hence, unless the poem was first written in

[19] It seems impossible to escape the conclusion that *dorstæ* stands on the cross (Zupitza-Schipper, p. 4, textual note on 39; Vietor, p. 6, col. 1, and *Anglia, Beiblatt* XXVI, 4), which in the Northumbrian would be *darstæ*

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Northumbrian, it must have been rendered into that dialect before it was used by the maker of the cross. If it was written by Cynewulf, as there seems good reason to believe,[20] it was presumably at a period early enough to account for the archaic forms on the cross, supposing that the original was in Northumbrian, or that the original was turned into Northumbrian within a brief period. If not by Cynewulf, let it be by an unknown X,[21] provided he were contemporary, or earlier.[22] Then, as the direct original to which the phrases of our present inscription are due, we may posit either (1) an earlier lapidary inscription, based upon the poem, (2) an early manuscript copy of the poem, somewhat modernized in the transfer to stone, or (3) a later manuscript copy of the poem. In either case the present inscription—infelicities, modernized forms, and all—is sufficiently accounted for. Another adaptation

(cf. Lind. Mk. 12. 34; Jn. 21. 12; Lk. 20. 40). The *Dream of the Rood* has *dorste* (35, 42, 45, 47). Forbes and Dickins (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* x, 33) think that *darstæ* is not a sign of the Northumbrian dialect, but is a late analogical formation. Why, then, is such an analogical formation peculiar to Northumbrian, if it is not a matter of dialect? And if it is a matter of dialect, why may not the analogical influence have occurred at an early period? Compare the North. *walde*, for West Saxon *wolde; dēdon*, Lind. Matt. 26. 4, 19; 28. 15; Mk. 3. 6; Lk. 9. 15; Jn. 6. 23, etc., for *dydon; ċade*, Lind. Matt. 9. 7; 12. 45; Mk. 5. 2, etc., for *ċode;* and note, as early as *Cædmon's Hymn*, the peculiar *scylun*, for *sculun* (Sievers, *Gram.*, § 423. 8, note 1), which seems an analogical formation from the optative (occurring as *scyle*(*n*) 56 times in the Hatton MS. of Alfred's *Pastoral Care*, according to Cosijn, *Altwestsächsische Grammatik*, I, 78).

[20] See my edition of the *Dream of the Rood*, pp. xl-xli.

[21] Only not by Cædmon, for reasons which will be apparent to any one possessing a sense of style, and who has attentively compared the *Dream of the Rood* with Bede's account of the herdsman.

[22] Cf. Brandl's remark in Paul's *Grundriss*, II, 1, 1036 (cf. 1030): "Es ergibt sich demnach für die zwei Menschenalter, die ungefähr zwischen Cædmon und Cynewulf verstrichen, eine beträchtliche Ausbeute geistlicher Lyrik, inhaltlich durchaus von kirchlich-lateinischen Vorbildern bedingt, formell noch mit einiger Nachwirkung bodenständig-weltlicher Lyrik." ("We may therefore assume a considerable output of religious lyrics for the two generations, or thereabouts, lying between Cædmon and Cynewulf, dependent for their matter upon prototypes in ecclesiastical Latin, and exhibiting in their form some traces of the native secular lyric.") On p. 1030 he places the *Dream of the Rood* "vor die Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts." Of Northumbrian he says (*Scott. Hist. Rev.* IX, 140): "This particular dialect did retain for an astonishing length of time a whole series of sounds and inflexions which the others had long since abandoned."

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of this general sort, though varying much more widely from its original in the collocation of phrases, is that on the Brussels cross, or reliquary, which, as indicated above, I date ca. 1040-50, and which runs:

> Rōd is mīn nama; geō ic rīene Cyning
> Bær byfigynde, blōde bestēmed.[23]
> ("Rood is my name. Once long ago I bore
> Trembling, bedewed with blood, the mighty King.")

It, too, bears a sign of its late date—the word "byfigynde."

We have been chiefly concerned with the reasons which seem decisive against a seventh-century date for the crosses; the assignment of them to the twelfth century involves a variety of considerations which there is no space here to present in detail; they may be found in my book on the date, and are corroborated, it will be remembered, by the highly qualified archæological expert, Rivoira, who said[24] in 1912: "The age of the Bewcastle Cross, if I am not mistaken, is not earlier than about the first half of the twelfth century. And the same is true of the other well-known cross at Ruthwell."

ALBERT S. COOK.

Yale University.

An Italian Reader of Nineteenth Century Literature. By THOMAS D. BERGEN and GEORGE B. WESTON. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1915.

The manuscript of this Reader was left in an incomplete condition by the death of the compiler, Th. D. Bergen, and the work of completion and revision was entrusted to Mr. George B. Weston, of Harvard University.

The book was designed to be a beginners' reader, and the extracts were chosen with a view to giving the student a first-hand knowledge of the modern literary idiom, a wide variety of topics, and a large number of individual styles. The authors represented and the number of extracts from each are as follows: De Amicis (2 extracts); De Sanctis (1); A. Poerio (2); Fucini (3); Grossi

[23] Cf. *Dream of the Rood*, 44, 42, 48.

[24] *Burlington Magazine*, April 15, 1912, p. 24; cf. his *Lombardic Architecture* (1910) II, 143.

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(2); Barzellotti (1); Fogazzaro (1); Serao (2); D'Azeglio (1); Villari (1); Duprè (1); Colletta (2); Nievo (5); Giacosa (1); Molmenti (1); Foscolo (1); La Vista (1); Giusti (3); Sestini (2); Leopardi (2); Carcano (1); Carducci (3); Panzacchi (1); Marradi (1); Pascoli (2); Mazzoni (1).

As may be seen from the foregoing list, the compiler did not limit himself to authors of literature in the narrow meaning of the word, but took his material from various sources. Besides short stories, the class of material mostly available in books of this sort, he offers essays, letters, historical and autobiographical passages, proverbs, and poetry as well as prose. This variety of topics constitutes the chief attraction of the book, and will no doubt be appreciated by many teachers.

The Preface informs us that the extracts were chosen only for their readableness, and explains in this manner the inclusion of authors of less fame than those whose omission may be felt. Even so, however, some of the selections are open to objection: one would not expect to see one page given to Guido Mazzoni's poetry in a reader in which only three pages are given to Carducci; also, eight pages from Colletta's history are perhaps more than is to be desired in a book for beginners.

As this Reader will probably be used extensively in classes in Italian, it has seemed advisable to present the following corrections and suggestions.

Biographical Notes. Page 82, first paragraph: Nievo was born in 1831 and died in 1861. 122: Carducci was born in 1835. As he was appointed to his professorship at Bologna in 1860, and as he resigned in 1904, he must have taught forty-four years, not forty. 125: Panzacchi was born in 1840.

Text. Page 15, line 4: Insert a semi-colon after *tempo,* at the end of the line. 25, 11: read 'appisolato' for *appistolato.* 33, 1: read 'più' for *piu.* 43, 16: read 'coperto' for *coperta.* 72, 15: read 'a' for *à.* 81, 27: read 'le sollecitudini' for *le sollecitudine.* 107, 8: insert a comma after *usitate.* 107, 15: read 'una' for *uno.*

Notes. 41, 7: *palazzo dei signori.* The Palazzo Pubblico is still the city hall. 58, 4: Alessandro Borgia was born in 1431. 62, 13: The reference to Grandgent's *Grammar* should read 'page 65' (third edition). 63, 32: Lodovico Sforza was made duke of Milan in 1494. 72, 15: The Pitti Palace, besides being an art

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gallery, is a royal palace. 93, 24: Bandello was probably born in 1485; he was a short-story writer, not a novelist.

There are a few constructions and passages which present difficulties for a beginner, and which have received no explanations in the vocabulary or in the notes. The most important are as follows: 11, 5: la Genoviefa; 20, 29: un casa del diavolo; 21, 1-2: lasciando . . . il tempo che vi avevan trovato; 21, 33: io mi metto ne' vostri piedi; 22, 19; mi'; 22, 33: portare il cappello alto e dimolto; 22, 34: a tanti signori; 23, 20: L'Agnese; 23, 29: E che belle creature che aveva; 23, 33: sul più bello; 24, 1: mettere in carta; 24, 31: dava de' punti; 26, 17: s'affoga; 26, 22: alla peggio; 28, 17: si; 39, 22: la; 39, 29: aurea mediocrità; 40, 30: fare parte da sè; 47, 14: si; 63, 18: andarono divenendo; 65, 24: egli è; 65, 28: vanno; 69, 11: casi suoi; 72, 31-32: dar carico; 73, 6: non dorme; 73, 17: o che; 80, 16: al dì di vegnente; 82, 8: tentar la prova; 83, 3: la; 86, 7: le lunghe ore.

VOCABULARY. afforzare: Add meanings 'to strengthen, to fortify' (cf. 79, 15); aia: 'threshing-floor'; ancorchè: 'even if' (14, 27); apoteosi: the *s* is voiced; arcivescovo: the *e* is close; Beppe: the *s* in "Giuseppe" is voiced; causa: the *s* is voiced; Cencio: the *e* is open; civile: 'civilized' (66, 26); contrasto: 'opposition' (79, 23); costi: spell 'costì'; disertare: the *s* is voiced; disonesto: the *e* is open; equipaggio: 'crew' (6, 12); friggere: 'to whimper' (111, 2); Genovese: the initial should not be a capital, but "genoese" should be spelled with a capital initial; granchio: 'cramp' (25, 30); grumato: 'coated' (21, 9); indisposizione: the *s* is voiced; infusorio: the *s* is voiced; ingrossare: 'to become rough' (13, 6), which meaning is given only with the reflexive form; intemerato: 'faultless'; invio: the stress is on the second *i;* lasciare: "1. andare" means 'let go' (26, 17); liofante: the common form "elefante" should also be given; maniscalco: 'shoeing-smith'; manovrare: 'maneuver' (85, 28); Masaniello: the *s* is voiced; mercede: 'wage' (86, 29); miglio: the plural form "miglia" is feminine; mille: the plural form "mila" is feminine; Neva: the *e* is open; nocciòlo: read 'nǫcciolo'; opposizione: the *s* is voiced; peggio: the *e* is open; peggiorare: the first *e* is close; Peppino: the *s* in "Giuseppe" is voiced; Posilipo: the *s* is voiced; posizione: the *s* is voiced; presagio: the *s* is voiced; presidio: 'garrison' (78, 13; 79, 13); Resina: the *i* is stressed; sopraciglio: read 'sopracciglio'; spesa: 'marketing' (53, 26); sterile: the first *e* is stressed

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and open; tenebra: the form "tenebre" is in the plural; terraferma: the first *e* is open; terrapieno: the first *e* is open; tiranella: read 'tirannella'; tribunale: delete "magistrate."

The following words are not in the vocabulary: caldaia (6, 15); fascia (8, 2); sur (8, 30); calzoni (18, 4); culla (23, 8); se non che (34, 12); eco (46, 14); osteria (49, 21); fantesche (51, 9); avi (54, 22); petalo (55, 9); budelli (55, 14); massime (55, 16); operai (55, 24); invalso (59, 30); soperchiando (75, 12); lascivia (77, 29); sedili (83, 21); auretta (85, 22); lepre (109, 8); randa (129, 12).

GUSTAV GRUENBAUM.

The Dramatic Works of Gerhart Hauptmann, vol. 1: social dramas: *Before Dawn, The Weavers, The Beaver Coat, The Conflagration;* vol. 2: social dramas: *Drayman Henschel, Rose Bernd, The Rats;* vol. 3: domestic dramas: *The Reconciliation, Lonely Lives, Colleague Crampton, Michael Kramer;* vol. 4: symbolic and legendary dramas: *Hannele, The Sunken Bell, Henry of Aue;* vol. 5: symbolic and legendary dramas: *Schluck and Jau; And Pippa Dances, Charlemagne's Hostage;* vol. 6: later dramas in prose: *The Maidens of the Mount, Griselda, Gabriel Schilling's Flight.* Edited by LUDWIG LEWISOHN. B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1912-1916.

This authorized edition aims to present to the English public the dramatic works of Hauptmann, Germany's most notable dramatist, in a collected form. It is by no means the first attempt to introduce this author to English readers. A number of the dramas of Hauptmann have long been translated into our language. *Hannele* was done into English by William Archer as far back as 1894; next came *Lonely Lives,* which was rendered into English by Mary Morison in 1898. This was followed in 1899 by *The Weavers,* also translated by Mary Morison, and by *The Sunken Bell,* translated by Charles H. Meltzer. The appeal of Hauptmann to non-German taste is proved by the fact that the experiment of introducing him to English readers did not stop here, but that many other plays of his found their way into our tongue. *The Coming of Peace* was translated by Janet Achurch and C. E. Wheeler in 1900, a new English version of *Hannele* was published by Chas. H. Meltzer in

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1908, after this play in William Archer's translation had appeared in a second edition in 1898, and *Teamster Henschel* was rendered into English by Marion L. Redlich in 1910. In the meantime the Boston Journal *Poet Lore* presented six of Hauptmann's plays to its readers. They appeared in the following order: *The Sunken Bell* (1898), *Elga* (1906), *And Pippa Dances* (1907), *The Assumption of Hannele* and *Before Dawn* (1909), and *The Reconciliation* (1910). Chas. H. Meltzer's version of *The Sunken Bell* appeared again in 1914 as the fourth volume of the *Drama League Series of Plays* and, together with Mary Morison's *The Weavers* and Lewisohn's *Michael Kramer,* in the eighteenth volume of *The German Classics of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.* This play was also edited for class-room use in this country, and a school edition of *Lonely Lives* is in preparation. Simultaneously with the various editions of Hauptmann's plays, there have appeared in English a goodly number of critical works on the thought and art of this author, and our periodicals have abounded with articles and reviews. The first doctoral dissertation on Hauptmann's verse-technique was written in English and appeared in this country.[1] Hauptmann's non-dramatic works have also appeared in English. His novel *The Fool in Christ: Emanuel Quint* was translated in 1912 by Thomas Seltzer and *Parsifal* was rendered into English by Ashley Williams in 1915.

In the present collected edition most of the translations are new, only Mary Morison's versions of *The Weavers* and *Lonely Lives,* Charles H. Meltzer's translations of *The Assumption of Hannele* and *The Sunken Bell,* and Roy Temple House's rendering of *The Reconciliation* from *Poet Lore* have been reprinted with slight changes. The new translations have almost all been made by the editor himself, with the exception of *Colleague Crampton* by Mr. House, and the enigmatical fairy-play *And Pippa Dances,* by Sarah Tracy Barrows.

No easy task lay before the translators of these plays. A number of them are written, in part or in whole, either in the Silesian dialect or in the speech of the Berlin populace. This intensely idiomatic speech of the characters in Hauptmann's plays the editor and his collaborators have rendered not into any one existing English

[1] Carl Albert Krause. *Gerhart Hauptmann's Treatment of Blank Verse.* New York, 1910.

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dialect, but into a dialect of Prof. Lewisohn's own invention, which, as he assures us, is " near enough to the English of the common people to convince the reader or spectator, yet not so near to the usage of any class or locality as to interpose between him and Hauptmann's characters an Irish or a Cockney, a Southern or a New England atmosphere." But the invention of a dialect is by no means an easy matter. To invent a dialect is almost as much beyond the power of any one man as to invent a language. As a matter of fact, however, the editor, as other critics already have pointed out, has invented very little. He has drawn chiefly on American slang for what appeared to him as the equivalent of the original speech. The reviewer is almost inclined to think that this English edition of Hauptmann's dramas would have gained in value if all the characters had invariably been made to speak literary English. The readers would have reconciled themselves to the loss of the idiomatic speech in the English version, realizing that whatever beauty and raciness there may have been in the original must necessarily have been lost in any translation.

In the translation of verse the editor assures us that he has made every effort to avoid the mistake of many dramatic translators who stick to the author's sense and let poetry go. He and his collaborators have indeed taken some liberties with the text, and have even applied the shears here and there. A number of lines at the close of *Hannele,* for instance, are missing. It is a pity that Seltzer's version of *Hannele,* and not that of William Archer, which is undoubtedly superior to it, has been selected.

The order of the plays in this edition is not chronological, but according to subject-matter. It is on the whole the arrangement used by Hauptmann in the first collected edition of his works. A chronological order in the arrangement of the dramas is followed, however, in the second edition. But a chronological order is of little value in an author's works, which show no progressive development.

Of the dramas in the first collected German edition of Hauptmann's works, which serves as basis for this English edition, all plays are included here except *Florian Geyer* (1896), *Elga* (1908), and the two dramatic fragments *Helios* (1896), and *Das Hirtenlied* (1898). The editor of the English collection of Hauptmann's dramas has had good reason for omitting *Florian Geyer,* which has

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proved to be a failure dramatically. It is more a fragment of dramatised history than a historical drama. The two dramatic fragments have been left out in the second German edition of Hauptmann's works, but will make up, as the writer has been informed, together with *Ein Festspiel in deutschen Reimen* and *Der Bogen des Ulysseus*, plays, which appeared in 1913 and 1914 respectively, the forthcoming seventh volume of the English collected edition. But the reviewer is at a loss to account for the omission of *Elga* in this complete edition of Hauptmann's dramas. This dream-play has had a tremendous success on the German stage, and the German edition had a phenomenal sale. It detracts little from the value of the play that its plot is not original with Hauptmann, but has been taken over bodily from Grillparzer's *Das Kloster zu Sendomir*.

In addition to the dramas in the first collected German edition this English edition contains five of Hauptmann's later plays: *The Maidens of the Mount, Charlemagne's Hostage, Griselda, Gabriel Schilling's Flight*, and *The Rats*. The introductory notes to each volume are perhaps more of the nature of appreciations than of criticisms. The introduction to the first volume now forms the chapter on Hauptmann in the editor's book *The Modern Drama* (New York, 1915).[2]

In spite of the fact that the original has not always been successfully rendered into adequate English, especially in the dialect speeches, a fact admitted by the editor himself, Professor Lewisohn has given us the best and most complete view of the dramatic works of Hauptmann, which will no doubt find their way, in due time, into the study and upon the stage of all Engish-speaking peoples.

MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN.

University of Illinois.

[2] Cf. the writer's review in *Open Court*, xxx (1916), 572-575.

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CORRESPONDENCE

The Hermaphrodite Rime

In the Wisconsin *Shakespeare Studies,* 1916 (pp. 174-200) Professor R. E. N. Dodge has an interesting paper, reviewed in your issue for last November, on the curious sixteenth century rime *king—seeing, emperour—honour,* and the like; a rime which, being masculine-feminine, should be called hermaphrodite. For greater completeness I will call attention to a footnote on p. 679 of an article of mine on "The Siege of Troy in Elizabethan Literature," in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association,* Vol. xxx, where I observed that it is not only particularly frequent in Peele's *Tale of Troy,* but that it was deliberately cultivated, with very pleasing effect, in certain Irish-Gaelic poetry. See Douglas Hyde, *Literary History of Ireland,* p. 483. Of course I did not regard the Irish usage as a likely source for the English, but believed (and Mr. Dodge suggests) that the latter was due to a misreading of certain rimes in Chaucer.

John S. P. Tatlock.

Stanford University.

The Marriage Service in Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale*

It is the climax of the *Merchant's Tale* as a drama; January, complacent and triumphant, has had his way with his friends and gained a wife to his mind, and the sordid tragedy has not begun to settle down on the poor old creature. Chaucer decorates this high point of his story with glimpses of ritual and festivity.

> To the chirche bothe be they went
> For to receyve the holy sacrement.
> Forth comth the preest, with stole aboute his nekke,
> And bad hir be lyk Sarra and Rebekke,
> In wisdom and in trouthe of mariage;
> And seyde his orisons, as is usage,
> And crouched hem, and bad god sholde hem blesse,
> And made al siker y-nogh with holinesse, (E 1701-8)

—a composite of picturesque or significant bits from the order for matrimony and from the nuptial mass which would follow. Just such touches would readily come to the mind of one familiar with the liturgy. First we catch sight of the priest vested for the *Ordo ad benedicendum sponsum et sponsam;* the stole would hardly be visible about his neck later, when he is vested for the nuptial mass, being almost concealed by the chasuble. It is from this mass that we next hear a bit, from one of the 'orisons' (headed

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Oracio in the service-books), which is recited in the ordinary of the nuptial mass after the canon and just before the *Pax Domini;* the prayer is that beginning 'Deus qui potestate uirtutis,' which begs that the bride 'sit ut rachel amabilis uiro. sapiens ut rebecca. longeua et fidelis ut sara.'[1] Many times during the service the divine blessing is invoked on the couple with the sign of the cross (1707). Later in the tale (1819) the ritual *Benedictio thalami* by the priest is mentioned, and sounds oddly before the unblest scenes which follow.[2] Truly the church did all she could for January. The withering irony which pervades this strange tale lurks in this part too. The bride did not receive the wisdom of Rebecca and the fidelity of Sarah entreated for her; even though all was made secure enough by ceremonial (1708).

Dr. Skeat thought that 'to receyve the holy sacrement' referred to the sácrament of matrimony. The phrase, here as commonly, perhaps rather means the receiving of the Eucharist ('huius sacramenti susceptio,' mentioned in the *Postcommunio* of the *Missa Nuptialis*); which was still required of the couple in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI, and is recommended in the modern English rite. The marriage service, like ordination and many others, was incorporated in the mass.

JOHN S. P. TATLOCK.

Stanford University.

THE STORY OF SOPHONISBA.

The editor of Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* (London, 1890, vol. i, p. lxxxiii) gives as the "origin" of the tale of Sophonisba, Petrarch's *Triumphs*—Painter's story being a translation from Matteo Bandello. Petrarch, to be sure, devoted to the lovers Sophonisba and Massinissa some eighty lines of the *Triumph of Love* (chapter II in the Aldine edition of the *Rime*, beginning *Stanco già di mirar*.

[1] From the Westminster Missal (Bradshaw Soc., London, 1897), III, col. 1241. It occurs, in the same position, in the Roman Missal, and in others: it occurs also in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI, and in an altered form in the modern English service. Dr. Skeat (*Chaucer*, v, 359) was evidently thinking of two prayers, far apart, in the latter, one of which merely mentions Isaac and Rebecca, and the other Abraham and Sarah, as ideals of married life.

[2] *Ib.*, col. 1243. A form of benediction and incensing is given by Pichon, *Le ménagier de Paris* (Paris, 1846), I. lxxxvi. Wyclif scoffs at the friars and their costly censers for censing beds (*English Works hitherto Unprinted*, ed. Matthew, E. E. T. S., 1880, p. 323). It seems likely that this rite may be derived from something in the pagan Roman marriage ceremonial. The *lectus genialis* figured in the nuptial ceremony of *confarreatio*, and the *Genius* of the paterfamilias was worshipped by him with incense. The Western marriage service is very closely connected with the ancient Roman ceremony.

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non sazio ancora), but it is in his *Africa* that the story is given in detail and with plentiful discourse, taking something like a thousand lines (books v, vi). Bandello seems to have made use of Petrarch, translating various passages from the *Africa*.

Miss Scott (*Elizabethan translations from the Italian*, pp. 15, 178), doubtless on the authority of the note in the *Palace of Pleasure*, cites Petrarch's *Triumphs*, and not the *Africa*, as a source of the story.

MARY FOWLER.

Cornell University.

LE MOT *Poilu*

Bien des personnes se demandent d'où vient le mot *poilu*. Dans une conférence donnée dernièrement a la Société des Conférences à Paris, M. Barthou affirme qu'on a déniché ce mot dans *le Médecin de campagne* de Balzac.[1] Ce livre parut en 1833 et il y est dit qu'au passage de la Bérésina le général Eblé, qui commandait les pontonniers, n'en put trouver que "quarante-trois assez poilus pour entreprendre la construction des ponts." Est-ce là une coincidence ou une explication? M. Barthou aurait pu ajouter que le mot *poilu* se trouve aussi dans *le Père Goriot* de Balzac. "Avez-vous vu," dit Vautrin à Rastignac, "beaucoup de gens assez *poilus* pour, quand un camarade dit: 'Allons enterrer un corps' y aller sans souffler mot. . . ." Et ailleurs: "Bien, mon petit aiglon! Vous (c'est Vautrin qui parle à Rastignac) gouvernerez les hommes; vous êtes fort, carré, poilu."

Selon Balzac, donc, *poilu* signifie la quintessence de la hardiesse, de l'énergie, de la résolution. Un journal du front, *le Poilu sans poil*, donne une définition pleine et savoureuse des imberbes poilus qui combattent pour le beau pays de France.

A. MARINONI.

University of Arkansas.

A NOTE ON *Wilhelm Tell* IV, iii, 3

The modern use of *Gelegenheit* fits the context of the expression *Die Gelegenheit ist günstig* so perfectly that few realize that Schiller employed it here in another sense.

Of every hundred Germans, ninety-nine would doubtless render *Gelegenheit* by opportunity. Naturally enough, then, the editors of American school editions (Carruth, Deering, von Minckwitz,

[1] Cf. Nohain et Delay, *l'Armée française sur le front, 1914-1915*, Oxford, 1916.

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Palmer, Roedder, Schlenker, Vos) translate it 'chance,' 'occasion,' or 'opportunity.'

But in historical works and fiction of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries *Gelegenheit* frequently refers to topography (which usage survived to the nineteenth century). Later it was used of the mutual relation of the parts of, or the objects in, a limited space, then of circumstances, and finally of the resulting adaptability to one's purpose.

Tell's comments on the bush-grown rock that catches his practised eye show clearly that *Gelegenheit* here means *the lay of the land*,—an interpretation supported by Hildebrand, Heyne, and Sanders, who quote this passage as a late example of the older meaning.

A. H. Herrick.

Harvard University.

Notes on Chaucer

Canterbury Tales, F 7-8. The Squire is described in the General Prologue as a merry young gallant. At the mature age of twenty he had been in Flanders, Artois, and Picardy displaying his cavalier virtues in the hope of winning a certain lady's favor. Indeed, he was an ardent lover and accomplished in the ways of courtly love. He dressed well. He could not only joust, but also dance and sketch, and write—

> He coude songes make and wel endyte (A. 95).
> Singinge he was, or floytinge, al the day (A. 91).

Certainly then he was no timid inexperienced youth, who would blush and stammer in telling a tale before the free and easy Canterbury Pilgrims. When the Host asks him for a love story, he answers readily, "With all my heart—to the best of my ability." He is not boastful; neither is he backward. And when he adds,

> Have me excused if I speke amis,
> My wil is good—

he is not apologizing for his lack of skill; for by definition (so to say) he was a practised poet as young men go. Nor is he indulging in denial vain and coy excuse. Rather, I believe, is he expressing, in his naturally courteous manner, his disapproval of the inelegant tone and temper of the bourgeois Merchant, who has just ended his tale. "My wil is good," he says, with a slight stress on the first word which those who have ears to hear catch and understand.

Nor is his later speech to be taken too literally, when he says his English is insufficient to depict the heroine's beauty;—

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> It moste been a rethor excellent,
> That coude his colours longing for that art,
> If he sholde hir discryven every part.
> I am non swich, I moot speke as I can. (38-41)

Of course the Squire is not a professional rhetorician, but he can make use of some of the professional tricks. For this is merely a rhetorical way of saying that Canace was indescribably, ineffably lovely.

Canterbury Tales, F 1538 ff. "And here I take my leve," says Aurelius after he has released Dorigen from her obligation,

> As of the treweste and beste wyf
> That ever yet I knew in al my lyf.

The speech of Aurelius properly ends here; but all the editions I have consulted continue it four lines further. Although it is perfectly in character for the magician (F. 1607 ff.) to point with pride to his own act of *gentilesse* in absolving Aurelius from his contract, still it is hardly fitting or natural for Aurelius—a squire—to do so. Arveragus is in a difficult situation; but his conception of nobility is to hold to the letter of a promise, and he instinctively, after a moment's hesitation—"Is ther ought elles, Dorigen, but this?"—directs his wife to fulfil her obligation. Aurelius has so much of the spirit of *gentilesse* in him that he catches the suggestion. He reflects a moment; he is touched by the plight of Dorigen and the sacrifice of Arveragus; and suddenly he sees the whole matter in a new light. Compared with their generosity and *gentilesse* his act would be low and churlish. But surely he does not balance in his mind the loss of his pleasure and the self-satisfaction of making a magnificent sacrifice. Nor would he, while still addressing Dorigen say, "Let every woman take warning of Dorigen's experience." No, it is certainly the Franklin who makes this point, adding, characteristically, with another bow to the Squire,—

> Thus can a squyer doon a gentil dede
> As well as can a knight, withouten drede.

PAULL FRANKLIN BAUM.

Harvard University.

MILTON AND DIODATI

Mr. Alvin Thaler in *Mod. Lang. Notes* for Nov. 1916 (XXXI, 437 f.) raises three objections to my suggestion that Diodati might have been the model for Milton's *L'Allegro.* His first objection is that Milton got his idea for the two poems more likely from Burton; the second, that the Italian titles need not, in view of Milton's

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scholarship, be accounted for on the ground of his friendship with Diodati; the third, that Milton did not need to go outside his own personality for a model for *L'Allegro*. After reading Mr. Thaler's objections, however, I still feel that there is more circumstantial evidence to support my suggestion than evidence to the contrary.

In the first place, even if Milton got from Burton the suggestion of writing two poems presenting two views of life, this does not preclude the probability of his still looking upon his sprightly Italian friend as representing the one, and upon himself as representing the other. Burton may have suggested the plan, but Diodati and he himself might have still been the actual models.

The Italian titles need not, of course, be accounted for otherwise than by the fact of Milton's learning. Yet they have an additional significance when we remember that the young poet's friend was of Italian parentage. It was probably through Diodati's influence that Milton took up the study of the Italian language, and his interest in it was stirred by his friendship and association with Diodati.

As to Mr. Thaler's third objection, namely that Milton did not need to go outside his own personality for the model for *L'Allegro*, I admit that I still cling to "the time-honored error" of believing that Milton had little of the Allegro spirit in his make-up, and I seem to be with good company. Masson speaking of Milton's character just after leaving Cambridge says (vol. I, p. 360):

"The prevailing tone, the characteristic mood and disposition of Milton's mind, even in his early youth, consisted in a deep and habitual seriousness. . . . From his childhood we see this seriousness in Milton, this tendency to the grave and earnest in his view of things. It continues with him as he grows up. It shows itself at the University in an unusual studiousness and perseverance in the graver occupations of the place. It shows itself in an abstinence from many of those jocosities and frivolities which, even in his own judgment, were innocent enough and quite permissible to those who cared for them. 'Festivities and jests in which I acknowledge my faculty to be slight' are his own words on the subject. His pleasure in such pastimes was small; and when he did goodhumouredly throw himself into them, it was with an apology for being out of his element."

Referring to the first part of the sixth elegy Stopford Brooke writes (*Milton*, p. 9), "but his sympathy with these pleasures was a distant one; he could feel with them, but he did not feel them in his deeper self."

Professor Trent (*Milton*, p. 58) says, "Crities are quite unanimously of the opinion that *Il Penseroso* represents a man very like the Milton we know; but they are divided as to the kind of man typified by *L'Allegro*."

Professor Raleigh commenting on the two poems (*Milton*, p. 12)

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says, "There is something disinterested and detached about his sketches of the merriment which he takes part in only as a silent onlooker, compared with the profound sincerity of the lines,

'And may at last my weary eye, etc.'"

The evidence of the elegies does not, it seems to me, alter this conception of Milton's personality. Those elegies cited by Mr. Thaler are obviously poetic exercises, and it is not difficult to detect the ring of artificiality in them. Brooke commenting on the seventh elegy says, "The rhetorical elegy that tells this story and dwells on his passion makes us feel that there was nothing in it."

Against the evidence of the elegies, which after all is slight, there is so much evidence of a nature sedate and serious that the burden of proof must certainly rest upon those, who, like Mr. Thaler, believe that Milton had a vein of sprightliness and merriment in him. His own words; the words of his contemporaries, including Diodati's, his most intimate friend; and the words of commentators all give little ground for thinking of Milton as possessing any portion of the spirit of *L'Allegro*. It is because Milton does not fit easily into the *Allegro* picture that that poem has been with more difficulty interpreted than its companion poem. To force Milton into the *Allegro* picture requires some straining. On the other hand, the character of Diodati fits easily into it. Moreover the intimacy of the two friends makes the idea of such complementary pictures easily plausible; and furthermore, the two poems naturally called forth by this outside prompting are in keeping with Milton's practice at this time. For during the Horton period, and indeed until he was well launched upon his great epic, he was literally an occasional poet.

F. M. Darnall.

University of Tennessee.

BRIEF MENTION

How to Learn Easily: Practical Hints on Economical Study. By George Van Ness Dearborn (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1916). A hurried reading of this book does not leave the impression of a well-composed series of admonitions. The total effect is rather that of a strained effort to enforce the teachings of common experience by the evidence of statistics and of psychological experimentation, and to heighten the importance of the obvious by an obtrusive use of technical terms. That the author's purpose is commendable is, however, as unmistakable as his failure to put his matter into good form. The purpose is to help the young student to give intelligent attention to those habits of body and of

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mind that are conducive to the attainment of normal results of the prescribed discipline at school and to the maintaining of the conditions of continuous progress thereafter in the wider school of responsible life. The title of the treatise promises a saving of effort in the seeking for and the arriving at 'learning,'—an effort of the intellect, which, however, requires that the body be kept in vigor by observing plain precepts. But why put so strong an emphasis on the saving of mental effort? If physical strength is conserved and increased, is the intellect not to become more energetic, less evasive of difficult tasks? That the normal pupil will be attracted more by easy than by thoro methods may be assumed to be true, but only within limits, for the practical lesson is learned early that values are graded according to cost. For the most part, the logic of experience soon comes to be accepted as conclusive, and the author's title of this book may, therefore, be expected to excite suspicion that low values are here set as the reward of study. However, near the end of his book (p. 199), the author attempts a serious warning against an inevitable misunderstanding of the running title of his pages: "A few of my readers may here be 'thinking' or even saying in annoyance, 'I did not buy this book to be accused of laziness.' No indeed, you did not, but some of you did buy it to learn how to learn easily, and one of the most essential things to be learned for this purpose is the utter incompatibility of learning and indolence." This passage does not, to a thoughtful reader, excuse the error of the title, which is clearly to be recognized as due to theories and experiments in elementary education that are now beginning to become especially noteworthy for their disappointing results. Mr. John Jay Chapman may be allowed to close this paragraph with a few lines from his book entitled *Learning and Other Essays* (1910): "A strange thing has occurred in America. I am not sure that it has ever occurred before. The teachers wish to make learning easy. They desire to prepare and peptonize and sweeten the food. Their little books are soft biscuit for weak teeth, easy reading on great subjects; but these books are filled with a pervading error: they contain a subtle perversion of education."

The movement just referred to has been marked by at least one device that deserves to be called whimsical, namely, a crudely reasoned abandonment of technical terms. Children have been returning from the schools to amaze their parents with puerile circumlocutions to take the place of 'multiplication,' 'addition,' 'subtraction,' 'division,' 'fractions,' etc. Grammar has been diluted into "Language Lessons," with a corresponding avoidance of the systematized terminology. An instructor of Summer School classes reports that a year ago a teacher in the schools of a large city, who had been enrolled to learn a foreign language, was perplexed by his use of the word 'antecedent,' declaring that she did

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not understand it, that indeed she had never before heard it. It is not improbable that this teacher was at the same time engaged in determining a "coefficient of correlation," for the same fashion of pedagogical thought that has veered teachers away from the use of traditional terminology has in a contradictory manner forced the same elementary teachers to meet requirements in psychology, with an elaborate and ever growing vocabulary of its own. If psychology will effect a recoil that will restore a sound judgment of the value of exact terminology in all branches of knowledge, it will add to its direct educational contributions an indirect one of inestimable value. The use of technical terms must, however, be in conformity with the fitting use of language in general and be graded to suit the pupils or readers addressed. If the author of the book under consideration is not justly charged with an obtrusive use of technical terms, he is impaled on the other horn of the dilemma, for he has not consistently maintained his declared aim in writing the book, "to be of some immediate, practical use to those, young or old, who, in our workaday world, are engaged, whether vocationally or otherwise, in intensive learning," altho he may have thought himself shielded against these charges by the expression "intensive learning," which is a fragment of the veriest professional jargon.

The titles of the six chapters of the book are: Economy in Study; Observation and the Taking of Notes; Educative Imagination; Books and their Educative Use; Is your 'Thinker' in Order? Examination-Preparedness. Good advice runs thru them all; but the readers whom one must suppose to be addressed, at least for the most part, will not be attracted by many digressions into abstruse problems and detailed reports of laboratory experiments. One of the chapter-heads (to say nothing of the importation of the word Preparedness) must, however, not be passed with mere enumeration. The title "Is your 'Thinker' in Order?" is so incompatible with the inherent dignity of all that seriously pertains to the training of the mind that one resentfully recoils from it as an inexcusable offense against good taste; it is surely that, and educationally it is nothing less than positively harmful.

J. W. B.

The purpose of J. E. Meeker's *Life and Poetry of James Thomson* (Yale University Press) is "to sketch the poet's life, using his poems and his prose . . . as a key to his inner development," and thereby to call new attention to a writer who has, according to Mr. Meeker, suffered since his death a steady decline in fame and has now almost "attained that oblivion for which . . . he had so wistfully prayed." But is Thomson really half-forgotten? He is of course not widely read; but one ventures to assert that his poetry

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is better known now than at any time during his life and that his reputation, though it has grown fitfully, not steadily, has nevertheless grown since his death. Witness the analysis of his work in Benn's *English Rationalism,* Weissel's monograph (*Wiener Beiträge,* XXIV), Mr. P. E. More's study in the *Shelburne Essays,* fifth series, and the important place allotted him in the thirteenth volume of the *Cambridge English Literature* (where he is not herded with the "Lesser Poets");—not to mention the use of certain famous stanzas of his in one of Kipling's stories. Meeker attributes this decline in fame to the "unrelieved gloom" of the poet, and makes much of the fact that among Thomson's poems there are many that are very "cheerful." But when all is said, the fact remains that *Sunday up the River* and the like are mediocre work which only the sombre poems, and among them especially four, keep in remembrance. If, as Meeker says, "Thomson is by turns one of the cheerfulest of all his poetic contemporaries" (*sic*), so much the worse for his philosophy; for, though his latest biographer calls him (rather loosely and with no effort to define the term) a "pessimist," the present writer agrees with A. W. Benn who says: "He did not regard human life as universally, inherently, necessarily evil. Misery . . . is just personal ill-luck." In other words, Thomson is a hedonist whose despondency is due to the deprivation of sensuous enjoyment; he lacks a self-sufficiency (seen, for example, in Henley) that enables the soul to rise above circumstance. This fact furnishes the corrective to Meeker's misinterpretation (p. 90) of section VIII of *The City of Dreadful Night,* which, he says, is a conversation between two atheists who "cannot believe in the fiendlike God who must have created such a world." Only one of these speakers is an atheist (more strictly, a determinist); the other does believe in a God, the sort of God against whom was directed the denunciation in the stanza beginning "Nay, not for terror of his wrathful face" which Fitzgerald excised from his *Rubáiyát,* and who is again denounced in the great middle choruses of *Atalanta.* This second speaker is a demonist. The point of the dialogue is that it represents the clash of two opinions with either of which Thomson, according to mood and time of life, had sympathy. Confidence in Meeker's accuracy is checked by his reference at the beginning of his book to "Guido Caponsacchi," who is offered as proof that Browning, despite his "intense cheerfulness," was well aware of the evil in the world. Such a slip should not come from a university whose curriculum contains a deservedly famous course on Browning. Immediately after this we are told that *The Garden of Proserpine* is "quite typical of [Swinburne's] usual outlook on life." On the contrary, it illustrates a phase only, and that the most youthful one. Has Mr. Meeker ever read the "Prelude" to the *Songs before Sunrise,* or *The Pilgrims,* or *On the Downs?* And what proof can he

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advance that Swinburne's life was "not clear from an even fatal indulgence in stimulants" (p. 137)? Again: it is said (p. 14) that in 1850 Thomson was already reading Meredith "who, at that time [was] being quite neglected by the public." For once the poor "public" cannot be blamed, since Meredith's first volume appeared in 1851, and in 1850 he had published nothing except *Chillianwallah*. The statement is made (p. 117) that only in *A Voice from the Nile* did Thomson write any blank verse. Turn to section x of *The City* and you find that the murmured monotone of the bereaved lover is in blank verse; indeed much of the pathos of that exquisite episode is conveyed by this subtle choice of a metre that stands out in contrast to the rest of the poem. There are more such errors. To the following three points, however, attention is called not by way of criticism, for Meeker's plan obviously did not embrace any systematic study of sources. He suggests that the allegory of *The Festival of Death* comes from Poe; I think it likely that Thomson had also in mind the companion prints by Alfred Rethel: *Death the Avenger* and *Death the Friend*. On Thomson's own authority Meeker traces back the seven-line stanza that is employed often in *The City* to Browning's *Guardian Angel;* I think it likely its employment by Alfred de Vigny, a poet with whom Thomson had much in common, may have been the real source of inspiration. Otherwise the resemblance in manner, matter, and mood of *La Maison du Berger*, especially the famous stanza "Je roule avec dédain, sans voir et sans entendre," is an extraordinary coincidence. Another important source (or unusual coincidence) is "Owen Meredith's" *Melancholia*, which, like the concluding section of *The City of Dreadful Night*, was suggested by Dürer's engraving. Comparison of these two pieces, both attempting, the one with very partial, the other with magnificently complete, success, to interpret in verse what had received consummate expression in another art, is instructive. As these matters seem not to have been commented on previously, the present is an opportune moment to make a note of them. S. C. C.

In his edition of Beaumarchais' *Mariage de Figaro* (Oxford French Series, Oxford University Press), Professor Langley has not only produced an *édition définitive* of the classic, he has given an example of careful, accurate editing that American scholars will find hard to equal. Introduction, text, and notes, all show the editor's capability for the difficult task undertaken and he is to be congratulated for having made the first American edition of this striking play a standard. The introduction is divided into two parts. In the first, Professor Langley details without omission the essential items of the wonderfully varied life Beaumarchais

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took such a keen interest in living, he describes the meteoric career of the young watchmaker who became the intimate friend of royalty and who did not hesitate to assume alone the burdens of nations. In the second part, the editor gives a *résumé* of the dramatic literature of the eighteenth century, showing therein such a just sense of the relative merits of the various works mentioned, that we can only wish that space had permitted a longer discussion. The text of the play is given complete; the editor frankly states that "as this edition is intended for students who have reached a certain degree of maturity, the text is given without excisions of any kind." But satisfactory as the introduction and text both are, it is the notes which call for especial commendation. The writer knows of no play in the language, not even excepting those by Rostand, which demands more careful annotation. The text abounds in words that are archaic or technical, many of the phrases are old-fashioned or dialectical, the author makes a frequent use of foreign expressions, picked up here or there. To explain all of these difficulties is no easy task, yet it is a necessary one, for the ordinary dictionary in no wise suffices. For an intelligent understanding of the text, the student is absolutely dependent upon the notes, which in this edition are full and correct. The thanks of all teachers of French are due Professor Langley for having put the *Mariage de Figaro*, indispensable for the study of the eighteenth century drama, within the reach of American classes, and still more for having done so in such excellent form. M. P. B.

The William A. Speck Collection of Goethiana, deposited several years ago in the Library of Yale University, is briefly described by Dr. Carl F. Schreiber in Number 3 of the *Collections of Yale University* (New Haven, 1916?). This pamphlet of twelve quarto pages has, in the text, some twenty illustrations of the more striking items of the collection. Furthermore, the most important numbers are to be reproduced and described in a series of *Facsimiles and Reproductions of Unique or Rare Items from The William A. Speck Collection of Goethiana in Yale University Library*. Number 2 of the series, a reproduction of Goethe's poem entitled *Den funfzehn Englischen Freunden*, has recently come to hand. The edition is limited to 100 copies. In addition to the facsimile there are twelve folio pages of text, by Mr. Speck. The first number, apparently without the general title, appeared in 1915 and reproduced a rare silhouette of Goethe dated 1786. We welcome most cordially these reproductions from a collection which is unique in this country, and has but few peers in Germany.

W. K.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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ON THE FRENCH *BOIS* AND *BACHELIER*

I. POP. LAT. *buscus*, 'WOOD'

While the Romance vocabulary in substance may be described as constituted of words inherited from Latin plus a great number of borrowings from Greek, Celtic, Teutonic, etc., it also contains a small quantity of words of obscure origin, which seem to be a wild growth on the old Latin stock. These words, which mostly belong to the language of peasants, are important, both because they contribute not a little to give to Romance as distinct from Latin its typical aspect, and because they are real, popular creations, having lived an obscure, undignified and ignoble existence till they appeared on the entire area of the Romance field.

Such a life, quite independent from any influence of the written language, made them especially subject to abnormal deformations and to extravagant developments. Therefore, they are *cruces* of Romance and Latin philology. Among them is to be reckoned the radical of It. *bosco* (wood), which had such an extraordinary fortune both in Romance and in Teutonic. Cf. Fr. *bois*, North French *bos*, Prov. *bosc*, Dutch *bosch*, Engl. *bush*, Germ. *Busch*, etc.

Many etymologies, of course, have been presented. Storm [1] and many others look upon *buxus* (box-tree) as the etymon of *bosco*. Körting prefers to derive it from a conjectural [2] *busticus*, which would be an adjective formed from *combustum* (burnt) and thus mean 'fire-wood.' Meyer-Lübke [3] connects the word with Gr. *βοσκή*, 'meadow.' There are many objections to be raised against these hypotheses.

[1] *Lat.-Rom. Wörterb.* [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Rom. Etym. Wörterb.*, p. 88.

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It is certain that the box-tree was providing a very much appreciated kind of wood. Box-wood, like yew, was a substitute for metal in a great many articles which we now produce on a large scale in various kinds of cheap metallic compositions. To this is ascribed the fact that those bushes, which used to be common in Western Europe, have now become somewhat exceptional as wild trees. Box-wood in particular was used for cabinet-work and its name has remained attached to our boxes (Gr. πυξίς, Vulg. Lat. *buxida*, O. Fr. *boiste*). It would thus be conceivable that box-wood, being a much appreciated material, could have become, κατ'ἐξοχήν, the name of wood, inasmuch as it was used for fine work and utensils, and then by extension for any kind of wood. This, however, is hardly borne out by the facts. One does not find any single instance of *buxus* with a meaning sufficiently extended to entitle us to believe in a further evolution, including not only 'wood' as a material, but 'forest, log,' etc. Moreover, the descendants of *buxus* in Romance have been kept sufficiently distinct from the *bosco* family. They are: It. *bosso*, Fr. *buis*, Catal. *box*, in contrast with It. *bosco*, Fr. *bois*, etc.

As to *busticus*, it is of course a mere guess. Its early reduction to *buscus*, in Italy, is not very probable, and the formation is too extraordinary to be accepted unless we should have serious reasons to believe in its existence. The presence of *bosco* in Romance is not a reason, if there is any other way to account for that formation.

Meyer-Lübke's βοσκή is perhaps even less satisfactory. One has no example at all of its use in Latin. Moreover, in Greek it always refers to 'pastures.' Besides, *bosco* is not *bosca*.

The question thus remained open, and new suggestions were welcome. Now, one was presented by Professor L. Wiener, of Harvard University, in his *Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Mediaeval Documents* (Cambridge, Mass., 1915). This recent book contains a precious documentation and many an interesting etymological suggestion, though unfortunately it is impossible to follow the writer in most of his conjectures. His study of the older mediaeval documents in Gaul, Italy, and Spain has resulted in emphasizing the importance of the word *arbustum*, 'woody estate, ground planted with trees,' as a term of Low Latinity. Professor Wiener looks upon *arbustum* as the substratum of *bosco*. The suggestion is a very happy one. It finds ample justification

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in the external documentation provided by the writer's research. Unfortunately, the argumentation as it is presented is not likely to convince Romance or Latin philologists. It is thus not altogether superfluous to reconsider the question and, moreover, to bring into the case many facts which are not to be found in Professor Wiener's argument, though they are of great importance and provide essential links.

The question of *bosco* appears to the writer as an illustration of the phenomena of contamination which have played an essential part in the development of the Romance vocabulary, though they have been hitherto rather underestimated by philologists. The influence of contamination in the Indo-European languages has been suggested first, so it seems, by Bartholomae in his review of Persson's sensational book upon *Wurzelerweiterung und Wurzelvariation*, 1892. The Scandinavian philologist has made a patient study of the Indo-European roots, and has shown that a good many of them appear in the various languages with phonetic additions (Wurzel-Determinativ) of various kinds. Bartholomae wonders whether several of those variations are not due to the influence on the speakers' minds of roots of similar meaning, resulting in a crossing of the one with the other. Guntert[4] has recently shown, more definitely, how words of kindred meaning come to receive the same ending and form a series of rime-words, just as in English: *clash, crash, dash, lash, mash, slash, smash, splash*,[5] while alliterative series of the same nature are found in *flame, flare, flash, flimmer, flicker*, related to the movements of light. In this we have applications of the well-known tendency to assimilate phonetically words which in our mind are associated in a group of meanings. The process, of course, is unconscious and may be observed in all of us. Some time ago, for instance, I was caught saying 'impolence' by mixing 'insolence' with 'impoliteness.' It is in that way that Popular Latin and Romance have produced:

Pop. Lat. *acrestis*, 'unripe grapes,' from *acer* and *agrestis*;—Pop. Lat. *diamant(em)*, 'diamond,' from *adamas* and *diaphanes*;—It. *ansima*, 'anxiety,' from *asthma* and *anxia*;—Sard. *dolima*, 'throes of childbirth,' from *asthma* and *dolor*;—O. Fr. *angoine*, 'anxiety,' from ἀγωνία and *anger*;—Sp. *alondra*, 'lark,' from

[4] Guntert, *Ueber Reimwort-bildung im Arischen und Altgriechischen.*
[5] L. Bloomfield, *Introduction to the Study of Language*, p. 19.

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alauda and *calandra;*—Aret. *boccino,* 'calf,' from *bos* and *vacca;* —O. Fr. *chétif,* 'captive,' from *captivus* and *coactus*(?);—Fr. *enveloppe* from *fulappa* and *volvere;*—O. Fr. *hansta* from *hasta* and Teut. *hand;*—O. Fr. *goupil* from *vulpes* and Teut. *hwelp,* 'young dog;'—Fr. *abasourdir* from *luridus* and *surdus;*—Sp. *tuerca,* 'screw,' from *torquere* and *pŏrca* (cf. Port. *puerca,* 'screw');—Fr. *ronfler,* 'to snore,' from *runcare* and *conflare;*—It. *sporcare,* 'to make dirty,' from *spurcus,* 'dirty,' and *pŏrcus; spurcido,* 'dirty,' from *spurcus* and *sucidus,* etc.

It is our thesis that the formation of *buscum,* 'wood,' and *būsca,* 'log,' out of Latin *arbustum* is due mainly to processes of contamination of that very kind.

The existence of a word *arbustum* meaning 'land covered with trees' is well attested in Latin (*Thesaurus, s. v.*). Notably Cato speaks of a 'fundus suburbanum arbustum.' The word is properly an adjective derived from arbor (*arbos*) as *venustus* has been formed from *Venus.* It was used as a noun, at an early period, as was so often the case in the language of Roman peasants. It may, after all, be looked upon as a collective to be put on a line with the *-etum*-words like *roboretum, alnetum, quercetum, arboretum,* etc., in which the suffix is a combination of *-to* and the *ĕ* of *floreo, floresco,* etc. The word *arbustum* was used of all kinds of wooded land but particularly for an estate on which trees were used as a support for vines. Columella describes at length that manner of cultivating the vines.[6] Such a plantation was called an *arbustum vitatum,* an expression current in Italy in the early mediaeval documents.[7] Hence in glossaries the mention of *arbustivum vinum, arbustivum mustum* for ὁ ἐξ ἀναδενδράδων οἶνος.[8] In the documents of the South of Italy, however, *arbustum* is used generally for 'woodland' as opposed to *campus,*[9] *e. g.: petia arbustata et campese* (a. 1021). The word in that country appears as the equivalent of *buscalia* used in Northern Italy, while a *petia arbustiva* in Lombardy is a *terra buscaliva* or *buschiva.*

Another current derivative was *buscaria,* for which one also finds *arbustaria.*[10] That frequent ending *-aria* was especially well represented in toponymic terms for collectives; *Filicaria* > *Fougères,*

[6] Wiener, *o. c.*, p. 110.
[7] *Ib.*
[8] Nettleship, *Contributions to Lt. Lexicog.*, p. 262.
[9] Wiener, *o. c.*, p. 112.
[10] *Ib.*, p. 113.

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Brucarias > *Bruyères, Sabulonaria* > Wall. *Sauvenière, Ferrarias* > *Ferrières, Petrarias* > *Perrières, Marularias* > *Marlières (marnière), Frigidarium* > *Freyr* (Belgium, Prov. Namur), *Carpinaria* > *Carnière* (Belgium, Hainault), etc. In Spain, *arbustum* also is found occasionally, but much more frequent is a term *bustum* or *bustellum: de fonte Sombrona usque ad foz de busto* (804), *cum montibus, fontibus, azoreras, bustis, pratis, . . .* (823), *addicimus etiam Ecclesiae Vestrae busta praenominata* (891), *in bustello in Villa nova* (1181), *bustello medio de sepe* (906), etc., etc.;[11] *bustaria* is also found there, and offers thus the perfect equivalent of the Italian *buscaria*. Curiously enough, *bustarias* survives in Portuguese *busteiro*, with the unexpected meaning of 'cock-chafer,' apparently as 'one that lives in bushes.'

That *bustum, bustellum, bustaria* may be alterations of *arbustum, arbustellum, arbustaria* is made very probable by the presence of both series of words in the same countries with the same meaning. The apheresis of the first syllable is found in several Popular Latin words, as Sen. *boccio*, 'silkworm,' It. *bozzolo*, 'silkworm,' It. *bigio*, 'gray,' Fr. *bis* etc., from *bombyceus*, while *bombix* and *bombax* are preserved in Tosc. *beco*, 'olive-worm,' It. *baco*, 'silkworm,' Ven. *bigoli*, 'vermicello,' etc. It. *gnaresta*, 'wild grape,' is for *vinea-agrestis*, It. *breccia* comes from Lat. *imbriceus*, and It. *cesso* from *recessus*, 'retired place,' *animal* is *nimal* in Parma, *limal* in Piacenza, *namale* in Rumania. The apheresis of initial *a* is moreover found in many words, apparently through confusion between *l'a* and *la*; cf. It. *gana* (*aquana*), *pecchia* (*apicula*), *polizza* (ἀπόδειξις), *bottega* (ἀποθήκη), *bozzima* (ἀπόζεμα), etc.

In the family of *arbor, ar* has been lost in the word *bora* (= *arborea*) found in the North of Italy with the meaning of 'log.' *Cf.* Lomb. Ven. *bora*, 'fallen tree,' Berg. *boreta*, 'beam,' *borel*, 'log,' etc. Schneller is the first to have pointed to that etymology for *bora*.[12] One is rather surprised to read in Meyer-Lübke's dictionary that such an explanation does not agree with the meaning of *bora*, especially if one remembers how many feminine adjectives in *-ea* have replaced in Popular Latin the names of trees. *Cf. quercea* (It. *quercia*), *ceresea* (Fr. *cerise*), *saliceus* (Prov.

[11] Wiener, *o. c.*, p. 115.
[12] *Romanische Volksmunde*, p. 119.

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saletz, 'willow'), *acereus* (Engad. *ažer,* 'maple'), etc. Besides, the loss of *ar-* is observable in It. *bruscello,* 'may-tree,' from *arbruscellum = arbuscellum = arbustellum (cf. infra).* As to *arbustellum* itself, Professor Wiener [13] mentions that a place called *Arbustellum* in 870 later appears as *alboscum* and *ad illum boscum.*

The loss of *ar-* in *arbustum, arbustaria,* moreover, has been, it seems, facilitated by a contamination with *bustar, bustum,* used in Latin for 'a place to burn corpses.' Walde [14] connects both those words with *comburere.*

Now, Papias tells us that *bostar* was 'locus ubi comburebantur corpora boum vel statio boum.' [15] He is thus betraying in a striking manner the confusion which existed in the minds of the people concerning the meaning of that word. It was supposed to contain the word *bos,* 'cow,' and was thus understood as meaning 'boum statio, boum stabulum.' In such conditions, *bustar* became *bostar.* This mistake may be due simply to the rarity of the word *bustar.* Such cases of folk-etymology are common, of course, when words cease to be properly understood. The burning of great quantities of cows in hecatombs would make that mistake natural, and the Greek *βουστάσιον* may have facilitated that evolution. Lindsay is thus hardly right in assuming the existence of a word *bostar* of the same type as *instar.* This point, however, is of secondary importance. In later times there was only one word *bostar* currently understood as 'place where there are cows,' either 'shambles' or 'pasture.' Towards the end of the ninth century, the abbot of St. German's Church in Paris mentions that in 886 there was such a mass of cattle in the aula of St. German 'that it was turned into a *bostar.*'

Matthew of Paris uses in the thirteenth century *bostar* as the regular word for a 'cattle-yard.' The word survives with that meaning in Spain: Span. *bostar,* 'stable.' That in Portuguese *busto* has also that meaning is probably due to a contamination between *arbustum* and *bustar,* and not to a 'Rückbildung' as Meyer-Lübke [16] thinks. This is the more likely since in the eighth century *arbustum, bustum,* and *bustellum,* in Spain, were used for

[13] Wiener, *o. c.*, p. 114.
[14] Walde, *Lat. Etym. Wört., s. v.*
[15] Wiener, *o. c.*, p. 115.
[16] *Op. cit., s. v.*

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'piece of wood on the outskirts of the estate in which cattle were left in relative freedom, as in a corral.'[17]

If therefore *bustum* may very well come from *arbustum*, we still have to account for the change of *st* into *sc* in the form *buscum*.

There is not so much difficulty in this as it may seem at first sight, if we consider that for *arbustellum* the people usually said *arbuscellum* or *albuscellum*, as shown by It. *arboscello, alboscello*, O. Bergam. *erbosel*.

In France, under the influence of *arbor*, one said *arbruscellum;* hence O. Fr. *arbrisseau*, Prov. *arbrissel*. It is that *arbruscellum* which gives It. *bruscello*, 'may-tree' (*cf. supra*).

Meyer-Lübke *(s. v.)* thinks that one first had *arbustlum* and then *arbusclum* (like *vetlus, veclus*), hence *arbuscellum*. This series is merely hypothetic and not very probable. It is more likely that the rare ending *-stellum* has undergone the influence of the numerous diminutives in *-cellum*, and here again the contamination has helped the process.

But *arbuscellum, arbruscellum* are not the only words of that family in which *sc* has been substituted for *st*. In the French forests the *bois, broussailles, buissons*, are opposed to the *fûtaie*, the big trees (Fr. *fût*). This word goes back to Pop. Lat. *fūstis*, 'tick, log.' Now, the diminutive of that word in Italy was *fuscellus* (It. *fuscello*), while that same word in Gaul had undergone the well-known metathesis of *sc* into *cs (cf. cresco* > *crexo* > Fr. *crois)* and was pronounced *fuxellus*, as shown by O. Fr. *fuissel*.

The hesitation between *arbustellus* and *arbuscellus, fustellus* and *fuscellus* must be pretty old if one considers that it has been extended to words of the same semantic family. *Ramus*, 'twig,' would very normally give a diminutive *ramicellum*, but this is not, in fact, the form actually found. In spite of all the habits of Latin, the diminutive of *ramus* was *ramustellus* and *ramuscellus*, in which we have a fine illustration of the formation of rime-words, as mentioned at the beginning of this article. *Fagus* similarly gives *fagustellum*, 'small beech, bush' (Fr. *foûteau*). *Ramustellus* survives in Bergam. *gramostel*, Liège. *rehtel*, while *ramuscellus* is the origin of It. *ramocello*, Fr. *raincel*.

The same hesitation between *st* and *sc* is, moreover, found in It.

[17] Wiener, *o. c.*, p. 115.

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fruscola, coming from *frustum,* 'piece, stick,' and in *ruscum,* 'butcher's broom,' besides *rustum,* 'blackberry shrub.' The two series of forms are preserved in Romance. On one side, Prov. *rois,* 'bush,' *roiso,* 'shrub,' Vincent. *rusa,* 'blackberry,' Nap. *rushte* come from *rusteum* and *rustea;* on the other, It. Sp. *rusco,* Romagn. *rosk* clearly go back to *ruscum.* The plural *rusca* is not found with that meaning of 'shrub,' but, curiously enough, in a large area there existed a word *rūsca* with a long *u,* meaning 'bark.' One finds it still in Lomb. *ruska,* 'bark, scale,' Parm. *ruska,* 'tanner's spent bark,' Fr. *ruche,* 'bee-hive (in bark).' May we recognize in it the collective-plural of *ruscum?* Beside *rŭstum, rūscum, rūsca,* existed a curious word: *brustum, bruscum, brūsca.* Pliny first mentions *bruscum.* Meyer-Lübke [18] has shown that the word is used for 'mushrooms growing on the bark of trees.' This meaning would account for that of It. *debruscare,* 'to clean the stems of trees.' *Brustum* and *brustrum* are mentioned in glossaries,[19] where they are translated by 'materiae genus.' Both *brustum* and *bruscum* have been transmitted to Romance with various meanings, which seem, however, to agree fairly well with that of *bruscum* in Pliny. They all refer namely to uneven surfaces, rough, thorny, bushy objects as shown by It. *bruscare,* 'to prune trees,' Fr. *brousse, broussaille,* 'thick husk' *(= bruscea, bruxalia* for *bruscalia),* Calabr. *brusca,* 'brush, for horses,' all coming from *bruscum,* while It. *brustia,* 'brush,' is derived from *brustum.* The French *brosse* (hence Eng. *brush*), with its open *o* is evidently a contamination between *brustio, bruscio,* and *broccus,* 'prickly, pointed.' [20] The result was *broccia,* accounting for the otherwise very mysterious French word. That this is the origin of Fr. *brosse* is semantically confirmed by Sp. *broza,* 'scraps from the bark of trees.' It. *bruzzoli (= brustioli),* 'scraps,' It. *brusco.* 'butcher's broom,' Prov. *brusc,* 'butcher's broom,' It. *brusco,* 'harsh,' Prov. *bruscar,* 'to scrape a ship with a broom,' also connect the meaning of 'scrap' with that of 'brush, broom.' Meyer-Lübke looks upon *bruscum* as a combination of *ruscum* with Celt. *brūca,* 'heath.' This would hardly account for the fundamental

[18] *Wiener Stud.,* XXV, pp. 93-199. [19] Meyer-Lübke, *ibid.*

[20] This adjective has been applied in Italy to sticks: It. *brocco,* 'pointed stick,' *brocca,* 'perch.' In Wallonian also *broc* is a 'stick' or a 'thorn.' A contamination with *truncus* gave It. *bronco,* 'trunk.'

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meaning of all those derivatives, which is clearly 'scraps of bark or wood.' *Brūca* may, however, have influenced with its *ū* some words of the family by occasional mental associations.

Other associations of the same kind apparently have brought *bruscum, brustum* semantically nearer to *(ar)buscum, (ar)buscellum*, as proved by the existence of *bruscellum*, 'may-tree,' and by expressions like: *brusca Marcofeldis* (*a.* 94),[21] *in toto brusco* (*a.* 1402).[22] The Basque words *brost, brosk, bost*, 'wood,' seem to have been borrowed also from Popular Latin.[23]

Summing up the review of words kindred with *(ar)bustum, (ar)buscum*, both in meaning and in form, we conclude that the apheresis of *ar-*, the interchange of *st* and *sc*, *ŭ* and *ū* in the whole family is due to a very intricate process of reciprocal contamination.

We will thus, of course, no longer hesitate to recognize in the mysterious word *būsca*[24] one of these collectives in *a* referring to materials. It was associated with *buscum, bustum*, as *rūsca* was with *rŭscum, rŭstum*. The word survives in Lomb. *busca*, Sic. *vuska*, Engad. *buska*, 'transom,' Fr. *bûche*, 'log,' *bûcher*, 'to cut wood,' Sp. *buscar*, 'seek for wood in a heap,' hence 'seek,' *buscalha*, 'twigs' (a variation of *bruscalia; cf. supra*). Among the words which more especially help in developing the long *ū* are to be mentioned: *rūsca*, 'bark,' and *fūstis, fūscellus*, 'stems.' The same long *ū* was furthermore introduced into *frustum*, 'a bit, a stick' *(cf.* It. *frusto, frusta, fruscolo)* and in *buxus*, 'box-tree' *(cf.* Fr. *buisson)*. *Brūca*, 'heath,' of Celtic origin, and *būttum*, 'log,' *brūcum*, 'trunk,' coming from Teutonic, have obviously also, at least in Gaul, been introduced into that same semantic and phonetic family and can but have helped in the propagation of the *ū*. Outside *būsca*, the *ū* seems to have been introduced at least in one derivative of *buscum*, 'wood,' namely Fr. *embûcher, embusquer*, 'to push game into the woods, make an ambush.' In contrast with It. *emboscar*, this word with its *u* was for Meyer-Lübke a riddle.[25] It will now, I hope, be devoid of mystery.

[21] Bouquet, 9, No. 382.

[22] Muñoz y Romero, p. 191; Wiener, *o. c.*, p. 191.

[23] Wiener, *ibid.* [24] Meyer-Lübke, *s. v.*

[25] *Wört., s. v. bosca.* The only member of the series which preserved *ŭ* is *tŭsca*, 'grove,' found in French place-names (*Le Touquet, Les Touches*). *Cf.* Beszard, *Noms de lieux du Maine*, p. 170.

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The history of this family of words not only elucidates many etymological problems: It. *brucello,* 'may-tree,' Fr. *bûche,* Lomb. *ruska,* 'bark,' Fr. *brosse, brousse, broussaille, buisson, fuissel, arbrisseau, raincel,* Sp. *bostar,* It. *bora,* etc., but also gives a striking illustration of the part played by contamination in the history of the Popular Latin vocabulary. Contaminations have been observed between practically all terms meaning 'tree, log,' or 'shrub' and namely between: *frutellus* and *buxus;—fustellus* and *(ar)buscellus;—fūstis* and *rusca* *(ar)busta;—arbor* and *arbuscellum;—ramus* and *arbuscellum;—rusca* and *bruscum;—buxus* and *(ar)bustus;—broccus* and *bruscia, bruscus;—broccus* and *truncus;—frustum, fūstis* and *bruscum;—bustar* and *(ar)bustum, bos;—brūca* and *ruscum.* This study has also brought us into close touch with the language of peasants, the least known of all the special languages which contributed to the formation of the new Latin, or rather Pre-Romance, vocabulary. The following article on *baccalaris* will tend to throw light on another obscure section of that peasant's language.

II. Pop. Lat. *bacca, baccalaris, bacassa*

The most varied etymologies have been presented for the word 'bachelor,' and Meyer-Lübke in his dictionary refuses to make any fresh suggestion. The word is there surrounded with many words in *bac-,* as *bacassa, baccus, baccellus,* for which no origin can be indicated.

A good many of those words refer to basins or cups: *bacar, bacca, baccinum, baccus;* others refer to fruit: *baca, bacula, baciola;* others to peasants: *bacassa, baccalaris,* or preserve the name of Bacchus, the god of the village festivals: *bacchanal, bacchanum, baccho.*

Those series of meanings, at first sight, seem too divergent to make it possible that these words ever constituted a semantic family. I believe, however, that a closer consideration will show that this was the case. The various terms may be traced back to *bāca,* 'fruit, grape,' or to *Bacchus.* It is evident that those two words were themselves connected with one another in the minds of the people, as will be shown by several contaminations. But, if we accept Walde's suggestion, both *bāca* and *Bacchus* may be considered as coming from one word, that meant 'grape' in the lan-

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guage of the pre-Aryan populations of the Mediterranean regions. This is made fairly probable by the preservation of the meaning 'grape' for *baca* in Spain. *Cf.* Varro, *L. L.*, 7, 87: "Vinum in Hispania bacca." In Galician *bago* is still 'grape,' and this meaning has also been preserved in Cymr. *bagwy*, 'grape,' borrowed from Latin. *Bacarium* in glossaries is translated by 'vas vinarium.' [26]

But even if *baca* originally is not connected phonetically with *Bacchus*, the influence of the latter has been constant on *bāca* and its derivatives. These derivatives can be divided into several groups. First, one has a certain number of words in which is preserved the meaning of 'berry,' which is the most common for *bāca* in Latin and Romance. This meaning, which is already an enlargement of the meaning 'grape,' has been extended to the envelope of the fruit, so that *bāca* already in Latin could be a 'husk.' By metaphor, in the same way as *gemma*, 'bud,' means 'pear,' *bāca* could also be said of 'beads' and was used for various jewels. Another less brilliant metaphor, also based on the round shape of the berries, resulted in *bāca* being used for 'crotals.' All these meanings are preserved in Romance for *bāca* and for its derivatives. Husks are Lucch. *baca*, Span. *baya* (from Fr. *baie*), Span. *baga*, 'membrane of the flax-seed,' It. *bacello*. Pearls or jewels are Prov. *baga*, hence It. *baga*, 'pearl,' Fr. *bague*, 'ring,' while Istr. *vaga* is 'marble.' 'Crotals' are Lomb. *bagola*, Moden. *begla*, Alb. *bagala*. Moreover, Triest. *bagola* is said of any short, stout person, and It. *bagatella* of all small valueless things.

The meaning 'berry' still prevails in Fr. *baie* and in various diminutives as *baciola* (It. *bagiola*), 'huckleberry,' *bacarius* (Tosc. *bacero*, 'huckleberry'), *bacula*, hence It. *bacola*, *bagola*, *macola*, 'alize, fruit of the lote-tree.' Besides *bacula* existed *baccula*, hence It. *baccola*, 'huckleberry.' That double *cc* is found also in It. *baccetto*, 'husk' or 'blockhead.' The latter meaning, which is found in other words of this family, is also present in It. *baciocco*, which Meyer-Lübke presumes to be a contamination of *baccello* with *sciocco*. The double *cc* is also found in *bacca*, for *baca*, in many Latin texts.[27] The reduplication of the consonant in that word is, of course, one among many examples of a very well known process in

[26] Walde, p. 80.

[27] *E. g.*, in Varro, *L. L.*, 7, 87.

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Popular Latin, found, *e. g.*, in *pŭppa : pūpa, mŭccus : mūcus, cŭppa : cūpa, cīppus : cīpus*, etc.

The derivatives of the second and third series also show *cc* besides *c* and also *ch*, by influence of *Bacchus*. The first of those two series contains a good number of derivatives referring to basins, cups, and other kinds of receptacles.

Among them is *bachia* mentioned by Isidor:[28] "bachia primum a Baccho, quod est vinum, nominata; postea in usus aquarios transiit." The word *bachia* has not survived in Romance, but the explanation given by Isidor is interesting. The use of *Bacchus* with the meaning of 'wine' is found elsewhere ('Bacchi antiqui,' 'Veteris Bacchi,' in *Gloss. Ep.*, p. 5, c. 38).[29] We may thus safely assume that *bacarium*, 'vas vinarium' or 'vas aquarium' (Gloss), *bacario*, 'urceoli genus' (Gloss), were understood as derivatives of *Bacchus* as well as of *bāca*. No wonder thus if we find in Gregory of Tours the spelling *bacchinon* (as though from *Bacchus*) for a word that seems to have been *baccinum* (from *baca, bacca*), surviving in Fr. *bassin*, It. *bacino*, Prov. *baci*, etc. The word obviously is a derivative in *-inus* of the type of *caninus, serpentinus*. It is thus an abbreviation of (*vas*) *baccinum*, a variation of (*vas*) *bacarium*. The aforementioned form *bacario* is a derivative of *bacar* (*vas bacar*[*e*]), described in Paul Festus, 22. Thd. P., as "vas vinarium simile bacrioni." *Bacrio* is also found for that kind of object: "bacrionem dicebant genus vasis longioris manubri, hoc alii trullam appellabant" (*ib.*).[30] The Sicilian word *bacara*, 'pitcher,' evidently goes back to one of those forms. The Italian word *bacile* represents another type of adjectival derivative. It is a rime word of *ovile, suile, fenile*. There is nothing really extraordinary in the formation of those words, nor in their meaning. It may seem more astonishing to find that same meaning represented by underived words like *baccus* and *bacca*.

Baccus is Fr. *bac*, 'trough, ferry,' Dutch *bak* is borrowed from French, not the reverse, as Koerting believes. But a Celtic origin for both those words, as Meyer-Lübke suggests, has no support. It seems to us more likely to treat *baccus* as a "Rückbildung" from *baccinum*. The *inus*-suffix in Late Latin acquired the value

[28] *Orig.*, 20. 5. 4.
[29] Nettleship, *Contrib. to Lexicog.*, p. 392.
[30] *Cf.* Walde, p. 80.

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of a diminutive ending. *Cf. Domnina,* on a Spanish inscription,[31] *pectorina* > Fr. *poitrine,* 'breast,' *narina* > Fr. *narine,* 'nostril,' *radicina* > Fr. *racine,* 'root,' *culicinum* > Fr. *cousin,* 'small mosquito,' *pullicinum* > Fr. *poussin,* 'chicken,' etc.

Now, in various cases augmentatives have been formed from diminutives, simply by cutting off the endings *-ellus, -īnus,* etc.: *avicellus,* 'little bird, bird,' for instance, has developed *avica,* 'the big bird,' that is 'the goose' (Fr. *oie*), *vas(i)cellum,* 'small vase,' gave *vas(i)cum,* 'a big basin for water' (It. *vasco* 'kieve'). From *corbicula,* 'basket' (Fr. *corbeille*), arose *corbicus,* 'big basket' (Bolog. *korg,* Milan. *koreg*). Similarly, *manicla,* 'handle of the plow,' generated *manicum,* 'big handle' (Fr. *manche*). The preceding article has shown how *buscum* could be derived from *(ar)buscellum* while the apocope of *inium* is found in *tricla* from *triclinium,* 'dining room,' a word applied to rooms in foliage: Fr. *treille,* 'vine arbor.' *Bacca* is found beside *baccus* in Gaul. It also has the meaning of 'big receptacle'; hence Fr. *bache,* 'tank,' Lyon. *basho,* 'small boat,' Fr. *bachot,* 'canoe,' Lyon. *bašasi,* 'trough for pigs,' Norm. *bašo,* 'net to catch shell-fish.' The word *bacca* with those meanings is thus clearly a new formation from *baccinum,* rather than a doublet of *baca,* in the same way as *cuppa,* 'cup,' is a doublet of *cūpa,* 'kieve.' An interesting parallel to the formation of *baccus* from *baccinum* is the abbreviation of *catinus,* 'bowl,' into *catlia* (It. *cazza,* 'trough').

Besides those numerous derivatives arising from *bāca,* 'wine,' there were several others, found with practically the same suffixes, in which prevailed the meaning of 'fruit' or 'husk.'

Besides *baccinum,* 'basin,' existed *bacina,* 'hen-bane,'[32] for which *baccana* or *baccina* are also found in glossaries.[33] Moreover, Pliny knows of *bacalia* as the name of a kind of laurel, producing much fruit. We know nothing more about that tree, and the word looks very much like a collective of a type very frequent in Romance: *aqualia,* 'waterworks' > *Aywaille* (village near Liège), *novalia,* 'fallow lands' > *Noaille* (place-name frequent in France), *rosalia,* 'festival of roses' (Pentecost) > Rum. *rusalii, serralia,* 'jagged herb' > Sp. *cerraja,* 'thistle,' *carpinalia* > 'thicket of hornbeams' >

[31] Carnoy, *Le Latin d'Espagne,* 2d ed., 1906, p. 114.
[32] Walde, p. 80.
[33] *Thesaurus L. L., s. v.*

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Carnaille (place-name in Northern France).[34] Similarly, *ramilia*, 'branches' > Fr. *ramille*, *canilia*, 'bran' (*canus*, 'gray') > Sic. *canniggia*. That the word is treated as a feminine is merely a feature of Popular Latin, which is found already at an early period (*fate*, *CIL*, II. 89 apparently in the 2nd century A. D.).

The word betrays thus the existence of an adjective *bacalis* or *baccalis* referring to fruit-bearing trees.[35] Its use as a noun in connection with trees or places planted with trees reminds us of *carpinalia*, *ramilia* aforementioned. It appears to have been one of those countless nominal adjectives in *-ale*, *-ile* applied to country places and farming implements, found in the language of peasants and in Romance toponymy, as *casa*, 'house' > *casale*, 'village,' > Fr. *chazal* (frequent place-name); *novus*, 'new' > *novale*, 'new field' > It. *novale*, 'fallow land'; *aqua*, 'water' > *aquale*, 'canal, brook' > Engad. *ovel*, 'brook'; *locus*, 'spot' > *locale*, 'spot' > Sp. *lugar*; *nuca*, 'nut' > *nucale*, 'walnut-tree' > Sp. *nogal*, Wall. *nawé*; *area*, 'threshing floor' > *areale*, 'threshing floor' > Engad. *irel*; *caput*, 'head' > *capitale*, 'herds of cattle,' 'cattle' > OFr. *chetel*; *mansio*, 'house' > *mansionile*, 'hamlet' > Fr. *ménil*; *cohors*, 'yard' > *cortile*, 'garden' > Fr. *courtil*, etc., etc.

The meaning of *baccale* was thus 'tree with *baccae*' (*cf. nucale*). Now, the mediæval documents sometimes contain the word *baccalare*, 'field with vines,' 'orchard.'[36] There is also *baccalaria* for 'a small country estate,' 'a tenure,' *baccalarius*, 'young peasant' (often with a tinge of depreciation).[37] The meaning of 'young peasant' still survives in It. *baccalaro*, 'ostler, groom.' Dr. Stowell, reviving Scheler's etymology,[38] suggests that the words might be for *vaccalarius* and mean 'cow-herd,' as it is sometimes the case in old texts for Fr. *bachelier*, *e. g.*, in the Old French Bible glossaries in Hebrew characters.[39] The change of *v* into *b* would be due to the influence of the Provençal dialects in which *b* and *v* are con-

[34] *E. g.*, in Trelon (Nord).

[35] That adjective is actually found in Pliny, *H. N.*, 760.

[36] Ducange, *s. v.*; to *baccalare* from *baccale*, compare *bovalare* from *bovale* in Old Spanish, Wiener, *o. c.*, p. 118.

[37] *Cf.* W. A. Stowell, *Note on the Etymology of "bachelier,"* in *Elliott Studies*, I, p. 225 sqq.

[38] *Dict. Etym. Fr.*, *s. v. bachelier.*

[39] Stowell, *o. c.*, p. 234.

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fused. Against this may be adduced that *baccalarius* is too old and too general a form to admit of such an interpretation. Besides, the meaning 'orchard' for *baccalare,* and the evidence that we present here of the existence of a family of words derived from *baca,* etc., tend to relate *baccalarius* to that same semantic and phonetic group which very well accounts for all the meanings of Pop. Lat. *baccalarius,* It. *baccalaro,* and O. Fr. *bacheler.* The casual assimilation of *bacheler* to a 'cowherd' might best be accounted for by a late contamination with *vacca,* which was rather to be expected. The general meaning 'peasant' instead of 'vine-grower, fruit grower,' has developed naturally in the Mediterranean countries, and in older times was probably facilitated by the semantic connection between *baca* and *Bacchus.* There was, indeed, a word *baccho,* 'stupid fellow, follower of Bacchus,' that was used for 'peasant,' *e. g.,* in 'rustici, baccones, agricolae, coloni.'[40] *Baccho* has apparently to be considered as one of those depreciative words in *-o, -onis* that were so abundant in Popular Latin. *Baccho* was a 'drinker' and a 'partaker in foolish and noisy country carnivals,' as *mustio* was a 'drinker of young intoxicating wine,' *bibo,* 'a drinker' in general, *glutto,* a 'glutton,' etc.

Discredit has been thrown in later times on the *bacchanalia,* as shown by It. *baccano,* 'noise,' Istr. *bucanaya,* 'roar.' Originally, however, *baccho* may have been a Greek word. **Βάκχων** is found as a diminutive of **Βάκχος** (A. B. 856), also with a jocose meaning.

That sensible filiation, I think, provides us with a clue to disclose the etymology of *bacassa,* a very obscure word appearing in Old Fr. *baiasse,* Prov. *bagassa,* 'lass'; while *bacassella* survives in O. Fr. *baisselle,* 'maid.'

Besides **βάκχων** there was a word **βακχᾶς**[41] for **βακχευτὴς,** 'any one full of Bacchic frenzy or wine.' Now, in late Greek, feminines in *-ίσσα, -υσσα, -ασσα* are not rare. **Πλατύς,** 'broad,' for instance, formed a feminine **πλατύσσα,** which penetrated into Popular Latin as *platussa* or *platissa,* hence Catal. *platussa,* 'sole, plaice,' Wall. *playis, pleis,* 'plaice,' Gasc. *platuso* 'plaice,' therefore **βάκχασα** as a feminine of **βάκχας** is not at all unlikely.

Bacassa provided a natural feminine to *baccho, bacco.* It re-

[40] Glos. Lat. Ms. Reg.—Ducange, *s. v.*

[41] Soph. Fr. 598, Phrynicus, 433 (ed. Lobeck).

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ferred thus to a peasant girl with a marked depreciation. The reduction of *cch* into *c* is explainable by the constant contamination in that group of words between *Bacchus* and *baca*. Moreover, it is well known that to *cc* after the accent regularly corresponds *c* before the stress. *Bacco : bacassa* is like *plattus : platussa* and, moreover, like *canna : canalis, farrea : farina, mamma : mamilla, offa : ofella*, etc.

I hope such interpretations of the curious words *baccalaris* and *bacasse* will seem natural and relatively simple. They are so, if compared with the other explanations proposed for those words. Besides Scheler's [42] and Stowell's hypothesis (*cf. supra*), *baccalaris* was vaguely suspected to be connected with Ir. *bachlach*, 'servant.' T. Claussen [43] saw in *baccalaris* an alteration of πάγκληρος, 'having the whole inheritance,' a word hardly found in Greek and very far from the Popular Latin word both in form and in meaning. *Bacassa* has led to even more curious explanations, as, for instance, a borrowing from Arab. *baguiyya*, 'lass, prostitute,' or a connection with *vagus*,[44] so that a *bacassa* would be a 'wandering maid.'

Those unlucky attempts show how unexplored yet is the section of the Popular Latin vocabulary which refers to things of the country. The study of place-names, which is now only beginning, will no doubt provide the student in Latin and Romance lexicology with a great number of documents concerning that same kind of Latin. In various cases in the present article some light has been thrown on the questions from that source of information. It would no doubt have proved much more useful if the documentation were more complete and more accessible. The special phonetic alterations in those eminently popular and emancipated words, as in general in all words referring to the country, account to a great extent for the obscurity in which they have hitherto remained.

University of Pennsylvania. ALBERT J. CARNOY.

[42] *Dict Etym. Franç., s. v.*
[43] *Rom. Forsch.*, XV, 839.
[44] Körting, *L. R. W.*, 1131.

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THE *NOVELAS EXEMPLARES* OF CERVANTES IN GERMANY

In the publications which have appeared on the literary relations between Spain and Germany[1] Cervantes, perhaps, receives his share of consideration, but the wide space given to the discussion of *Don Quixote* leaves but little room for the appreciation of the *novelas exemplares* and their influence on German literature. Nor is this want satisfied in Rausse's "Die ersten deutschen Übertragungen von Cervantes Novelas ejemplares," *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte,* IX, 385 ff., which, as the title indicates, merely aims to survey the earliest transmissions of the exemplary novels into Germany.

Cervantes, the author of the exemplary novels, is quite overshadowed in Germany, as elsewhere, by Cervantes, the immortal creator of *Don Quixote.* And yet the *novelas* are unanimously accorded a lasting place in the world's literature and extolled, with the tales of Boccaccio, as the models of all modern short story production.

Of the *novelas exemplares* only one, *La Gitanilla de Madrid,* or *Preziosa,*[2] as it is generally called in the German version, enjoys a popular acquaintance among the Germans, and this distinction is perhaps due to the fact that it is supported by Weber's operatic composition. The other *novelas* are now comparatively unknown in Germany. All the more interesting is the information that the majority of them found their way into Germany at a very early date, were widely read and achieved a certain popularity.

In 1617, the year after Cervantes' death, two of the best *novelas* were translated into German, namely, *Rinconete y Cortadillo* and *El Curioso impertinente.* The former appeared in the same volume with the well-known picaresque novel, *Lazarillo de Tormes.* This

[1] Farinelli, *Spanien und die spanische Literatur im Lichte der deutschen Kritik und Poesie,* 1892. Schneider, *Spaniens Anteil an der deutschen Literatur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts,* 1898. Schwering, *Literarische Beziehung zwischen Spanien und Deutschland,* 1902.

[2] A complete history of this story is given by Wolfgang von Wurzbach, "Die Preziosa des Cervantes," *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte,* I, 391 ff.

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work found a ready market, as may be inferred from the fact that no less than six editions were published in little more than a century, the new editions appearing in 1624, 1643, 1656, 1666 and 1724.[3]

Of the translator, Nikolaus Ulenhart, little is known but the name. He seems to have been quite free from the scruples of a borrower's conscience. He makes no mention of the source of his material, and shows no hesitation in taking liberties with the Spanish text. Not only does he transfer the scene from Andalusia to Bohemia, from Seville to Prague, but he gives the story an entirely different setting and even robs it of its Spanish character, so that we are not surprised to find the work mentioned by Gervinus as an original production of Ulenhart.[4]

In the names Isaak Winkelfelder and Jobst von der Schneid we may be able to detect their respective prototypes, Rinconete and Cortadillo, but one seeks in vain for any connection between the names Monipodio and Zuckerbastel, as Ulenhart chose to christen "the father of all rogues." Under this new name the master-rogue attained a wide reputation. His creation the "rogues' guild" is employed in other writings of the time, for example in Happel's *Der Akademische Roman* (1690), and Simplizissimus uses the expression "die Zunft des Zuckerbastels zu Prag," as though it were a well-known institution.

The German version of the story *Rinconete y Cortadillo* played an important part in the introduction and popularization of the *Schelmenroman* in Germany.

The second of the *novelas* to be introduced in this year, *El Curioso impertinente,* is an episode from *Don Quixote,* which Cervantes included in the first edition of his *novelas exemplares.* This translation, the author of which is unknown, represents accordingly the earliest beginnings of *Don Quixote* in German. The English comedians playing in Germany during the seventeenth century recognized the dramatic quality of this tale and recast it in the form of a tragedy, under the title *Tragödie vom unzeitigen Vorwitz.* This version appeared in 1630 in the second part of *The English Comedies and Tragedies.* A later dramatization of the

[3] Rausse, *loc. cit.*

[4] Gervinus, *Deutsche Dichtung,* III, 485.

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story bearing the title *Der neugierige Ehemann*[5] was published in Sorau in 1744 and in Vienna in 1750.

In 1653 George Philipp Harsdörffer, member of the *Pegnitzschäfer* and author of the famous *Nürnberger Trichter,* published his work *Der grosse Schauplatz Lust- und Lehrreicher Geschichte,* in which he discloses a surprising acquaintance with the literatures of ancient and modern times. A man of wide reading, he borrowed his materials from the ancient classics, from the French, Italian and Spanish, but, extremely superficial in his methods, he plundered the treasures of foreign literatures merely for the sake of the stories. His interest in Cervantes seems to have been limited to the comedy content of his works.

In the following seven *novelas* of Cervantes, from which he has reproduced extracts in the above mentioned collection, we recognize the source of Harsdörffer's garbled adaptations, for which he saw fit to change the originals in form as well as content:

Cervantes	Harsdörffer
El Licenciado Vidriera	*Die Wahnsinnigen*
El Casamiento Engañoso	*Der Gegenbetrug*
La Fuerza de la Sangre	*Die Regung des Geblüts*
La Señora Cornelia	*Der Findling*
El Celoso extremeño	*Die betrogene Eifersucht*
La Ilustre Fregona	*Die edle Dienstmagd*
La Gitanilla de Madrid	*Die adelichen Comödianten*

In Harsdörffer's *Die adelichen Comödianten* we find the first introduction of Cervantes' *La Gitanilla de Madrid* into Germany, but in a form so distorted that it shows but slight resemblance to its source. We next meet the story in 1656 bearing the title *Tim Ritzchens verteutschte spanische Zigeunerin,* a translation from the Dutch of Jakob Cats. Of the translator Timotheus Ritsch nothing definite is known. In 1701 appeared the next German version of the same by one Araldo, who translated the story from the Italian of Barezzo Barezzi.

The story was first dramatized in 1777 by Heinrich Ferdinand Möller under the title *Die Zigeunerin.* This work was superseded by the romantic drama *Preziosa* of Pius Alexander Wolff, the first

[5] The source is given in the sub-title, *Lustspiel aus dem Französischen von Allainval.*

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version of which was completed in 1810. The second version appeared in 1821, and in this form, accompanied by the music of Weber, the Preziosa story continues to live on the German stage.

In 1752 Conradi published *Satyrische und lehrreiche Erzählungen von Cervantes,* which he had translated from the French. Not until 1779 was Germany provided with a complete translation of the *novelas exemplares,* on the basis of the original texts. This anonymous work became the forerunner of a long line of translations. The following are listed by Rausse: Soltau 1801, Förster 1825, J. F. Müller 1826, Duttenhofer 1840, Baumstark 1868, Keller und Notter 1883, Thorer 1907, some by Reclam, and other separate translations.

From the history of *Don Quixote,* which was more widely known than the *novelas* and exercised a much stronger influence, the following dates merit our attention in this connection. The first twenty-two chapters were translated by Pahsch Bastel von der Sohle in 1621. The first complete translation, poorly rendered from the French of Filleau de Saint-Martin, bears the date 1682. In 1696 a corrupt imitation of *Don Quixote* appeared in Nürnberg under the title *Der spanische Waghalsz.*

This array of dates and facts concerning the early history of Cervantes in Germany might well challenge comparison with the introduction of Shakespeare, who has since received a much more favorable consideration at the hands of the literary critics.

Over the various celebrations held during the past year in honor of the tercentenary of Shakespeare's death it seemed as though we had all but forgotten the fact that Cervantes too passed away just three hundred years ago.

Today Shakespeare is known to every schoolboy as the world's greatest dramatist, while the works of Cervantes, aside from his *Don Quixote,* are known only to the select few. And yet throughout the seventeenth century Cervantes occupied a much more important place in the German literary world than did Shakespeare. Like Cervantes the latter had been introduced into Germany during his lifetime. The English Comedians acquainted the Germans with much of his work. From them Jakob Ayrer and Herzog Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig learned something of Shakespeare's art.

As late as 1682, however, the year in which the first complete translation of *Don Quixote* appeared, Morhof, who shows a keen ap-

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preciation of the satire in Cervantes' novel, merely mentions Shakespeare by name in a list of English dramatists.[4]

Sixty years later, in 1740, Bodmer, whose wide literary interests are well-known, seems to have possessed but slight information concerning Shakespeare, referring to him as *Sasper* in his *Abhandlung von dem Wunderbaren in der Poesie.* For Cervantes, on the other hand, he expresses a high regard and offers in the following year (1741) the first German critical analysis of *Don Quixote.* It was not until this year, one hundred and twenty-four years after the introduction of the first *novelas* of Cervantes, that Borck published his translation of *Julius Caesar,* the first of Shakespeare's plays to be rendered into German.

It remained for Lessing, whose efforts in behalf of Shakespeare bore such far-reaching results, to call attention to the poetic significance of the *novelas exemplares.* Unfortunately his plan to translate them never materialized, else they might have enjoyed a more lasting interest and a more effective influence.

OSCAR BURKHARD.

University of Minnesota.

THE RETAINED OBJECT

The third person singular of the Latin passive is often impersonal. You can say *cantatur,* it is sung, for *they sing;* or *bibitur,* it is drunk, for *they drink;* or *curritur,* it is run, for *they run.* In the *Æneid* (IX, 641) Apollo says to Iulus: *Sic itur ad astra.* For *Sic vivitur apud nos* you can say in German: *So lebt man bei uns,* or *So wird bei uns gelebt.*

It has been suggested that the third person singular of the Latin passive had originally an active meaning. Zimmer ("Über das italo-keltische Passivum und Deponens") pointed out thirty years ago in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift* (XXX, 224) that the corresponding Celtic forms were originally active, and could therefore be construed with the accusative; *m-berar,* I am carried, was originally *folk carry me.* Also in Oscan inscriptions we find this formation in *-r* construed with the accusative: for Lat. *ultima (imago) consecretur* you can

[4] Morhof, *Unterricht von der teutschen Sprach,* 1682.

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say in Oscan: *ultimam consecretur* (Oscè: *úlliumam sacrafír*). Brugmann in his *Grundriss*, vol. II (Strassburg, 1892), p. 1391, below, is inclined to regard these forms as the third pers. sing. pass. *Cf.* his *Kurze vgl. Grammatik* (Strassburg, 1903), § 798, and contrast R. S. Conway's remarks in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, eleventh edition, vol. XVI, p. 245b.

In Biblical Aramaic, on the other hand, we often find *they carry it* instead of *it is carried;* cf. Dan. 2, 30.35; 3, 4.13; 4, 13.22.29; 5, 3.20.21; 6, 17.25; 7, 5.12.13.26; Ezr. 4, 19; 6, 1.5; 7, 24, and Kautzsch's *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (Leipzig, 1884), § 96 c; Marti's grammar (Berlin, 1911), § 122. In Dan. 3, 4 the Authorized Version has in the margin for *it is commanded:* Chaldee *they command.* In Dan. 2, 34.35 the Aramaic original has *A stone smote the image upon its feet. . . . Then they smashed the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold* instead of *Then the iron, the clay, the silver, and the gold were smashed.*

In Hebrew and Arabic the construction of a passive verb with an accusative is quite common; *cf.* Professor Gildersleeve's remarks, in *The American Journal of Philology*, vol. II (Baltimore, 1881), p. 91, l. 7. In a Hebrew sentence like *way-yuggád lĕ-Ribqâ 'et-dibrê 'Ēśáw*, Rebecca was told the words of Esau (Gen. 27, 42), *the words* has the sign of the accusative, because the statement is equivalent to *They told Rebecca the words of Esau* or *Someone told Rebecca the words of Esau.* The literal translation of the Hebrew would be *And it was told to Rebecca the words* (accus.) *of Esau*, as if you could say in Latin: *nuntiatum est Rebeccae minas Esavi.* Similarly we find: *way-yiwwaléd lĕ-Ḥanôk 'et-'Îrád*, And unto Enoch was born Irad (Gen. 4, 18) where *Irad* has the sign of the accusative, because the clause is equivalent to *And someone* (one of his wives or concubines) *bore Irad to Enoch;* see Gesenius' Heb. Grammar (Oxford, 1898), § 121, a. b. The Greek Bible has ἐγενήθη δὲ τῷ Ενωχ Γαιδαδ (with graphic confusion of the Heb. *r* and *d*, and *g* for the Heb. *'Ain* as in Gaza), but the literal translation would be ἐγενήθη δὲ τῷ Ενωχ τὸν Γαιδαδ. Heb. *iwwaléd*, he is born, was originally reflexive, but *yuggád*, it is told, is an internal passive form which is a differentiation of the intransitive (or involuntary) form of the Semitic verb; see *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. XVI, p. ci; vol. XXII, p. 54; vol. XXVIII, p. 114.

In Arabic the impersonal use of the third person singular masculine of the passive is quite common, and the passive is construed

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with the accusative. You say: *'úllima 'ílma 'l-háy'ati,* he was taught the science of astronomy, with the word for *science* in the accusative (*scientiam institutus est,* not *scientiâ*) because the statement is equivalent to *Someone taught him the science of astronomy;* cf. Wright's Arabic grammar (Cambridge, 1896-98), vol. I, p. 50, D; vol. II, p. 52, B; p. 268, B; p. 270, A. The same construction prevails in Ethiopic; see Dillmann's grammar (Leipzig, 1899), p. 390. In Syriac the reflexive-passive stems may be construed with the accusative, but this is very rare. Internal passive participles are often construed with the accusative, but they have then an active sense: Syr. *šĕqîl* means originally *laden,* but with an accusative it signifies *carrying;* see Nöldeke's Syriac grammar (Leipzig, 1898), §§ 291, 280.

The Arabic grammarians call the passive *the action of which the agent is unknown.* If the agent is to be named, the active construction must be used. In modern Arabic you can say: *He was killed by Omar,* but in classical Arabic you must say: *Omar killed him.*

In Ethiopic you say *bôtû,* it is in him, for *he has* (cf. Lat. *esse in aliquo*) and it is construed with the accusative, although we find occasionally the nominative; *cf.* Dillmann's grammar, pp. 360, 387, 435. When *bô* means *There is* the construction with the nominative is more common.

In Arabic the accusative not infrequently depends on a verb which is understood. For *Welcome!* you say *márḥaban wa-'áhlan wa-sáhlan* in the accusative, because this salutation is equivalent to *Thou hast found a roomy place, and friendly people, and comfort.* If a person is in danger of injuring his head you call out in Arabic: *ar-rá'sa,* the head, in the accusative, because you must supply *Guard;* cf. Wright's grammar, vol. II, pp. 74/5, also my remarks on Heb. *Selah,* reverential prostration, in *The Expository Times,* vol. XXII, No. 8 (May, 1911), p. 375[a]. After Arab. *ínna,* verily, the following noun or pronoun is placed in the accusative, because *ínnahu,* verily he is, means originally *behold him.* Similarly we find in the Latin comic poets *ellum* and *eccum* for *en illum* and *ecce eum* (cf. Wright's Arab. grammar, vol. II, p. 79, n. *), although the nominative (*en ego, ecce homo*) is more usual after *en* and *ecce.* Cf. *me miserum* and *heu me perditum,* &c.

Also in English and in German the passive may be construed with the accusative. We can say *When he was told the sad news* or *He was taught the correct pronunciation* or *He was given no rest.*

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In German you could say *Er wurde die richtige Aussprache und den richtigen Accent gelehrt.* Moritz Heyne states in J. and W. Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch,* vol. VI (Leipzig, 1885), col. 566, below: *Dem* lehren *mit persönlichem und sächlichem accusativ steht* gelehrt werden, gelehrt sein *gegenüber mit persönlichem nominativ und sachlichem accusativ,* er ist einen gegenstand gelehrt worden. This construction is old; it is found in MHG (*den list bin ich gelêret*). Cf. also Daniel Sanders' *Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache,* vol. II (Leipzig, 1863), p. 88b, 7, a; contrast Heyse's *Handwörterbuch der deutschen Sprache,* Part II (Magdeburg, 1849), p. 42, l. 5.

Professor C. Alphonso Smith in his *Studies in English Syntax* (Boston, 1906), p. 67, to which Professor Bright has kindly called my attention, terms *I* in *I was given a book* a *nominative by position.* He thinks that *I was given a book* stands for *Me* (dative) *was given a book* (nominative). Similarly *John was given four books* is supposed to stand for *To John were given four books.* Smith's statement that the construction *I was given a book* is without a parallel in any other language, ancient or modern, is, of course, gratuitous. On p. 69 he remarks: "To call *book* a "retained object," as the grammars continue to do—retained from active construction, *He gave me a book*—is mere jugglery of words." But the term *retained object* is correct. *He was given a book* is equivalent to *They gave him a book* or *Someone gave him a book.* Not every passive construction presupposes an active construction still consciously held in the mind, but the first person who retained the object with the passive construction *He was given a book,* was no doubt unconsciously influenced by the active construction *They gave him a book.* Professor Bright has subsequently called my attention also to Professor Curme's confirmation of my view (*Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXVIII, 100) and to the following advocates of the view adopted by Professor C. Alphonso Smith, namely, E. Einenkel in his sketch of English Syntax in Paul's *Grundriss*[2] (1916), § 15; Leon Kellner, *Hist. Outlines of English Syntax* (1892), pp. 17, 93, 225; Otto Jespersen, *Progress in Language* (1894), 229 ff. The illustrations cited by these authorities do not, it seems to me, militate against the correctness of my explanation of this interesting syntactic phenomenon.

PAUL HAUPT.

Johns Hopkins University.

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THE FORMS OF *DÔN* IN OLD HIGH GERMAN

Wilmanns, in his *Deutsche Grammatik* III, 60, has assumed the existence of the four stems *dō, dōi̯o, du, dē* or *dēi̯o* of the verb *dōn* = to do, in order to explain the OHG. forms *tuon, tuos(t), tuot; tuoie, tuoiest, tuoie; duis (t), duas (t), duit, duat; deist, deit.* It is the purpose of this investigation to show that such an assumption is unnecessary. We can, I believe, explain all the forms in OHG. without having recourse as Wilmanns does (*ZfdA.* XXXIII, 425) to an indogermanic stemgradation (dádhāmi, dadhmás).

1. That the earliest germanic form of this word contained only *ō* is shown by the OS., AS. *dōn*, OHG. *tōm* (only a few examples in the oldest documents; cf. Schatz, *Altbair. Gramm.* § 176). In OHG. the *ō* was diphthongized to *uo, ua* (Cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gramm.* § 39), whence the forms *tuon, tuan* (*duan*).

2. The athematic inflection *tuo-n, tuo-s (t)*, etc. (Tatian, Notker et al.) *dua-n, dua-s(t), dua-t* (Otfrid) was the rule. But Otfrid felt, in all probability, the *a* in *duan* to belong to the regular thematic infinitive ending as *nem-an, zioh-an, far-an*, etc., in other words, *duan* divided itself for him into *du-an*, with the syllable *du-* as the stem. This is verified by his use of the forms *duis(t), duit* for the second and third person singular in which the *-is(t), -it* have been taken over from the regular thematic conjugations (Cf. *nimis, nimit*). Likewise have the plural forms *duen, doet, duent* been modeled after *nemen, nemet, nement*. Another verification of this explanation I see in the subjunctive forms *due, duest, duen*, where the *u* is short contrary to the rule that the loss of the final vowel of the diphthong *uo, ua* before a following vowel causes compensatory lengthening of the *u* as for example *muojen* = *mûen* (Cf. Braune, § 40[4]).

3. By the side of the regular subjunctive forms *tûe, tûêst, tûe*, etc. in Notker, are found the probably younger *tuoe, tuoest, tuoe*, which certainly exhibit nothing but the indicative stem *tuo-* plus the subjunctive endings *-e, êst, -e*.

In Notker's *Psalms*, however, occur the subjunctive forms *tuoie, tuoiest, tuoie*, also found in MHG. as *tüeje* (Cf. Paul, *Mhd. Gramm.*

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§ 175).[1] The insertion of a *j* after a long vowel or a diphthong is very common in OHG (Cf. Braune, § 117).

4. The forms *deist, deit,* which appear to have been in use only in Middle and Low Franconia, have so far baffled every attempt at an acceptable explanation. They first put in their appearance about the middle of the 12th century in the so-called *Arnsteiner Marienleich* (Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler,* XXXVIII). Franck, *Altfränk. Gramm.* § 211, does not venture an explanation, but seems to think that the form owes its origin to some sort of connection with *geist, geit* (second and third person singular of *gân, gên*) and *steist, steit* (inf. *stân, stên*). Wilmanns, *Deutsche Gramm.* III, 61, says "Diese Formen (*deist, deit*) sind entweder mit den Endungen des thematischen Verbums zu dem alten idg. Stamm *dhē* oder zu einem erweiterten Stamme *dhē̯o* gebildet." Möller, *PBB.* VII, 469, remarks, "Das Verb *dhē* 'tun' hatte im Germanischen ein doppeltes Präsens, urspr. (*dhi*) *dhṓti,* ae. *dēþ* ahd. *tuot,* und urspr. *dhḗjeti* slav. *dějetĭ* 'ponit'; diese Präsensform ist erhalten in der 2. 3. Sing. mnd. nnd. *deist, deit.*" To these attempts at explanation may be added the following:

In OS. the regular forms of the second and third person singular are *dôs, dôt, dôit* (only two examples in the *Heliand,* C. 4899, M. 5188), with the ending *-it* after the analogy of the thematic conjugation. Likewise do we find *dôen* (M. 4940), or as it frequently appears in the *Urkunden, doyn* (Lacomblet, *Archiv für die Geschichte des Niederrheins,* I, 392; and *Urkundenbuch* III, 172). The further development of such dissyllabic forms was favored by the tendency in Middle Franconian especially to break a long or short vowel in a closed syllable. Cf. Heinzel, *Geschichte der niederfränkischen Geschäftssprache,* pages 279-282: *doit-doden, cloistere, goizhus, moichte, woilde, gain, gedain, stait, taisten, aichten, hailff* (Cf. also Tümpel, *PBB.* VII, 61-62; Braune, *ZfdPh.* IV, 273; Nörrenberg, *PBB.* IX, 410).

We may assume that after the forms **dôis(t), dôit* supplanted, or at least partially supplanted the older forms *dôs, dôt,* the *ôi*

[1] Wilmanns, III, 60, considers the forms with *j* old, i. e. relatively so, since the MHG. forms show Umlaut. But Mahlow, *Die langen Vokale,* page 136, and Fierlinger, *KZ.* XXVII, 435, see in them indog. forms. This view is impossible since only late works such as Notker have them (Cf. Kögel, *PBB.* IX, 509).

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was shortened to *oi* just as for instance *âi* became *ei* (Cf. Lasch, *Mnd. Gramm.* §§ 124, 195). This *oi* then suffered the same change as original *oi* in a number of words (Cf. Lasch, § 128: *moyen-meyen, vroide- vreide, hoike- heike,* = *doit- deit*). Of course there can scarcely be any doubt that forms like *geist, geit, steist, steit* (originally *gê-is, gê-it* etc.) and possibly also *seit* (*segit*, Lasch, § 119), *sleit* (*slegit*) exerted an influence insofar that they tended to establish *deist, deit* as correct forms.

EDWARD H. SEHRT.

Bryn Mawr College.

THE *HOUS OF FAME* AND THE *CORBACCIO*

Within the last few years scholars have attempted to show that Chaucer knew not only Boccaccio's verse but also several of his Italian prose works. The *Filocolo, Amorosa Visione,* and *Ameto* have all been proposed as "sources" for the English poet; in addition, the Vedova of the *Corbaccio* has been suggested by Rajna as the original of the Wife of Bath.[1] The resemblances between these characters are less striking, however, in view of the subsequent discovery by Professor Lowes that Chaucer's account of the Wife of Bath is largely borrowed from Deschamps' *Miroir de Mariage.*[2]

Up to this time, nevertheless, no one has called attention to certain parallels between the *Corbaccio* and the *Hous of Fame.* These points of likeness are found in the structural features of the two works rather than in treatment or phraseology. For the convenience of the reader the *Corbaccio,* which runs to a hundred pages, is summarized below:[3]

The poet falls asleep thinking of his mistress. He dreams that he enters a pleasant path, so pleasant that his feet seem to take wings as he hastens forward. His progress is arrested by a cloud, which soon disappears, leaving him in a thorny desert. Here he is so terrified by lamentations and groans that he fears to be torn by wild beasts. Unable to find any way in or out of this solitude, he is giving himself up for lost, when he sees a man approaching.

[1] *Romania,* 1903: pp. 247-8.
[2] *M. Phil.* VIII, 165-186, 305-334.
[3] Boccaccio, *Opere Volgari,* Firenze, Moutier, 1828, v, 155-255.

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So dignified is the man's bearing that the dreamer thinks him the proprietor of the place, and dreads being treated as a trespasser. The man reassures the poet who now considers him heaven-sent. In a long dialogue the dreamer is horrified to discover that not only is this man a shade, but the departed husband of his mistress. The shade takes pity on the dreamer's youth and zeal for learning, and disillusionizes him as to the character of this woman. He follows with a long invective against the sex; and he closes the tirade by urging the dreamer to give up the pursuit of love and confine himself to his studies. The dreamer resolves to follow this good advice, whereupon the shade disappears and the dreamer awakes.

This brief summary discloses the following points of likeness between the *Hous of Fame* and the *Corbaccio:*

1. Both works are visions related by the dreamers.

2. The dreamers are students, finding their pleasure in poring over books and having but sorry success in the pursuit of love. (*H. of F.* vv. 620-640, vv. 652-660).

"Gli studi adunque alla sacra filosofia pertinenti infino dalla tua puerizia più assai che il tuo padre non avrebbe voluto ti piacquero, e massimamente in quella parte che a poesia appartiene, nella quale per avventura tu hai con più fervore d'animo che con altezza d'ingegno seguita." (p. 185, lines 3-8)

3. As a reward for Chaucer's devotion to his books, Jupiter sends an eagle to conduct him. Likewise, Boccaccio looks on the Shade as heaven-sent, and the Shade implies that he exposes the treachery of the woman because of the dreamer's studies. To both dreamers their guides make promise of love-tidings. (*H. of F.* vv. 641-651)

"Dovevanti, oltre a questo, li tuoi studii mostrare, e mostrarono, se tu l'avessi voluto vedere, che cose femmine sono, delle quali grandissima parte si chiamano e fanno chiamare donne; e pochissime se ne truovano." (p. 186, lines 7-12)

4. Chaucer is borne rapidly through the air by the eagle; Boccaccio's feet move as swiftly as though they were winged. (*H. of F.* vv. 534-552)

"Onde pareva che in me s'accendesse un disio sì fervente di pervenire a quello, che non solamente i miei piedi si moveano a correre per pervenirvi, ma mi parea che mi fossero da non usitata natura prestate velocissime ali, con le quali mentre a me parea

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più rattamente volare, mi parve il cammino cambiar qualità:" (p. 162, lines 5-12)

5. Both dreamers find themselves suddenly on arid plains where they would be helpless, except for the timely assistance of their guides. (*H. of F.* vv. 480-495)

"conobbi me dal mio volato essere stato lasciato in una solitudine diserta aspra e fiera, piena di salvatiche piante, di pruni e di bronchi senza sentieri o via alcuna, e intorniata da montagne asprissime e sì alte, che con la loro sommità pareva toccassono il cielo: . . . laond' io arrestato nella guisa che mostrato è, e da ogni consiglio e aiuto abbandonato, quasi niun' altra cosa che la morte o da fame o da crudel bestia aspettando, fra gli aspri sterpi e le rigide piante piangendo mi parea dimorare, niun' altra cosa faccendo che tacitamente o dolermi dell' entrata, senza prevedere dov' io pervenir mi dovessi, o chiamare il soccorso di Dio." (p. 162, line 24 and p. 163, line 14)

6. Chaucer's statement that the House of Tidings is more wonderfully built than the *domus Dedali* or *Laborintus* reminds one of Boccaccio's phrase, *Laberinto d'Amore*. At first, resemblance between a valley and a house may seem slight, but it must be remembered that Chaucer's house is sixty miles long; moreover, Boccaccio also refers to his valley as a portico. (*H. of F.* vv. 1918-1923)

"alcuni il chiamano il Laberinto d'Amore, altri la Valle incantata, e assai il Porcile di Venere, e molti la Valle de' sospiri e della miseria." (p. 167 bottom)

7. The fact that the *Corbaccio* furnishes no clue for Chaucer's revolving house need not be disconcerting, inasmuch as this incongruous feature of the House of Tidings has been shown by Dr. Sypherd [4] to be of Celtic origin. It is impossible for the dreamer to enter or leave either the valley or the house unaided. (*H. of F.* vv. 2002-6)

"nè per guardare con gli occhi corporali, nè per estimazione della mente in guisa alcuna mi pareva dover comprendere nè conoscere da qual parte io mi fossi in quella entrato; nè ancora, che più mi spaventava, poteva discernere dond' io di quindi potessi uscire, e in più dimestichi luoghi tornarmi:" (p. 162, line 29)

8. Both house and valley are remarkable for the sighings and

[4] *Chaucer Society*, Second Series 39, pp. 138-155.

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groanings of unhappy lovers, which in the valley are so noisy that Boccaccio takes them for wild beasts. (*H. of F.* vv. 1927-1935, vv. 1955-76)

"e oltre a questo, mi parea per tutto, dove che io mi volgessi, sentire mugghii, urli e strida di diversi e ferocissimi animali de' quali la qualità del luogo mi dava assai certa speranza e testimonianza che per tutto ne dovesse essere." (p. 163, line 3)

9. The Shade in the *Corbaccio* is made a figure of great importance, and more than a page of description assures us that he is a 'man of greet auctoritee.' (*H. of F.* vv. 2155 to end)

"venire verso me con lento passo un uomo senza alcuna compagnia, il quale, per quello, ch' io poi più dappresso discernessi, era di statura grande, e di pelle e di pelo bruno, benchè in parte bianco divenuto fosse per gli anni, de' quali forse sessanta o più dimostrava d'avere, asciutto e nerboruto, e di non molto piacevole aspetto: e il suo vestimento era lunghissimo e largo, e di colore vermiglio, e comechè assai più vivo mi paresse, non ostante che tenebroso fosse il luogo là dov' io era, che quello che qua tingono i nostri maestri: il quale, come detto è, con lenti passi approssimandosi a me, in parte mi porse paura, e in parte mi recò speranza: paura mi porse, perciocchè io cominciai a temere non quello luogo a lui fosse per propria possessione assegnato, e recandosi ad ingiuria di vedervi alcuno altro, le fiere del luogo, siccome a lui familiari, a vendicar la sua ingiuria sopra me incitasse, e da queste mi facesse dilacerare; speranza d'alcuna salute mi recò, in quanto più faccendosi a me vicino, pieno di mansuetudine mel parea vedere, e più e più riguardandolo, estimando d'altra volta, non quivi, ma in altra parte averlo verduto, diceva meco: questi per avventura, siccome uomo uso in queste contrade, mi mostrerà dove sia di questo luogo l' uscita; e ancora, se in lui fia spirito di pietà alcuno, infino a quello benignamente mi menerà." (p. 163, line 25)

The parallelism, it will be observed, in every case lies in the fundamental idea rather than in the phraseology; moreover, the plan is in many respects different. In the *Corbaccio* the Shade alone acts as guide, a function which Chaucer divides among the eagle, the man that stood 'right at his bak' in the House of Tidings, and perhaps also the 'man of greet auctoritee" who is introduced just as the poem breaks off. No parallels appear until the desert scene at the end of the first Book of the *Hous of Fame;* but almost immediately afterward comes the promise of the love-tidings—a promise that is frequently repeated in the rest of the

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poem. The exact nature of these tidings has not been made altogether clear, in spite of the theories proposed within the last few years.[5] In this connection it is noteworthy that the eagle leads the dreamer to expect not only "loves newe begonne" but also

> Mo discords, and mo Ielousyes,
> Mo murmurs, and mo novelryes,
> And mo dissimulaciouns,
> And feyned reparaciouns.

Such references to the drawbacks of love would seem unsuitable if, as Imelmann suggested,[6] the news of the royal marriage were to be forthcoming. With such an aim, these allusions would be both inharmonious with respect to the tone of the poem, and impolitic for a court poet. Indeed, such a cynical enumeration seems a sure indication of satire. While it is unlikely that Chaucer's English mind would have elected to follow the Italian poet's long tirades against woman, he may easily have intended some sly fun at the expense of the sex. With such tidings of woman's unworthiness the poet dreamer could return to his studies with complacence, feeling that he had not missed much after all. By such an ending, Chaucer would fulfill the promises of the eagle and conform to the general tone of the poem without unduly lengthening his "litel laste book."

In considering Chaucer's use of the *Corbaccio* one must not forget that, at most, it was but one of the many strands that the poet was uniting in his fabric. The influence of the Italian treatise would have been most apparent just after the point where the *Hous of Fame* breaks off. Certainly, if he had the *Corbaccio* in mind, Chaucer would have made the "man of greet auctoritee" serve as the revealer of the love-tidings—a function that would seem in every way suitable for this elusive personage.

MARGERY L. BROWN.

University of Minnesota.

[5] Manly, *Kittredge An. Papers*, p. 73. Koch, *Eng. Stud.* XLI, 118.
[6] *Englische Studien*, XLV, 397-431.

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H. PEETZ, *Der Monolog bei Hartmann von Aue. Mit einem Anhang: der Monolog bei Ulrich von Zatzikhoven und Wirnt von Gravenberg.* Diss. Greifswald, 1911.

S. SINGER, 'Lanzelet.' In: *Aufsätze und Vorträge.* Tübingen, 1912. S. 144-161.

A. BEHRE, *Die Kunst der Personenschilderung bei Ulrich von Zatzikhoven.* Diss. Greifswald, 1913.

O. HANNINK, *Vorstudien zu einer Neuausgabe des Lanzelet von Ulrich von Zatzikhoven.* Diss. Göttingen, 1914.

Die in mancher Hinsicht sprachlich wie literarhistorisch interessante Dichtung Ulrichs von Zatzikhoven scheint erst in jüngerer Zeit bei den Fachgenossen die ihr gebührende Aufmerksamkeit zu erwecken. Im Mittelpunkt des Interesses steht die viel umstrittene Frage nach dem Verhältnis des *Lanzelet* zum *Erec* Hartmanns von Aue. Oder mit anderen Worten: welcher von den beiden Dichtern hat zuerst den Artusroman in Deutschland eingeführt? Nach der allgemein herrschenden Ansicht darf bekanntlich diese Ehre dem vielseitigen Hartmann nicht abgesprochen werden. Neuerdings aber hat Gruhn in einem Aufsatze in *Z. f. d. A.* XLIII, 277 f. die alte Wackernagel-Bächtold'sche Hypothese wieder aufgenommen und zu verteidigen versucht, ohne jedoch irgendwelchen Beifall gefunden zu haben.[1]

Die Arbeit von Peetz beschränkt sich, wie der Titel besagt, hauptsächlich auf eine Untersuchung der verschiedenen Formen des Monologs und deren Verteilung in den Werken Hartmanns. Seite 104 f. wird das gegenseitige Verhältnis des *Erec* und *Lanzelet* in Bezug auf Verwendung des Monologs eingehender besprochen, wobei sich folgendes Resultat ergibt. Dass die Zahl der Monologträger in beiden Gedichten die gleiche ist, beruht wohl auf Zufall. Ausserdem herrscht Übereinstimmung in vielen Einzelheiten,

[1] "Trotz Gruhn muss es bei der Reihenfolge *Ereo—Lanzelet* bleiben." Schröder, *Z. f. d. A.* LI, 106 f. Eine erneute und eingehende Untersuchung dieser Frage dürfen wir von Dr. W. Richter in Greifswald binnen Kürze erwarten.

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welche weder für das eine noch das andere Werk etwas charakteristisches zeigt, oder zur Lösung der Frage irgendwelche Bedeutung besitzt, wie z. B. die Tatsache, dass sowohl im *Erec* als auch im *Lanzelet* weniger Frauen als Männer monologisch auftreten. Das und anderes sind eben Erscheinungen welche dem Epos überall zukommen. Auf die Handlung verteilt, zeigt der *Lanzelet* dem *Erec* gegenüber einen viel sparsameren Gebrauch des Monologs, und in direkter Rede hat dieser 3163 Monologverse, während der *Lanzelet* nur 1971 solche Verse aufzuweisen hat. In einem Punkte aber berührt sich die Technik beider Dichter näher, nämlich im Kampfmonolog, und Ulrich scheint hier sich enger an das Volksepos angeschlossen zu haben. Das Endresultat seiner Untersuchung hat Peetz mit folgenden Worten kurz zusammengefasst: "Eine sichere Antwort lässt sich hierauf [d. h. auf die Frage nach dem Verhältnis des *Erec* zum *Lanzelet*] kaum geben. Indessen, ein zwingender Grund, den *Lanzelet* vor den *Erec* zu setzen, besteht durchaus nicht." Im ganzen scheint die Arbeit gelungen und die Ausführung übersichtlich; störend wirken aber die vielen Druckfehler, wovon kaum eine Seite frei geblieben ist. S. 113 ist an sechs aufeinander folgenden Stellen *Wig.* statt *Lanz.* zu lesen!

Unter der Überschrift 'Lanzelet' hat Singer zwei früher veröffentlichte Aufsätze vereinigt. Den ersten Teil bildet der Schluss seiner bekannten 'Bemerkungen zu Wolframs Parzival' in den *Abhandlungen zur germ. Phil., Festgabe für Heinzel.* Halle 1898, während der zweite Teil zuerst als Rezension von J. L. Weston, *The Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac* sowie derselben Verfasserin *Three Days' Tournament* im *Beiblatt zur Anglia* XIV, 168 f. erschienen ist. Sehr ansprechend ist, unter anderem, die Zusammenstellung der Iblis des Ulrich, nebst ihrem Vater Iweret, mit der gleichnamigen Figur des *Parzival*, wo sie als Frau eines Königs Ibert von Sizilien erscheint. Die Erzählung deutet auf eine sizilianische Lokalsage hin, und man möchte Singer beistimmen wenn er für Wolfram und Ulrich, resp. ihre Quellen, eine gemeinsame Vorlage annimmt und meint, "dass Kyot und der französische *Lanzelet* hier aus gleichen Vorlagen jeder das benutzt haben, was ihnen gerade passte." Wenn dagegen, aus der Übereinstimmung der Form einiger den beiden Gedichten gemeinsamer Namen der Schluss gezogen wird, Ulrich habe den *Parzival* gekannt und benutzt, so scheint diese Annahme durchaus nicht gerechtfertigt.

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Wie Singer selbst zugibt, spricht "am überzeugendsten" dafür *Lanzelet* 3052 *mit den liehten schenkeln her Maurîn* = *Parzival* 662, 19 *mit den schœnen schenkeln Maurîn*. In diesem Falle aber handelt es sich gewiss um den erstarrten Gebrauch des Appellativs, wie es denn auch mehrere Artusritter gibt, welche weder in der mhd. noch in der afranz. Literatur kaum je ohne den ihnen gehörigen Beinamen erwähnt werden. Der Verfasser sucht seine Annahme noch weiter zu begründen indem er auf die Ähnlichkeit einzelner Motive welche in beiden Dichtungen vorkommen, besonders aber auf die Erzählung von der Jugend der Helden, hinweist. Denn weil Ulrich hierin von dem französischen Prosaroman stark abweicht, soll er von Wolfram gerade diese Partie entlehnt haben. Man darf jedoch nicht vergessen, dass wir über die Beschaffenheit von Ulrichs altfranz. Vorlage nichts weiter als blosse Vermutungen aufstellen können. Wir würden uns in einer ähnlichen Lage befinden, besässen wir ausser Gottfrieds Gedicht nur den franz. Prosatristan. Die Gegenüberstellung von *Lanzelet* 88, 394 mit *Parzival* 113, 9; 127, 20 beweist u. E. gar nichts für die hier vorgebrachte Ansicht.

Und noch weiter. Weil Ulrich den Maurîn nicht anderswoher als aus Wolfram herübergenommen haben kann, muss er also das 13. Buch des *Parzival* bereits gekannt und mithin auch hier und dort einiges aus dem *Wigalois* geholt haben. Mit *Lanzelet* 59 *Das wider in ieman spræche ein wort Ern wære dâ ze stete mort* wird *Wigalois* 193, 11 *Sine getorste nieman scheiden Noch dar zuo gesprechen wort, Wand er wære gewesen mort Von im* verglichen und dazu die Bemerkung gemacht, dass das Fremdwort *mort* bei diesen Dichtern zuerst vorkomme. Gottfried braucht aber das Adj. schon zweimal im *Tristan* 5488, 9245. Der im *Lanzelet* erwähnte *êren stein*, eine Bekanntschaft mit welchem Ulrich bei seinen Lesern voraussetzt, soll sein Vorbild im *Wigalois* 42, 25 f. haben; vgl. ferner *Lanzelet* 2326 mit *Wigalois* 64, 23. Eine für seine Theorie sehr geeignete Stelle hat Singer dennoch übersehen, nämlich *Lanzelet* 2595 f. *Wigalois* 40, 33 f., womit wir aber nicht behaupten möchten, Ulrich sei hier von Wirnt beeinflusst, denn eine Entlehnung sieht doch anders aus, wie die interessante Parallele in Heinrichs *Tristan* 1155 f. zeigt. Vergl. hierzu auch Bernt, S. 75 f.

Seite 150 wird die Möglichkeit erwogen ob Ulrich auch den *Iwein* gekannt und benutzt hat, was Singer verneinen zu müssen

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glaubt, da es an sicheren Anhaltspunkten fehle. Aber der *Iwein* hätte abensogut in den Kreis der Lektüre Ulrichs gezogen werden können, denn der aus dem *Gregor* zitierte Vers welcher eine Bekanntschaft mit diesem beweisen soll, kommt ja auch im *Iwein* vor und ist überhaupt typisch. Die betreffenden Belege sind *Lanzelet* 9371 *die mit dem guote volziehent dem muote, Gregor* (Paul) 619 *so mac si mit dem guote volziehen dem muote,* womit noch zu vergleichen ist *Iwein* 2907, *Erec* 2264, *Wigalois* 244, 2 usw.

Dass Ulrich den *Tristrant* Eilharts gekannt, unterliegt keinem Zweifel; ob aber, wie Singer vermutet, daneben auch Gottfrieds Gedicht? So lange man nichts beweisenderes als *Lanzelet* 50: *Tristan* 273 aufstellen kann, muss die Antwort hierauf entschieden negativ lauten. Nach von Kraus, *Z. f. d. A.* LI, 336, Anm. 1, soll der *Lanzelet* "die Werke aller drei Klassiker" voraussetzen, was wir aber nicht ohne weiteres als eine fest begründete Tatsache ansehen möchten. Möglich ist es, bedarf aber noch einer eingehenderen Beweisführung als dies in dem hier vorliegenden Aufsatze geschieht. Der übrige zweite Teil der Schrift bespricht einige bekannte märchenhafte Züge der Lanzeletsage, worauf wir hier leider nicht eingehen können.

Die an dritter Stelle angeführte Dissertation von Behre findet ihr Vorbild in der ähnliche Ziele verfolgenden Untersuchung von Heyne, *Die Technik der Darstellung lebender Wesen bei Hartmann von Aue,* Greifswald, 1912. Die Arbeit zerfällt in vier Hauptteile: I. Einführung der Personen, II. Direkte, III. Indirekte Personenschilderung, IV. Stilistische Mittel der Personenschilderung. Man kann nicht sagen, dass bei der ganzen Sache viel herauskommt, oder dass Ulrich von den meisten seiner Zeitgenossen sich durch irgendwelche Besonderheiten abhebt. Wie sein Stil und seine Darstellungsweise sich überhaupt in typischen Formeln bewegen, an denen noch manche Eigenart der Spielmannspoesie haftet, so ist bei ihm auch die Kunst der Personeneinführung und Charakterschilderung nicht weit über die seiner Vorbilder gestiegen. Seine Personen behalten fast stets dasjenige Epitheton womit sie gleich zum ersten Male auftreten. Mit Hartmann verglichen, zeigt sich Ulrich "viel stärker naturalistisch" (S. 108). Anhangsweise wird die Frage "ob der *Erec* vor dem *Lanz.* anzusetzen ist" Revue passiert, aber ohne dass etwas neues zu deren Beantwortung beigetragen wäre. Im Gegenteil begnügt sich der

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Verfasser mit einer Aufzählung der einschlägigen Literatur sowie mit einer nochmaligen Zusammenstellung der bereits von anderen —meistens Schilling und Gruhn—vorgebrachten Parallelen. Auf diese Weise und mit solcher Methode wird, um des Verfassers eigene Worte zu gebrauchen, "diese Frage wohl nie mit Sicherheit gelöst werden können." Wer möchte ihm das bestreiten?

Mit der Abhandlung von Hannink sind wir vielleicht um einige Schritte vorwärts gekommen, wenigstens in einer Richtung, denn der Mangel an einer den heutigen Anforderungen der Wissenschaft entsprechenden Ausgabe ist lange empfunden worden. Hahns Edition von 1845 mit ihrem unvollständigen und nicht weniger unzuverlässigen Apparat, obgleich der Hauptsache nach Lachmanns Arbeit, ist nur ein Notbehelf. Deshalb darf man eine nach diesem Ziele strebende Untersuchung mit Freude begrüssen.

Voran steht ein kurzer Überblick über die bereits vorhandene Literatur, worin man eine Erwähnung der in Berlin aufbewahrten Abschrift der Hs. W von Schottky vermisst. In dem ersten Hauptteil der Arbeit gibt Hannink eine ziemlich eingehende Beschreibung der beiden vollständigen Hss. W und P, für welche aus inneren Gründen je zwei Schreiber angenommen werden. Darauf kommen die beiden Fragmente zur Besprechung. Die Strassburger Blätter (S) wurden 1870 nebst den anderen Schätzen der Bibliothek durch Feuer vernichtet; es liegen aber davon zwei selbständige Abdrücke vor im ersten Band von Graffs *Diutiska* sowie im vierten Jahrgang von Mones *Anzeiger*. Für das Fragment G, das früher in Goldhahns Besitz war, später abhanden gekommen ist, hat Hannink sich mit den Angaben bei Hahn begnügen müssen. Neuerdings aber ist es Richter gelungen den Verbleib der beiden Blätter zu ermitteln, so dass deren Text von etwa 200 Versen nunmehr der Kritik gesichert ist. (Vgl. von Kraus, *Z. f. d. A.* LV, 296). Sehr dürftig ausgefallen ist das Kapitel über das gegenseitige Verhältnis der Handschriften. Wegen einiger gemeinsamen Fehler, welche nicht wohl unabhängig von einander entstanden sein können, kommt Hannink zu dem Resultat, dass P und G näher verwandt seien, wagt aber nicht zu entscheiden ob P von G, oder ob G von dessen Vorlage P* abhängt, oder schliesslich, ob P und G aus derselben fehlerhaften Vorlage stammen. Nicht zahlreich sind die Stellen an denen S und W gegen P, oder S und P gegen W die richtige Lesart bieten. An mehreren Stellen stimmt aber die Gruppe W P gegen S. "Demnach lässt sich über

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das Verwandtschaftsverhältnis von W, P, S nichts bestimmtes ermitteln" (S. 31). Wir sind aber der Ansicht, insofern der Text von G nunmehr vollständig vorliegt, dass eine erneute Prüfung dieser wichtigen Frage sich lohnen würde, und dass das daraus zu ziehende Resultat wesentlich anders formuliert werden müsste. Welche Rolle bei der Textgestaltung die Reminiszenzlesarten aus anderen Dichtungen, besonders aber aus dem *Erec*, zu spielen haben werden, bleibt noch zu untersuchen. Hier darf nur vorsichtig vorgegangen werden.[2]

Das Hauptverdienst der Arbeit sehen wir in dem zweiten Teile derselben, welcher die Sprache Ulrichs nach den Reimen untersucht. Manche schon von Zwierzina, *Mhd. Studien* beobachtete Erscheinung findet hier ihre Bestätigung und Ergänzung und nichts scheint gegen den Thurgau als die Heimat des Dichters zu sprechen. Unsicher, indessen, scheint die Annahme des apokopierten Indic. Prät. *tët*, neben häufigerem *tëte*, denn die Bindungen mit Eigennamen auf *-ët* sind durchaus nicht beweisend. Statt des Nom. *Lanzelet* kommt z. B. die Form *Lanzelete* siebenmal im Reime vor. Reime mit *tęte* oder *hęte* sind überhaupt nicht zu belegen. In dem Kapitel über die Wortbildung ergeben sich für Ulrichs Sprache solche Doppelformen wie *scholt, schult* (Subst.), *rîch, rîche; vęste, vast; hęrte, hart; swære* neben *swâr*, usw. Bequem ist die übersichtliche Zusammenstellung aller für Ulrich gesicherten Doppelformen. Ein Verzeichnis der verhältnismässig zahlreichen ἅπαξ λεγόμενα hätte auch nicht fehlen sollen.

Der Anhang S. 71-78 enthält einige Bemerkungen zum Texte, worin eine Anzahl meistens recht annehmbarer Emendationen gemacht werden. Darunter sind aber etliche Vorschläge von seinen Vorgängern, Sprenger und Behaghel, vom Verfasser stillschweigend aufgenommen worden. Interessant für die Beurteilung von *Arm. Heinr.* 225 ist schliesslich *Lanzelet* 3879 *ein tochter erbere* W, *ein t. habire = hibære* P. Vergl. auch *Lanzelet* 4996 und Gierachs Ausgabe des *Armen Heinrich* sowie dessen Ausführungen in *Z. f. d. A.* LV.

JOHN L. CAMPION.

University of North Carolina.

[2] Zu weit geht z. B. Böhme, "Die Übereinstimmungen zwischen dem Wigaloistexte und den Lesarten der Handschriftengruppe Bb in Hartmanns Iwein," *Germania* XXXV, 227 ff.

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Representative American Plays. Edited with Introductions and Notes by ARTHUR HOBSON QUINN. New York, The Century Co. 1917. Pp. 968.

Teachers want texts. They want them complete, they want them accurate, they want them cheap. They do not want for classroom-use separate volumes, containing forty pages of an individual work, with a hundred pages of biography, criticism, and explanation. This kind of thing the teacher wishes his pupils to look up for themselves, or he prefers to supply a necessary amount of it in lectures. For this reason many "series" of English texts, carefully edited, have had practically no sale whatever. Students, as Professor Beers once remarked, are economical only in the purchase of text-books; hence a college course, which depends for its success on a long list of expensive volumes which the pupils are supposed to purchase, is doomed to failure from the start.

During the last ten years, the need of material for English college courses in complete and cheap form has given birth to a large number of collections of texts in single volumes, the usefulness of which has been proved by their wide circulation. Professor Page, with his *English Poets of the Nineteenth Century,* and his *Chief American Poets,* has made it possible to give courses in these fields with more practical efficiency than ever before. But the great feature of American college teaching in English during the twentieth century has been the study of the drama, particularly the Elizabethan and the Modern Plays. Such a book as Professor Neilson's *Chief Elizabethan Dramatists* had an immediate success, more than duplicated by Dickinson's *Chief Contemporary Dramatists.* These were followed by *Representative English Dramas from Dryden to Sheridan,* edited by Frederick and James Tupper, by *The Chief European Dramatists,* edited by Brander Matthews, by *The Masterpieces of Modern Drama,* edited by J. A. Pierce, and then by *Representative English Plays,* edited by Tatlock and Martin. And now Mr. Quinn gives us in one volume of nearly a thousand pages, twenty-five complete texts of American plays, which illustrate the growth of American drama from 1767 to 1911. This volume, printed in remarkably clear type on opaque and unpolished paper, is a distinct boon to teachers of Modern Drama. But it is more than that; for as the editor says, "no other branch of our native literature has been so inaccessible."

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We find here three plays of the eighteenth, fifteen of the nineteenth, and seven of the twentieth century. No drama is included unless it was actually produced on the American professional stage. It is pleasant to find such exceedingly successful acting dramas as Boker's *Francesca* (in which I once suped with Lawrence Barrett); *Rip Van Winkle,* as played by Jefferson; *Secret Service, Shenandoah,* and others. Each play is preceded by a commendably brief and satisfactory introduction, with the cast of players, and sometimes with a facsimile title-page. It is good to see Augustus Thomas's masterpiece, *The Witching Hour;* and it is unfortunate that from Moody and Fitch we have only *The Faith Healer* and *Her Great Match,* though the reason for the selection of the latter is explained.

Some will wish that Eugene Walter's *The Easiest Way,* Paul Armstrong's *Salomy Jane,* and Louis K. Anspacher's *The Unchastened Woman* had been included; the last-named is certainly one of the most original and powerful American plays of the twentieth century; but we cannot have everything. Mr. Quinn has made his selections judiciously, he has devoted an enormous amount of work to this book which will appear to those who have done any conscientious editing, and all who are interested in American literature and drama will be grateful to him.

WILLIAM LYON PHELPS.

Yale University.

Teatro Antiguo Español, Textos y Estudios, I., Luis Vélez de Guevara, La Serrana de la Vera, publicada por R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL y MA. GOYRI DE MENÉNDEZ PIDAL. Madrid, 1916. 8vo., vii + 176 pp., 4 ptas.

This is the first critical edition of a Spanish play published in Spain, and augurs well for the series of dramatic works of the 16th and 17th centuries promised by the "*Centro de Estudios Históricos.*" No editors were better qualified to inaugurate the series than Menéndez Pidal and his learned consort. Scholars and connoisseurs, to whom these editions are addressed, will hail with delight a series that promises so well for a better appreciation of Spain's dramatic literature. The spelling of the original manuscript is preserved, except that "*u*" and "*v*" are distinguished. The punct-

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uation and accentuation have been modernized, with a proper scorn, in the case of accentuation, for such trifling inconsistencies as, *e. g.* "*ay : sí*" (l. 1140). At the foot of the pages are palaeographic notes, and in the "*Notas y Observaciones*" at the end of the volume information is provided on the manuscript and its date, the historical source, Lope de Vega's play of the same title, the popular ballad on the theme, a comparison with other plays based on the legend of the *Serrana de la Vera,* the legend in popular literature, and, finally, there are valuable notes, grammatical and exegetical, and a schedule of the versification employed. Some discussion might have been vouchsafed us of the interesting stage directions, more especially as we have the good fortune here to have an original manuscript. The matter will be referred to again in this review, but attention may be called now to the considerable use of the upper stage ("*corredor*"), which was provided with a curtain ("*corren el tafetán,*" l. 3284 +) for set scenes. This curtain probably covered an opening at the back of the "*corredor.*"

The play unfortunately is of scant merit as a piece of literature. A ranting, female "*miles gloriosus,*" who, when her virtue suffers compromise, becomes one of the numerous brigands and murderers of the Spanish drama, and, after wreaking vengeance upon her betrayer, meets an inglorious death on the gallows, almost within view of the spectators, is hardly a heroine to inspire a masterpiece. It was undoubtedly the folk-lore or ballad interest of the play which appealed to the editors, and persuaded them to make the play accessible in print. A play of more conspicuous merits, well edited like this one, might have done something to make more popular in Spain scholarly investigations. Very recently there appeared a ponderous tome on the *Orígenes de la Leyenda La Serrana de la Vera,* which a reviewer in a well-known Spanish journal of some pretensions in matters of scholarship lauded most generously, but in which, the present editors state, "*no hemos sabido hallar nada que tenga relación con la leyenda*" (p. 130).

In an edition prepared with so much care and critical acumen there is little a reviewer can correct or amplify. A few points may be noted, however. The printer's devil has played havoc with the indentation of lines 33-41. In the following lines substitute "*lenguas*" for "*leguas*" :

> que eso duendes y leguas ay muy pocos
> que las entiendan ni los aian visto. (2644-2645)

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The interview between Gila and her father on the gallows repeats an old story for which references will be found, for example, in Crane's edition of Jacques de Vitry's *Exempla* (p. 259).

Gila. Llégate más.
Giraldo. Ya me llego.
¿La orexa, ingrata, me arrancas
con los dientes?
Gila. Padre, sí,
que esto mereze quien pasa
por las libertades todas
de los hijos. Si tú usaras
rigor conmigo al principio
de mi inclinación gallarda,
yo no llegara a este estremo:
escarmienten en tus canas
y en mí los que tienen hijos. (3248-3258)

An old Spanish version of the story is included in Climente Sánchez's *El Libro de los Enxemplos* (No. CCLXXIII) and is as follows:

Dicen que un buen homme tenia un fijo, e cuando ninno, aunque furtaba e facia otros males, nunca lo quiso castigar; e de que fue en edad de homme, teniendo la mala costumbre, fue tomado en furto e preso. E queriendolo enforcar, rogo a su padre que lo besase, e el padre llegandole a besar, trabolo de las narices con los dientes e cortogelos. E demandaron por que cometiera cosa tan fea e tan mala, e respondio: "Que razon hobiera de lo facer, porque su padre cuando mozo non lo castigo, e asi le trayera a la forca."

The autograph manuscript is signed and dated "*En Valladolid a 7 (sic) de 1603.*" The editors are at great pains to show that the date is wrong, and that the play could not have been written before 1613. The arguments seem valid, but they do not convince the present reviewer. It is unnecessary to repeat them here, or to try to refute them seriatim. The following considerations suggest themselves, however: (*1*) 1603 might be mistakenly written for, let us say, 1604, but not for 1613; (*2*) "*Valladolid, 1603,*" that is when the capital was there, means something, but "*Valladolid, 1613*" does not; (*3*) the play is very clearly the work of a young man; (*4*) it was written for Jusepa Vaca, who was in Valladolid in August of 1603 playing in the company of her husband, Juan de Morales (*Bulletin Hispanique*, 1907, p. 368). Query: Does 7 in the date of the play refer to July? (*5*) The play is a spec-

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tacular one, and may have been one of the two plays acted before the queen by Juan de Morales and his wife in August of 1603. A play of this type was not intended for the stage of an ordinary theatre, but was probably acted in the court of a palace. Note especially the stage directions on page 10, where the whole company of actors enters "*por el patio,*" with Gila on horseback. When they reach the stage ("*tablado*"), she dismounts, and the horse is taken away. Other stage directions might be quoted to support the view that this is no ordinary play prepared for the regular stage, but is just such a production as actors presented before royalty or grandees.

MILTON A. BUCHANAN.

University of Toronto.

John Webster and the Elizabethan Drama. By RUPERT BROOKE. New York, John Lane Campany, 1917.

This clever book is in pretty equal proportions amusing, irritating, and instructive. Composed in the most accepted style of the recent 'young England' movement, it is naturally rich in paradox and somewhat poor in manners. One may doubt whether much is gained, beyond reminiscence of Mr. Shaw, by calling the method of dividing plays according to subject—admittedly a useful method —"the method of Professor Schelling and of Polonius," or by complaining that "Dr. Ward throws up hands of outraged refinement" over two unclean and not remarkably brilliant comedies. The ragging of the critics leads to positive misstatement, I think, when it provokes such remarks as the following: "The Elizabethans liked obscenity; and the primness and the wickedness that do not like it have no business with them;" or, "If literary criticism crosses Lethe, and we could hear the comments of the foul-mouthed ghosts of Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Webster on this too common attitude, their out-spoken uncleanliness would prostrate Professor Schelling and his friends." Now we can be very reasonably sure that two of the poets named would not have cared for the comedies in question—*Westward Ho* and *Northward Ho;* and for causes pretty similar, *mutatis mutandis,* to those urged by our chief critics today. And on the alleged Elizabethan love of obscenity, the recent words of Professor Gayley (*Representative English Comedies,*

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vol. III) are far truer than those of Brooke: "The common people of that time did not like the concupiscent play, nor have we any proof that the literary classes hungered for it. . . . Between 1604 and 1625 only one of Middleton's London comedies is acted at Court, and that the least offensive, *The Trick*. But, on the other hand, three of his romantic comedies and the noble tragedy, *The Changeling*, have a hearing there, and, time and again, the best of Shakespeare, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher."

Paradox, often very entertaining, informs not only individual sentences and judgments, but even the entire structure of the book. The real scholarship—and there is a good deal of it—is relegated to a set of Appendixes, 110 pages of fine print on Webster's accepted and putative dramas. The main work, of hardly greater bulk, deals with the immediate subject only in the last two of its five chapters. The first three throw iridescent froth over three huge general topics: "The Theatre," "The Origins of Elizabethan Drama," and "The Elizabethan Drama." They contain much excellent foolery on the subject of art and dramatic criticism in the abstract. The chapters devoted to Webster frequently indulge in similar readable if unsatisfying chatter. A paragraph on the poet's stylistic development peters out charmingly as follows:

> I can figure him as a more or less realistic novelist of the present or the last eighty years, preferably from Russia. . . . One can see, almost quote from, a rather large grey-brown novel by John Webster, a book full of darkly suffering human beings, slightly less inexplicable than Dostoieffsky's, but as thrilling, figures glimpsed by sudden flashes that tore the gloom they were part of; a book such that one would remember the taste of the whole longer than any incident or character. . . . But these imaginations are foolish in an Heraclitan world, and the phrase "John Webster in the nineteenth century" has no meaning.

By way of comment one can only quote another sentence of the author: "It is beyond expression, the feeling of being let down such couplets give one."

A book could hardly be more readable. It is a fusillade of poetic snap-shots, sometimes outraging, often transcending criticism: and, on the whole, it sketches the real Webster very clearly. "Webster had always," says Brooke, "in his supreme moments, that trick of playing directly on the nerves;" and again, "Webster's

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couplets are electric green or crimson, a violent contrast with the rough, jerky, sketchy blank verse he generally uses." I know nothing finer in the way of psychological summary than these sentences:

"Webster's supreme gift is the blinding revelation of some intense state of mind at a crisis, by some God-given phrase." "And Webster, more than any man in the world, has caught the soul just in the second of its decomposition in death, when knowledge seems transcended, and the darkness closes in, and boundaries fall away."

The traditional temperamental uncertainty of the poet in handling prose marks the style. Sometimes it is almost sloppily colloquial: "The Elizabethan use of blank verse was always *liable* to be rather fine;" "It is often discussed *if* the plots of *The White Devil* and *The Duchess of Malfi* are weak." "One or two tragedies that were written in the form of histories," he admits in the course of a slashing denunciation of the history play, "are *some good; Richard II* and *Edward II*." Sometimes the reader's delight in the critic's phrasal brilliance is marred by the spectacle of a verb racked and tormented in the lust of vivid effect, and one finds oneself sympathizing with the writer of a recent squib in *Punch* on 'Six Vile Verbs:'

> **When against any writer**
> **It's urged that he "stresses"**
> **His points, or that something**
> **His fancy "obsesses,"**
> **In awarding his blame**
> **Though the critic be right,**
> **Yet I feel all the same**
> **I could shoot him at sight.**

The words objected to—'glimpses,' 'voices,' 'senses,' etc.—nearly all 'feature' Brooke's style, and he does even worse. Marlowe, he says, "*thrilled* a torch in the gloom of the English theatre;" Tourneur's Languebeau Snuffe "*poises* one sickly between laughter and loathing." But withal both style and thought are magnificently provocative.

I have done less than justice to the book's scholarship. It should be said that the author appears to have neglected no source of knowledge regarding Webster, either in seventeenth-century literature or in modern criticism. His most specific contribution to

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learning is the long 'Appendix A' on the authorship of the play of *Appius and Virginia*, an essay published in a condensed form during Brooke's life (*Modern Language Review*, 1913). He argues that the tragedy, printed as Webster's in 1654 and always since accepted as genuine, is essentially the work of Thomas Heywood. The points made are supported by a careful investigation of Webster's and Heywood's style, and they carry weight. Heywood, with his hand or 'main finger' in two hundred and twenty plots, is *à priori* a likely candidate for the authorship of any dubious play of the time, and much of the linguistic and metrical evidence cited in his favor seems convincing. The question challenges further and very respectful attention.

TUCKER BROOKE.

Yale University.

CORRESPONDENCE

COMMENTS BY PROFESSOR LANSON

Professor Gustave Lanson spent the past academic year at Columbia University as the official representative of the University of Paris and conducted courses in French literature during both semesters. In addition to this work, he visited several universities in the United States and Canada, and gave lectures at these institutions. When the Modern Language Association met at Princeton last December, M. Lanson came in touch with a large number of his American colleagues, whom he addressed at one of the sessions of this annual gathering. His remarks on that occasion were taken down by one of his former students and are here reproduced so that they may be available for the readers of *Modern Language Notes*.

MESSIEURS:

Je vous remercie de votre accueil; j'en suis d'autant plus touché que je sais à quoi il s'adresse. Votre applaudissement si chaleureux va par-dessus ma tête à quelque chose que vous voulez bien aimer: la civilisation française. Je n'ai pas qualité pour vous parler au nom de qui que ce soit, mais je puis cependant vous dire qu'on sait en France votre sympathie pour cette civilisation et pour ce qu'elle a accompli, et qu'on en est touché et reconnaissant.

Je dois maintenant vous avouer mon embarras. Quand votre aimable président m'a demandé de parler à la suite de M. Schinz, je me suis dit que je ne savais pas un mot du sujet. Je ne me déroberai pourtant pas. J'obéirai, je me dévouerai, je me jetterai à la nage

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au risque de me noyer. Si vous me voyez trop en danger, vous me repêcherez. Le discours de M. Schinz porte la marque de cet esprit de recherche qu'on trouve dans ses travaux.

Pour en parler, je me mettrai, si vous le voulez, dans la situation du "freshman" qui après avoir appris du nouveau, veut poser encore quelques questions à son maître.

Je dois d'abord vous faire part de ma première impression, qui a été l'étonnement. La Pennsylvanie, c'est pour nous, le pays de William Penn, d'austères personnages qui n'avaient rien de frivole dans l'esprit; aussi n'ai-je pas été peu surpris de retrouver dans le catalogue mentionné par M. Schinz, Rabelais, Brantôme, l'Heptaméron.

Que pouvait-on faire, en Pennsylvanie, de Rabelais, de Brantôme et de l'Heptaméron, sinon en allumer du feu? Un deuxième étonnement pour moi a été de ne pas retrouver un livre qui dans les inventaires et catalogues de bibliothèques du 18e siècle, compulsés par M. D. Mornet, ne manque jamais: Rollin, *Histoire romaine.*

Pour en venir au sujet principal, l'influence française en Amérique, il serait curieux d'étudier avec quelque développement la question du commerce des livres français aux États-Unis. Quels étaient les livres vendus en Amérique, comment y venaient-ils? Il faudrait pour cela consulter les inventaires de bibliothèques privées, les catalogues de ventes, etc. . . . Les catalogues des riches amateurs sont ceux qui signifient le moins. Les bibliothèques très modestes de simples particuliers, conservées par les descendants, sont beaucoup plus précieuses; elles montrent peu de livres, mais moins il y en a, plus ils ont chance d'avoir été lus.

J'ai entendu avec beaucoup d'intérêt les extraits que M. Schinz a cités d'hommes célèbres comme Franklin, Emerson. . . . Il serait curieux d'étudier comment ces grands hommes ont été touchés par notre pensée, notre littérature, en tenant compte, non pas du nombre des citations, mais de la nature, de la qualité de ces citations, de leur origine aussi: sont-elles toujours de première main? et révèlent-elles un vrai contact des esprits? Les réminiscences inavouées et inconscientes sont à rechercher: elles prouvent souvent plus que les citations. Il se pose à ce sujet des problèmes extrêmement intéressants. Dans son livre, *La liberté nouvelle*, M. le Président Wilson nous dit par exemple que les législateurs américains ont été fortement influencés par Montesquieu. Il serait intéressant de déterminer la nature et les limites de cette influence. Cela d'autant plus, qu'à lire M. Wilson, il semble que les Américains aient mal pris le sens de l'*Esprit des lois*: erreur que beaucoup de disciples français de Montesquieu, d'ailleurs, ont commise. On semble avoir tiré de l'*Esprit des lois* une doctrine qui ne représente pas exactement la pensée de Montesquieu.

D'autre part, s'il est curieux d'étudier l'influence de la pensée française sur l'esprit des grands hommes, n'est-il pas une re-

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cherche qui serait tout aussi intéressante, et plus fructueuse, la recherche de la part de la culture française chez les hommes d'un esprit moyen et sur l'ensemble de la classe américaine cultivée? Cela permettrait de reconstituer le milieu intellectuel et moral d'où se détachent les hommes d'un esprit supérieur et original.

Pour cela, il faudrait consulter les archives de familles, les souvenirs, les correspondances, les poésies inédites. C'est ce qu'a fait en France M. Maigron, par exemple, dans ses études sur le Romantisme français. Ce serait un sujet fort intéressant que d'étudier la culture d'un Américain du 18e siècle, et de son entourage, à l'aide de sa correspondance, et dans les documents publiés ou inédits, littéraires ou non littéraires qu'on pourrait trouver. Il y aurait aussi à faire une étude sur les jeunes Américains qui sont venus en Europe, en France, à Paris, à Genève, sur leurs impressions et sur ce qu'ils ont rapporté chez eux de leurs voyages.

Il faudrait, pendant des mois et peut-être des années, tout en travaillant à autre chose, recueillir les indications éparses sur toutes ces questions. Ce qui importe tout d'abord, c'est le défrichement des terrains, la recherche des papiers de famille, la collection et le rapprochement des documents, l'esquisse conjecturale des lignes principales du sujet, la position provisoire des problèmes. Plus tard, on pourra peut-être tirer des conclusions d'ensemble qui auront une solidité suffisante.

MARCEL MORAUD.

Princeton University.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON EMERSON

The editors of the two authorized collected editions of Emerson's Works, the Riverside and the recent Centenary, have made it clear that these "complete" editions are not wholly exhaustive of even the works which were printed during Emerson's life-time. No general reader of Emerson, however, could find reason for just complaint upon this point, for in the case of no other writer, probably, would fragments and duplications add so little to the fund of the author's ideas or to his spell upon the reader. We can take it for granted, therefore, that the policy of Emerson's editors was determined by their recognition of the mosaic character of much of his work, by their sense of its tenuity, and also, in the case of the more recent editor, Mr. Edward Waldo Emerson, by the plan for the eventual publication of the *Journals*, which were with Emerson, as with Thoreau, so complete an index of his mind. To serious students of Emerson, however, it should be of interest to know just what is to-day not available in any collected edition,

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either because of the editor's rejection, in some cases because of questions of copyright, or lastly, because of publication since the appearance of the last edition.

The editor of the volume of *Uncollected Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, New York, 1912, gathered and published a quantity of material which had until that date been buried in generally inaccessible volumes. The product of his industry was a small number of occasional addresses, three brief biographical and critical papers of value, the unprinted *Dial* material (the authenticity of much of which is highly doubtful), a few letters, and probably most important of all, six poems which had really been lost to the reading public. Even this volume, however, contained by no means all the accessible material that had escaped incorporation into an authoritative edition and was unprotected by copyright.

The published items of record, then, that are not to be found either in the collected writings or in the volume of *Uncollected Writings* include in the first place nine addresses recorded in Mr. George Willis Cooke's *Bibliography of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, some of them delivered in and about Boston on subjects largely of current interest, and reported in local papers, and some of them memorial and after-dinner orations, usually published in proceedings or souvenirs. The greater number of these addresses are frankly very "occasional" in character, and some of them are plainly enough faultily reported.

In addition there are seven prose items of either less perfunctory nature or more strictly literary quality. *The Garden of Plants*, an expanded passage from Emerson's journal, recounting a visit to the Jardin des Plantes, was published in the *Gift* for 1844, and was reprinted in the *Nation* for May 20, 1915. The Book-note on John Sterling's *Essays and Tales*, printed in the *Massachusetts Quarterly Review* for September, 1848, has never been republished, and has been omitted from some important bibliographical records. The notice of the death of Thoreau, which appeared in the Boston *Daily Advertiser* on May 8, 1862, is reprinted in Mr. Cooke's *Bibliography*.

The address on *Religion*, printed in 1880 in Mrs. John T. Sargent's *Sketches and Reminiscences of the Radical Club*, is in the nature of things probably a bit apocryphal. An English reprint of this address under another title caused the present writer a rather industrious and wholly fruitless hunt. A pamphlet, *The Senses and the Soul and Moral Sentiment in Religion*, published in London in 1884, is listed in the printed catalogue of the British Museum. The volume, however, was not to be found in a number of American collections, either public or private. The first essay, clearly enough, was the one of that title from the *Dial;* but the second was unknown, except possibly by title, to the best of Emersonians. When a rotograph copy of the pamphlet was finally ob-

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tained from London, the essay on *Moral Sentiment in Religion* was found to be identical with the report of the address on *Religion* in Mrs. Sargent's book.

Three posthumous publications by Emerson have been omitted from his collected works—the first the two Bowdoin prize essays discovered by Dr. Hale and published by him in 1896. In addition there are the *Sermon on the Death of George Adams Sampson*, delivered in 1834, and published by the Sampson family in 1903, and the sketch of *Father Taylor*, which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1906, with a foreword by Mr. Edward Waldo Emerson.

Two worthy poems have also escaped inclusion in the later collected edition: *The Lover's Petition*, privately printed in 1864, and included in *May-Day and other Pieces*, 1867; and *To Lowell, on his Thirtieth Birthday*, in the *Century Magazine* for 1893.

With regard to the volume of *Uncollected Writings*, it has already been pointed out that the bulk of the collection consists of material of secondary importance to the general reader; but for some of this material, notably the poems and the reviews, we should be thankful, not only as collectors, but as readers. It has not yet been recorded, I think, that the preface to this volume contains two statements gravely open to question. One is to the effect that the essay entitled *Nature* is "an individual essay, distinct from all others of the same title." As a matter of fact, this essay, which was contributed by Emerson to the *Boston Book* in 1850, is not at all a distinct essay, but is *verbatim* the first four paragraphs of *Nature* from the *Second Series of Essays*, with a very trifling verbal change in one sentence of the third paragraph. The preface also states that "this present volume contains nothing but authentic Emerson material not appearing in any of the collected editions or in any of the so-called 'complete works.'" This is a very inaccurate statement to apply to the large amount of miscellaneous writing reprinted from the *Dial;* for the editor of the volume has apparently without any personal discrimination accepted Mr. Cooke's list of Emerson's contributions to the *Dial*, first published in the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* for 1885. Mr. Cooke himself, however, frankly admitted that the attribution to Emerson of many of the minor articles in the *Dial* was unsupported by any historical evidence; and his judgment of internal evidence with regard to a large number of these articles was rejected by so competent a critical authority as James Elliot Cabot, Emerson's friend, and after his death his literary executor, editor, and biographer (*Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, II, 695-6).

One last matter of probable interest to the good Emersonians:—The Class-Day poem which Emerson wrote in his last year at Harvard in 1821—after seven of his classmates, as Josiah Quincy tells us, had refused at once the burden and the distinction of the task—has probably never been referred to by its title. Recently

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the writer's attention was attracted to the following item: *University in Cambridge, Order of Performances for Exhibition, Tuesday, April 24, 1821.* This program announces, "*A Poem—Indian Superstition,*" *by R. W. Emerson.* The poem itself is probably not to be recovered; for in answer to an inquiry on the subject, Emerson's son has written that he has never heard of the piece. There may be one point, however, in speculation as to whether the title reflects the interest which Emerson felt at that time for the "unlettered" religion of the savage, or his increasing absorption in Hindoo philosophy.

H. R. Steeves.

Columbia University.

Tamburlane and Greene's *Orlando Furioso*

Orlando Furioso, says Thomas H. Dickinson in a recent edition of that play,[1] "is *Tamburlane* by perversions, and purposely so." I have already given my reasons for believing that Greene derived his plot almost entirely from Ariosto. As for loans of detail, I am convinced that his indebtedness to *Tamburlane* does not amount to more than a dozen passages.

Greene, Dr. Dickinson convincingly urges, had every reason to wish to burlesque Marlowe. Granted; but could he not do so without sacrificing all occasion for more serious interest in his own play? He certainly could, by drawing on *Tamburlane* only for his comic relief; and he almost certainly did: *Orlando Furioso* is "*Tamburlane* by perversions" only in that interval—between the climax of the intrigue, and the denoument—where comic relief was opportune; where, too, Orlando the popular hero, having become Orlando the lunatic, was a natural object of laughter to an Elizabethan audience, and therefore best calculated to cast ridicule upon the lines he spoke.

In this portion of the play—the period of Orlando's madness—the allusions are plain enough. Compare the comical dialogues between Orlando and Tom (Act III, Scene 2) and Orlando and Orgalio (Act IV, Scene 2) with Tamburlane's descriptions of Zenocrate (Part I, Act II, Scene 3; Part I, Act V, Scene 1; Part II, Act II, Scene 4): here we have Zenocrate by absurdities, and no mistake! Compare Orlando's message to Apollo (Act IV, Scene 2) with Tamburlane's to Jove (Part II, Act V, Scene 3). Compare Orgalio, "messenger of Jove" (Act III, Scene 2), with the self-described Tamburlane of Part II, Act V, Scene 1; and Orgalio's alleged ability to "sweep it through the milk-white way,"

[1] Thomas H. Dickinson: *Robert Greene,* Fisher Unwin, London, 1911.

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with that which Tamburlane attributes to himself in Part II, Act IV, Scene 3. Orlando's discovery of "great Babylon" (Act III, Scene 2), and his overweening confidence on that occasion, are evidently due to his predecessor; so is his proposed expedition "to hell to fight with Cerberus—and find out Medor there" (Act II, Scene 1; with which compare *Tamburlane;* Part II, Act II, Scene 4, and Part II, Act V, Scene 1); his threat to "drink up overflowing Euphrates" (Act IV, Scene 2) makes him the comrade of Orcanes' valiant men (*Tamburlane;* Part II, Act III, Scene 1). These lines, and a few others like them, are unmistakable allusions to *Tamburlane;* as for the others in the play—with the possible exception of Sacripant's self-flattery at the beginning, and the certain exception of his dying speech at the end—I cannot see that they are allusions at all; and I do not believe that they were meant to be, for the very pungency of the burlesque when it is recognizable convinces me that it is not feeble but absent elsewhere.

CHARLES W. LEMMI.

University of Pittsburgh.

WIÐERÞYLD OF *Beowulf*, 2051

I beg to suggest the possibility of strengthening the identity of Wiðerþyld, mentioned in the Ingeld-Freawaru episode, (*Beowulf*, 2051),[1] by recognizing in him the father of the young Heathobard whom the old warrior is attempting to excite by pointing out his father's sword in the possession of a Dane (ll. 2041-2056).

This is the only reference to Wiðerþyld in *Beowulf*. The name appears once in *Widsith*.[2] Professor Chambers sees no necessary connection between these two appearances.

The use of the name of a dead hero, otherwise unknown, in the connection in which it here appears, has a sufficient dramatic warrant, if such relationship with the young warrior as is suggested can be supposed. The old warrior, unreconciled to the idea of settling the longstanding Danish-Heathobard enmity by a marriage, precipitates by his speech a fight which renews the feud. He addresses a certain young man; he mentions the young man's father, the father's sword, his death, and the Danish victory "after Withergyld fell," all in rapid succession. *Hyne* in line 2050 looks back to *fæder* in line 2048; why not forward to *Wiðerþyld* in line 2051?

Further, Wiðerþyld is the only Heathobard hero called by name,

[1] *Beowulf*, ed. Wyatt-Chambers, 1914; line 2051 (b), and note, p. 102.

[2] Here *Wiðergield; Widsith*, line 124, Chambers' ed., 1912, and see note, p. 222.

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of those whom the Danes slew. Would it not be reasonable to suppose that the old warrior in such a burst of exhortation would conjure by the name of one who was either an outstandingly great leader, or was otherwise especially dear to the memory of the younger man? The total absence of evidence to prove the first, suggests the possibility of the second alternative.

Of course, the whole thing is, in the mouth of Beowulf, a prophecy of events yet to occur; but is there not a chance that the poet knew the later fact, that the young Heathobard who precipitated the fight was the son of Wiðergyld?

Chambers suggests that the old warrior's speech may be a quotation or an adaptation from an Ingeld lay.[3] The discovery of such an original might establish the truth or the groundlessness of my conjecture, for which I adduce no definite proof, but which I offer as at least reasonable.

GILBERT W. MEAD.

Columbia University.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Tennyson's lines on Christopher North, in which he is addressed as "crusty, rusty, musty, fusty Christopher," have amusing parallels in *Mucedorus*, III, v:

> ould rustie, dustie, mustie, fustie, crustie firebran;

and in Randolph's *Hey for Honesty*, II, i:

> rusty—musty—crusty—fusty—dusty old dotard.

Among the anticipations of Poe's theory that poems should be brief may be cited Fellthams's *Resolves* (Ed. of 1696) p. 98:

> The wittiest Poets have all been ***short***, and changing soon their *Subject* Poetry should be rather like a Coranto, ***short***, and ***nimbly-lofty;*** than a ***dull lesson***, of a day long. Nor can it be but ***deadish***, if ***distended.***

Parallels to the argument in *Comus*, 706-755, may be cited from the speech of Colax in Randolph's *The Muse's Looking-Glass*, II, iii:

> Nature has been bountiful
> To provide pleasures, and shall we be niggards
> At plenteous boards? He's a discourteous guest
> That will observe a diet at a feast. . . .
> Not to enjoy
> All pleasures and at full, were to make nature
> Guilty of what she ne'er was guilty of—
> A vanity in her works.

C. B. COOPER.

Armour Institute, Chicago.

[3] *Widsith*, p. 80.

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A Note on the *Areopagitica*

"Methinks I see her as an Eagle muing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazl'd eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain it self of heav'nly radiance."[1]

Thus reads one of the most splendid passages in Milton's prose. But it is a passage not without a blemish of obscurity. What does the word *muing* mean? Practically all commentators have understood it as a technical term of falconry. The *New English Dictionary* defines *mew* thus:

> Ia. To moult, shed, or change feathers. b. Peculiarly used by Milton. The precise sense intended is difficult to determine: perhaps 'to renew by the process of moulting'; some would render 'exchanging her mighty youth for the still mightier strength of full age.'

Now it may be observed that this is the solitary case where mew has the meanings suggested above: meanings flatly contradictory of its usual sense of 'shed' or 'cast off.' Furthermore, let us note that Milton's image here is not taken from the flight of the hawk in falconry—a misconception which has also led to the suggestion that the technical term unsealing be substituted for unscaling.[2]

It is clear that the image is derived from the medieval Bestiary. What precise version Milton may have had access to we canont tell, but a consultation of the one Middle English form preserved sheds at once a considerable light on the passage.[3] Lines 55 and 70-72 describing the eagle read:

> wu he neweð his guðhede.
> ðe sunne swideð al his fligt,
> and oc it makeð his egen brigt;
> Hise feðres fallen for ðe hete.

The first line would naturally be modernized as: 'how he neweth his youth.' To be sure, the *New English Dictionary* does not record *new* as a verb in the sense of 'renew' after 1555, but Milton would hardly have been deterred by the slightly archaistic character of the usage. Warburton seems to have recognized *muing* as a misprint, for in an adaptation of the passage he writes: 'Methinks I see her like the mighty Eagle, renewing her immortal youth.'[4] Furthermore, Milton could hardly have escaped a reminiscence of the familiar verse of the Psalmist: So that thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle's.[5]

How great is the possibility of a misprint in the first edition

[1] Milton, *Areopagitica*, ed. J. W. Hales, 1904, p. 49, l. 17.
[2] Milton, *Areopagitica*, ed. T. H. White, 1819, p. 164.
[3] *Old English Miscellany*, E. E. T. S., vol. 49, p. 3.
[4] Warburton, *Tracts*, 1789, p. 140.
[5] *Psalms*, ch. CIII, v. 5.

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of 1644? In the first place, if one glances at the specimen of Milton's handwriting of the year 1637 in the *Commonplace Book*, published by the Royal Society of Literature, p. 13, one finds the word *renew* so written that if the formation of the letters had been slightly more careless the latter part might be read as *mu*. The *n* is joined to the *e*, and the *w* might be taken for a *u* with a long upward stroke at the end. In the second place, the *Areopagitica* contains four obvious misprints, and one we know to have been corrected by Milton himself in a presentation copy.[6] The text of the first edition is not accordingly to be regarded as infallible.

The inevitable influence of the Bestiary and the probable influence of the Bible upon the passage persuade me that *muing* should be regarded as a misprint, and that succeeding editions of the *Areopagitica* should substitute *newing*.

R. S. Loomis.

University of Illinois.

Fortuna Vitrea

Eine Stelle in Opitzens "Trostgedichte in Widerwärtigkeit des Krieges" (Buch II, 283 f.) liefert eine nicht nur im Gedankengang sondern auch im Wortlaut interessante Parallele zu dem Spruch vom gläsernen Glücke, in der grossen Heidelberger Liederhandschrift unter dem Namen Ulrichs von Liechtenstein überliefert, den man aber nach dem Zeugnis Rudolfs von Ems Gottfried von Strassburg zuschreibt. (Hrsg. von Richard Heinzel, *ZföG.* XIX. 561 = *Kleine Schriften von Richard Heinzel* hrsg. von Jellinek und von Kraus, Heidelberg 1907, S. 59). Beide Texte lasse ich hier folgen:

Gelükke daz gêt wunderliche an und abe:
man findet ez vil lihter danne manz behabe,
ez wanket dâ man ez niht wol besorget,
swen ez beswæren wil, dem gît ez ê der zît
unt nimt ouch ê der zît
wider swaz ez gegît,
ez tumbet den, swem ez ze vil geborget:
vröude gît den smerzen.
ê daz wir âne swære sîn des lîbes unt des herzen,
man vindet ê . . . daz glesîn glükke.
daz hât kranke veste:
swenn ez under diu ougen spilt unt schînet aller beste,
sô brichet ez vil lihte in kleiniu stükke.

Der Glantz der Herrlichkeit
Ist nur ein blosser Glantz und ein Betrug der Zeit:
Er wird viel leichter noch gefunden, als behalten,

[6] Milton, *Areopagitica*, ed. J. W. Hales, 1904, notes at bottom of pages 17, 18, 29, and 49, and note on p. 95.

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Wann er gefunden ist; die Gunst kan bald erkalten,
Von dem er hergeführt. Wer darauff Hoffnung setzt,
Vergleicht sich dem, der Glass für gantz beständig schätzt.

Der mhd. Spruch geht zurück auf den von Gottfried mehrfach benutzten Publilius Syrus (rec. Meyer, Lips. 1880. F. 24, S. 31): Fortuna vitrea est: tum cum splendet frangitur.[1] Ein ähnliches Bild gebraucht ferner Hugo von Montfort an einer von Lexer s. v. *söchen* angeführten Stelle: diu welt ist ein glesîn hûs: der glanz ist bald zerbrochen, daz man muoz gar snel dar ûz und in der erden sochen.

JOHN L. CAMPION.

University of North Carolina.

STOCKDALE ON GRAY'S PRODUCTIVITY

The first detailed explanation of the meagreness of Gray's literary production has not, I believe, been noticed by scholars. In view of the perennial interest in the problem it seems worth while to call attention to the following passage in *An Inquiry into the Nature and Genuine Laws of Poetry* by Percival Stockdale, London, 1778, pp. 95 ff.

"The small number, and size of the excellent productions with which Mr. Gray hath enriched our English Poetry, prove that his talents were checked by an unreasonable, whimsical, and insuperable difficulty of being satisfied with his own compositions; and by an unmanly timidity to appear, in the character of an Authour, before a generous publick, with whom the defects, and errours of a Poem will never occasion any material disgust, if in that Poem, the true poetical spirit is predominant. These inferences are more evidently proved from those premises, if we consider that He passed the greater part of his life in a celebrated seat of the Muses; that He was not dissipated, and licentious, but collected, and studious; and that his mind, was, therefore, not chilled, and embarrassed by poverty; but free from that indigence, and those anxieties, by which poetical genius is commonly depressed, and persecuted; partly, from the misconduct which is produced by strong sensibility and passions; and partly, from fortune's inflexible, and stupid aversion to learning, and to wit. From his minute, superstitious, and false delicacy of taste; from his timorous pride, in venturing forth as a writer; from the uncouth, and un-

[1] Georges, *Lat.-Deutsches Handwörb.*, gibt s. v. vitreus eine deutsche Überstezung: Glück und Glas, wie bald bricht das. Ferner zitiert er aus *Augustin de civ. dei:* laetitia (vitrea), zerbrechliche wie Glas (=vergängliche). Vgl. ferner *Kleinere Schriften von W. Wackernagel*, I, 243.

W. K.

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affecting subjects, and images, to which He frequently has recourse; from the surprizing inequality, which, in his different productions, is very sensibly felt by every unprejudiced, and true critick; and from the labour with which most of his Poems are stiffly characterized;—from these principles I likewise conclude, that there was a langour, and effeminacy in his mental frame; that his Muse was often deaf to his invocation; that the current of his fancy was often weakened, contracted, and obstructed, by some constitutional poverty, and frost; and that his best compositions were the effects of a temporary, but fortunate sunshine, and warmth of soul, producing as happy a sympathy with those objects which were most correspondent with his mind; more than of an essential, and permanent brightness, and ardour of genius. This observation will neither seem invidious, nor imaginary to Those who reflect that the human mind, is, in different persons, complicated, and diversified to an infinite variety; and that greater poets than Mr. Gray have their conspicuous master-pieces; though they may not outshine their other works with so preeminent a lustre as the famous Elegy, written in a Country-church-yard, excells other Poems of the same Authour."

It will be noted that Stockdale anticipates in a striking manner subsequent explanations[1] of the poet's slender production.

J. PAUL KAUFMAN.

Yale University.

"DITAMY," *Endymion*, I, 555

The spelling, "ditamy," has puzzled the editors of Keats. Buxton Forman, in his footnote on this passage writes:

"In the manuscript and in the first edition we read *ditamy*. I have not succeeded in finding the orthography elsewhere; but I see no reason for doubting that Keats met with it somewhere and preferred it to *dittany*. In Philemon Holland's Pliny, where it might have been expected to occur, I can find no more English equivalent for *dictamnus* than *dictamne;* but it is worth noting that three modern languages drop the *n* and not the *m*—thus Italian *dittamo*, Spanish *dictamo*, and French *dictame;* and in a time when spelling was more or less optional some classical English writer may well have done the same." The N. E. D., however, does not list Keats' spelling, although it does give *dittamy* as a seventeenth century form. And no other editor, so far as I have been able to ascertain, has improved on Forman's suggestion.

[1] For a convenient summary of these explanations, see Professor C. S Northup's edition of Gray's *Essays and Criticisms*, 1911, Introd. pp. xxii-xxvii.

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Keats' source was Lempriere's *Classical Dictionary*, an obvious place to look, it would seem. All the editions (save one) of that oft-reprinted book that I have consulted contain in the article on Diana the sentence: "Among plants the poppy and the ditamy [sic] were sacred to her." Since Diana was the author of Endymion's sleep, and since the poppy is conventionally somniferous, the machinery of the magic growth naturally suggested itself to Keats, who, from love of strange words, coupled with the poppy the less familiar "ditamy" afforded by his source.

It may be remarked that we have here a clear indication that Keats did use Lempriere while writing his poems. I have noticed a few other, less striking, indications of this use in *Endymion* and in *Hyperion*.

JAMES HINTON.

Emory University.

WOLSEY AND BLONDEL DE NESLE

According to Wolsey's biographer Cavendish, that extraordinarily successful politician actually uttered before his retirement a complaint whose substance is reproduced in the passage from *Henry VIII:*

> **Had I but served my God with half the zeal**
> **I served my king, He would not in mine age**
> **Have left me naked to mine enemies.**

If Wolsey ever did say anything of the sort it must have been for the benefit of his audience, for there is no record of his having ever served anyone but Wolsey. But in any case, Wolsey, Shakespeare or Fletcher seems here to be indulging in literary reminiscence. In the twelfth century the Picard poet Blondel de Nesle had sung (See Mätzner, *Altfranzösische Lieder*, p. 51):

> **Se je deu tant amasse**
> **com je fais celi**
> **ki si me poene et lasse,**
> j'ëusse merci.

I submitted the passage to Mr. Horace Howard Furness, Jr., who is continuing the Variorum Shakespeare, and he commented thus on the citation:

"There have been pointed out several parallels to the passage in *Henry VIII*, Act III, sc. ii, to which you refer. You may see them by reference to the *Variorum* of 1821 (Boswell's Malone) vol. XIX, pp. 433 and 434, but as far as I know that quoted by you is the earliest . . . in any event Shakespeare's withers are unwrung, for it is now generally conceded that this portion of the scene is by Fletcher."

ROY TEMPLE HOUSE.

University of Oklahoma.

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BRIEF MENTION

Creative Criticism: Essays on the Unity of Genius and Taste, by J. E. Spingarn (New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1917). Four essays are here brought together, of which three had previously appeared in print. The titles are (1) The New Criticism; (2) Dramatic Criticism and the Theatre; (3) Prose and Verse; (4) Creative Connoisseurship. There is added an appendix, "A Note on Genius and Taste," in which the author takes occasion to reply to Mr. John Galsworthy's criticism of the first essay. The attitude of mind represented in these essays is principally that of a turning away from accepted "laws" with an air of dissatisfaction and rebuke. The restraints and deficiencies of conventions are dismissed from approval in a manner that is designed to constitute a conclusive argument in favor of a thorogoing revision of procedure in literary composition and criticism. The attitude of the writer is, to put it in its best light, progressive; but "progressive" has present-day connotations of unrest and of prejudice and of a disregard of the teachings of history and world-experience, and these connotations unmistakably transpire thru the principal propositions here set forth with cleverness and in a manner that is entertainingly inconclusive. Professor Minto observes that "Thinking on any subject is generally done by halves or by bits, each of which as it comes into prominence fills the area of the whole truth,"—words that are applicable to much in present-day theory that reposes in the delusive belief that to name a process or a product "modern" constitutes a sufficient defense against the charge of indifference to history.

Mr. Spingarn's defense that literary art is not to be judged primarily with reference to accepted laws reminds one of what Hazlitt termed a "species of nominal criticism." Possibilities of "free" forms in poetry are projected into an assumed future, but these are not accredited by much, if by anything, in the demonstrated present. It is a method of reasoning that may be said, with Hazlitt's words in mind, to be based on an assumption of works that have never been written, that will probably never be written,—with the double advantage of saving the "hapless author the mortification of writing, and the reviewer the trouble of reading them." At all events, "free verse" has not yet been carried beyond the state of being only material for poetry, as Leigh Hunt would describe it,—raw material, in some instances of excellent quality but still not fashioned into the finished product. This negation, however, brings into clear relief two positive admissions, important

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and undeniable: that there must be good judgment in estimating the quality of raw-material as such, and that the variety of forms into which it may be profitably fashioned is not restricted by a closed canon of inflexible tradition. But "the kinds" will persist. This is, in the terms of the biologist, merely the recognition of the persistence of the "species." An incomplete view shows the classification of poetry into "lyric, comedy, tragedy, epic, pastoral, and the like" to be a hindrance to the effective activity of the creative spirit; but the truth of literary history is not to be overthrown by a partial judgment. Mr. H. G. Wells has recently expressed the pertinent thought thus: "The species has its adventures, its history and drama, far exceeding in interest and importance the individual adventure." The degree of "interest and importance" may be determined from different angles. It is sufficient in literary history to note the guidance, control, and stimulation due to the recognition of "the kinds;" and it falls to the share of the new theorist to show that it is conceivable that the creative spirits of the future will achieve works of art without the aid of established technique, without regard to the grammar of their art, and in obedience to no other prescribed law or requirement except that the product be recognizable as a "spiritual creation."

Criticism, then, is to arrive at the point when it "clearly recognizes in every work of art a spiritual creation governed by its own law" (p. 26). "We have done with the *genres*, or literary kinds" (p. 26). "We have done with the theory of style, with metaphor, simile, and all the paraphernalia of Græco-Roman rhetoric" (p. 30). "We have done with all moral judgment of literature" (p. 31). "We have done with technique as separate from art" (p. 36). "We have done with the history and criticism of poetic themes" (p. 38). "We have done with the race, the time, the environment of a poet's work as an element in Criticism" (p. 39). "We have done with the 'evolution' of literature" (p. 40). "Finally, we have done with the old rupture between genius and taste" (p. 42). At this point the sub-title of the book is made clear: Criticism has only to ask, "What has the poet tried to express and how has he expressed it?" "How can the critic answer this question without becoming (if only for a moment of supreme power) at one with the creator? That is to say, taste must reproduce the work of art within itself in order to understand and judge it; and at that moment æsthetic judgment becomes nothing more nor less than creative art itself. The identity of genius and taste is the final achievement of modern thought on the subject of art, and it means that fundamentally, in their most significant moments, the creative and the critical instincts are one and the same."

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The last statement is true in a sense that has never been denied. In this sense it has meant sympathetic reading and criticism, the reader's approximation to the state of mind in which the author must have composed his work (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXII, 316 f.). The sense in which the same statement may be metaphysically true, or at least helpfully interpretative of intuitive knowledge and processes, is so general in character as to blur the perception of Nature's rhetoric with its emphasis on "special endowments" and the perception of the ethical import of the parable of the pounds. Creative activity and sympathetic (or, let us say, creative) appreciation are indeed cognate, but experience demonstrates a difference between them that fixes the supremest values. If Arnold Bennett may declare that the creative artist is the best critic he must be understood to take special notice of this difference.

One cannot believe that Mr. Spingarn perceives a gain in minimizing the distinction between the original artist (the critic may, of course, create literature on the basis of the artist's work), the critic as the professional student and expositor of art, and the man of culture, with a degree of mere appreciation of art. Aptitude in any one of these three main departments of activity and experience gives in itself no assurance of possible success in another. And why disturb the accepted definition of useful words? Since Edmund Burke and Alexander Gerard, to take a late starting-point, 'taste' has meant rectitude of sentiment and judgment relating to objects of art; and Gerard added an *Essay on Genius*.

Nor can the question of "rules" and "kinds" be so lightly dismissed. As John La Farge puts it, "rules exist for art, not art for rules." Advances in art are made on the substratum of good sense and of a cultivated recognition of the past achievements of mankind. It is the dominant observation in La Farge's account of the art of Delacroix that in his realism he is "always recognisant of the past of art, of certain formulae of art." From the earliest of the Barbison artists to the dramas of Jacinto Benavente, no modern theory of art and of the appreciation of art has found footing in an attitude against evolutionary law, which works ineluctably from age to age.

These essays might lead one to suspect Mr. Spingarn of a serious purpose that is not made very clear to the casual reader. He knows that it is vain to set up a new idol in the market, and might, therefore, be supposed to "turn aside into pleasant controversies and discussions, and into a sort of wandering over subjects rather than sustain any rigorous investigation" (Bacon) so as to beguile his readers into discontent with an unreasoned acceptance of traditional theories and practice. His serious purpose is, however, positive enough in character; it is to advocate the æsthetic theory of Benedetto Croce, to whom the book is dedicated and under whose

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banner Mr. Spingarn declares himself to be enrolled in all that he has here set forth (p. 23). That the zeal of the follower has led to something of a distortion of the master's doctrine will be suspected, and perhaps generously attributed to the 'form' of these essays, without pressing the author too closely with the question of the extent to which the traditional form or "rule" of a discourse has possibly determined both his method of reasoning and his manner of expression.

The connotations of the word 'creative' are being extended, and there are gains in doing this; but in the present connection there should be definite designation for the "degrees,"—a matter which Mr. Spingarn has tended to obscure, altho his profound understanding of it glints thru such a formula as "we do not learn language, we create it." Finally, the reader will be conscious of a regret that of persons most in need of it probably very few will become aware of the just censure and the helpful admonition of Mr. Spingarn's last essay, entitled "Creative Connoisseurship."

J. W. B.

The documents discovered by Mr. Charles Withall, around which Mr. Roger Ingpen has written his *Shelley in England* (Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1917), do not necessitate any radical alteration of the accepted views of Shelley's life but serve rather to shed new light upon facts already established. It must be a matter of opinion whether the story of Shelley's life till his departure from England had to be told anew or whether the new material could not have been published separately with a small commentary. Mr. Ingpen has been willing to rework familiar ground. The twenty-nine new letters by Shelley have to do almost entirely with his relations with his father and are supplemented by many letters that passed between Sir Timothy Shelley and his lawyer, William Whitton. It appears that the latter was more responsible than has hitherto been realized for the estrangement between Sir Timothy and his son, for the former followed his lawyer's advice unquestioningly and that advice was frequently harsh in the extreme. But if Sir Timothy was intolerant and arrogant, certainly (as Mr. Ingpen admits) the manner in which Shelley addressed him—criticising his actions and reminding him of his duty as a Christian—was not calculated to restore friendly relations between the two. See especially the letter of September 27, 1811 (I, 321 f.). Matters had reached a pretty pass when the poet had to send clandestinely the pathetic letter to his sister Hellen (now published for the first time), which fell into Sir Timothy's hands and found its way into the Shelley-Whitton collection of documents. The new material is most abundant during the period immediately

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after Shelley's expulsion from Oxford and during the period between the elopement with Harriet and separation from her. Sir Timothy's perplexed and overwrought state of mind, as seen in his correspondence, reminds one of Carlyle's picture of the old Marquis of Mirabeau as he witnessed the career of his son: "Cluck, cluck,—in the name of all the gods, what prodigy is this that I have hatched? Web-footed, broad-billed; which will run and drown itself, if Mercy and the parent-fowl prevent not!" After he settled in Italy Shelley was cut adrift from his family and Mr. Ingpen offers little new information on this portion of his career. But the documents become once more voluminous after Shelley's death, when the question of the provision to be made for Mrs. Shelley and her son had to be settled. In this connection Mr. Ingpen publishes for the first time a letter from Byron to Sir Timothy in which he pleads in direct manly fashion for the widow and her infant. A letter to Leigh Hunt (part of which, though Mr. Ingpen does not note it, was published by Hunt long ago) shows Byron in a less attractive light; and the "noble poet" disappears from the narrative under the cloud of comparison with Trelawney. One should remember that when Mrs. Shelley came to introduce Byron into her novel *Lodore,* she recalled only the pathos and romance of his exile and painted a picture that errs on the side of generosity. Byron's appeal to Sir Timothy was unavailing and it was some years before Mrs. Shelley found herself in a position of financial comfort. Even then, it was to Sir Timothy's desire to have his son's name forgotten that was due the long delay before, in 1839, Mary Shelley issued her collected edition of her husband's poems. The texts of a number of documents referred to in his narrative are presented by Mr. Ingpen in a series of appendices. These have to do with Shelley's pecuniary difficulties before the final settlement with his father, with his relations with the Westbrooks, with his elopement with Mary Godwin, and with other matters. Most important is Appendix IX, where the record of the inquest on the body of Harriet Shelley is printed. This record apparently does not form part of the Shelley-Whitton MSS. but its recovery is due nevertheless to Mr. Charles Withall. In the body of his book Mr. Ingpen has pieced together the tale of these "old, unhappy, far-off things" and has added as the most appropriate commentary the familiar and exquisite quatrain by Mr. William Watson.

To those who find delight in the bright lyrist but to whom appeals for money and the details of financial settlements are pretty dreary reading, the most interesting part of Mr. Ingpen's work will be the photographic facsimiles and careful transcriptions of the MS. note-book found by Captain Roberts in the ill-fated *Ariel* and now, for the first time, published by permission of Sir John C. E.

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Shelley. This precious relic contains, besides a draft of the *Defence of Poetry* and some scraps of minor interest, nearly thirty stanzas of *Adonais*. Study of the fragments of stanzas, the false starts, the corrections and interlineations, and the skeleton rime-schemes left to be filled in later, shows how Shelley went about his work. Other evidence of this has been published before now, but the instances here offered are very striking. To take just one: in stanza xl, Shelley begins with the idea that Adonais "wakes"; then that "he has escaped out [of] this pit of worms"; then that "his spirit soon its silken" [meshes will abandon ? (or some such idea)]; then comes the word "envy"; then some disconnected suggestions of the spirit's "twilight cradle wove of light" and clothing "the frozen world"; and then the significant line "He has outsoared the shadow of our night." Finally, after another unsatisfactory line, come the words "Envy and calumny." The poet has now grasped his idea and with but two interlineations and hardly a correction he writes the magnificent fortieth stanza—"He has outsoared the shadow of our night"—almost as it stands in the finished text.

S. C. C.

The two comedies edited as a text-book for students of Italian, by Emilio Goggio (Due Commedie Moderne: *O bere o affogare* di L. Di Castelnovo; *Lumie di Sicilia* di L. Pirandello. Ginn and Co.), will not be easy reading for beginners. They are interesting, and are accompanied by a vocabulary which seems adequate; they are well and attractively printed (misprints noticed: 5, 8; 21, 20; and the cigarette of 21, 20 is hard to reconcile with the cigar of 21, 21 and 22, 6), but both depend for comprehension on the reader's understanding modern Italian habits of thought and expression typified in the persons of the plays. The unprepared reader would need copious and skilful notes, especially on the second play, the dialogue of which is almost entirely in elliptical sentences. But the notes here given are scanty and not always happily expressed, and some even of these are unnecessary, while a few are mistaken. Unnecessary, for example, are 3; 10, 11; 12, 14; 56, 9, and repetitions of rules of grammar such as 4, 19. *È proprio scritto* (19, 18) means 'Is it really decreed by fate?' not "is it gospel truth?" ***le si toccano*** (41, 31): *le* is not "pleonastic." ***istà*** (27, 20): the *i* before *s* impure is etymological, not "prefixed to avoid the combination of too many consonants." *Già tanto* (26, 21) means 'Anyhow,' and only implies a change of thought toward the matrimonial prospects of the speaker. *Un occhio di sole* (24, 16) is poorly translated by "a most beautiful girl." *Non può farne a meno* (77, 7) means 'she can't do without it' (or 'them'): the literal transla-

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tion: "she can do no less (than it)" is inaccurate; *ne* possibly refers to *tanti signori*. A more idiomatic translation of 81, 19, is 'Say when.' Some of the notes are obscure: when both a literal and an idiomatic translation are given it will sometimes be difficult for the student to see what is the connexion between them: so in 31, 15; 33, 14, and 65, 5. This last ought to include a reference to the proverbial expression: *di ogni erba un fascio*. 6, 11 is painfully laborious.

There is an amusing naïveté about the "biographical notes" in which it is said that Castelnovo was "an ardent lover of his country, for which he had the greatest admiration"; that literature "always fascinated him"; that "politics as well as literature interested him very much," and that Pirandello "received a splendid education in Italy" before he went to study in Germany. The following note (21, 7) also has this quality: "Lucrezia romana: in Roman legend, Lucretia, the virtuous wife of Tarquinius Collatinus, was raped by Sextus Tarquinius, and, after enjoining her husband and father to avenge her dishonor, stabbed herself. She is regarded as a supreme type of pudicity, and is generally spoken of as 'Roman Lucretia' to distinguish her from modern ladies of the same name in whom (e. g. Lucretia Borgia) the same virtue is not always recognized."

J. E. S.

Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit, Euphues and his England. By John Lyly. Edited by Morris William Croll and Harry Clemons (London, George Routledge & Sons; New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1916. lxiv + 473 pp. Price 6s. net). This excellent book is the work of two Princeton scholars. The text (the first text of the *Euphues* in modern spelling and punctuation) is edited by Mr. Clemons; the introduction and the notes are written by Mr. Croll. The introduction is a discussion of the sources of the Euphuistic rhetoric. Mr. Croll argues that it is not the product of humanistic imitation of the ancients, but a survival of the rhetoric of the schools. "The *schemata* of medieval Latin, revivified by being translated into the popular speech, enjoyed a brief new career of glory." The notes gather up all that has been written in explanation or illustration of the *Euphues* (by Messrs. Landmann, and Bond, and Feuillerat, and De Vocht) and add not a little that is new. They indicate a few new sources, in Alciati, and Thomas Lupton, and Gascoigne, and emphasize especially the importance of the proverb in Lyly's work. On p. 20, n. 2, the Greek text needs correction, and on p. 32, n. 2, 'obscuratus' should be 'obscuratur.' P. 61, l. 30, has 'Demophon' for 'Demophoon'; p. 171, l. 13, 'skake' for 'shake'; p. 358, n. 5, 'born blind' for 'born bald'; p. 431, n. 2, 'Aeneid vii' for 'Aeneid xii.'

W. P. M.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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ZU DEN MHD. KURZEN PRÄTERITA (*FORTSETZUNG*)

II. Das Präteritum *lie* und der Imperativ *lā*

Die im Althochdeutschen vorkommenden Formen gestatten noch einigermassen den Weg zu verfolgen, auf dem sich die Entwicklung der kurzen Formen *gie, fie, lie* vollzogen hat. Die Neubildung ist am frühesten bezeugt bei dem Verbum *lāzen*, und zwar erscheint sie hier zuerst zu Notkers Zeit—also um die Wende des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts—im Singular des Imperativs.[1] Nicht nur ist Notker die Form *lā* als 2. sg. imper. schon ganz geläufig, sondern es ist auch ihr Verhältnis zu der älteren Form *lāz* bei ihm bereits ziemlich fest geregelt. Da man auf diese Regelung bisher nicht aufmerksam geworden ist, verlohnt es sich, sie näher ins Auge zu fassen, zumal dadurch Licht auf die Entstehung der kurzen Formen fallen wird.

[1] Wenn Williram sich einmal des Imper. *lā* bedient (*lā mih dine stimme uernéman* 148, 3), während er sonst *lāz* gebraucht (*unte lâz ôuh dinen nith uáran* 137, 10; *unte lâz dáz uuérdan* 149, 11), so ist die Möglichkeit nicht ausgeschlossen, dass er hier dem Sprachgebrauche Notkers folgt. Denn die fränkischen Dialekte kennen in ahd. Zeit einen Imperativ *lā* so wenig, wie ein Präteritum *lie* (vgl. Franck, *Altfränk. Gramm.* S. 240). Die Sache würde dann bei Williram ähnlich liegen, wie später bei Wolfram, der die Präterita *lie, gie* usw., dem Vorbilde zeitgenössischer Dichter folgend, gelegentlich zulässt, obwohl sie seinem eignen Dialekte nicht gemäss waren. (Siehe Zwierzina in der *Festgabe für Heinzel*, S. 469). Es ist daher bezeichnend, dass die Leidener Williramhs. an der betr. Stelle die Form *laaz* einsetzt.

Alle übrigen ahd. Beispiele gehören dem alemannischen und bairischen Dialekte an. Ersterem die Glosse *la dich hera nider* (St.-S. 1, 709, 43) in einer Karlsruher Evangelienhs. des 11. Jhrh.; letzterem der Vers *ne lâ dû mos de muozze*, Ps. 138, 24 (Braune, *Ahd. Leseb.* nr. 38; MS. *Denkm.*

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Im Imperativ sing. tritt *lâ* bei Notker vorzugsweise für schwachbetontes *lâz* ein, ausser wenn sich letzterem eine vokalisch anlautende Pronominalform unmittelbar anschliesst.[2] Der Imperativ ist schwachbetont, namentlich 1) wenn ein Infinitiv von ihm "abhängt," also wenn *lâzen* als sogen. Hülfszeitwort dient; in diesem Falle ruht nämlich der Hauptton auf dem abhängigen Satzgliede; 2) wenn er in Verbindung mit betontem Präpositional-Adverb ("trennbarem Präfix") auftritt.

Im einzelnen liegt die Sache folgendermassen.[3]

I. lâ.

1) Es folgt ein abhängiger (betonter) Infinitiv:[4]

Sô lâ dîn ménden sîn. lâ dîn fúrhten sîn. *Bo.* 50, 15.
dîe zîerda lâ dû lîchên dînên síten. *M. Cap.* 794, 1.
nelâ mih hûon diê mir be únrehte uuídere sint. *Ps.* 34, 19.
Nelâ uuerden páleam filios ęcclesię. ebd.
La dih sîn lústen. *Ps.* 36, 4.
La mih uuízzen. *Ps.* 38, 5.
Lâ siê uuéren unz ze âbende. *Ps.* 58, 12.
Lâ sîn fásto truhten mîn gebét in dînen ôron. *Ps.* 85, 6.
Lâ foregân confessionem peccatorum. *Ps.* 95, 6.
Nelâ mir ingân des ih pîto. *Ps.* 118, 116.

2) Es folgt ein betontes Adverb:

Táranâh lâ án dero êristûn suégelûn léngi fóre. *Mus.* 857, 24.
Lâ dáranâh fóre án dero ánderûn suégelûn léngi. ebd. 857, 29.
únde lâ fóre án íro léngi den drítten téil des diametri. ebd. 858, 5.
únde lâ an íro léngi fóre dén hálben téil íro uuîtî. ebd. 858, 11.
únde lâ in íro léngi fóre den áhtôden téil des diametri. ebd. 858, 14.
la an dero fierdun fore den halben teil des diametri. ebd. 858, 17.
unde lâ daz ahtoda fore. ebd. 858, 22.
Lâ án dero êristûn fore. sô úilo des diametri sî. ebd. 858, 25.

nr. 13) sowie die beiden von Schatz, *Altbair. Gramm.* S. 151 angeführten Vergilglossen 'mitte' *la* (St.-S. 2, 636, 50) und 'sine' *la* (ebd. 654, 43).

[2] Zuweilen ist diese Regel auf konsonantisch anlautende Pronominalformen ausgedehnt. (Siehe die Belege unter II, 1, b).

[3] Die Zitate bei den Psalmen nach Nummer und Vers, sonst nach Seiten und Zeilen der Ausgabe von Piper (Bd. I, Tübingen 1882).

[4] Wo der Infinitiv nicht selber betont ist, trägt ein mit ihm verbundener Satzteil den Hauptton; *lâ* ist stets schwach betont.

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3) *gelā* ‘ gewähre.’ [5]

Daz kelâ mir. *Ps.* 118, 111.
gelâ dînemo súne. dáz er mánegi néfôn geuuínne. *M. Cap.* 725, 19.

II. lāz.

1) Es folgt eine enklitische Pronominalform:

a) Nelaz iz úngerihtet sîn. *Ps.* 34, 22.
Nelâz iz úngeandot sîn. *Ps.* 58, 6.
nelâz iz fersuîget uuerden fóne guôten. *Ps.* 108, 2.
Laz in gân den brêiten uueg. kang dû dén engen. *Ps.* 36, 7.
Daz erbe nelâz uns íngân. *Ps.* 73, 20.
b) unde nelâz mih ána aliena. *Ps.* 18, 14.
Neuuéderên laz mih kelîh sîn. *Ps.* 70, 4.
Nelâz mih scámeg uuérden. *Ps.* 24, 20.
Nelâz mih âne Gothêit ménnischen sîn. *Ps.* 27, 1.
Nelâz mih . . . negare vitam. *Ps.* 118, 188.
Laz mih in morgen gehôrren dîna genâda. *Ps.* 142, 8.
unde nelâz siê ferlóren uuérden. *Ps.* 24, 19.
Nelâz siê indrínnen sô siê inscíhte sîn. *Ps.* 68, 25.
nelâz siû âne fructum dar gebórgen sîn. *Ps.* 118, 11.

2) *lāzen* (mit tonlosem Präfix) ist nicht Hülfsverb, sondern Vollverb: [6]

a) Truhten neferlaz mih. uuis mit mir. *Ps.* 70, 18.
b) Vnde únsere sculde belâz uns. *Or. dom.* (Piper II, 633, 21).
fater belâz in (Interlinearglosse zu *Pater ignosce illis*). Ps. 18, 13.
fáter plaz in (desgl.) *Ps.* 27, 3.
fater blaz ín iz (desgl.) *Ps.* 93, 2.

Wie man sieht, erlauben diese Regeln wesentlich nur da eine freie Wahl, wo auf den Imperativ des schwach betonten Verbs eine

[5] Vom Imperativ aus wird der Formunterschied zwischen *lāz* als Vollverb und *lā* als Hülfsverb dann auf die jüngeren Doppelformen *lāzen* und *lān* im Infinitiv und im Ptz. prt. übertragen. Dass er sich bei diesen Formen bei den klassischen Dichtern der mhd. Zeit findet, hat C. Kraus in seiner eingehenden Untersuchung über bestimmte Formen von *stān*, *gān* und *lān* in Hartmanns Gedichten (*Abhandlungen zur germ. Philologie.* Festgabe für R. Heinzel. Halle 1898, S. 152-161) nachgewiesen. “Hartmann gebraucht die zweisilbige Form *lāzen* immer nur in prägnanter Bedeutung, niemals in der abgeschwächten, der auxiliaren verwandten; es ist bekannt, dass sich bei *haben*, *hān* ähnliche Unterschiede finden” (S. 158). Ebenso liegt die Sache nach Kraus’ Ermittelung (ebd., Anm. 3) bei Gottfried von Strassburg und bei Wolfram.

[6] Wie sich weiter unten herausstellen wird, ist in diesem Falle die Bedeutung für die Wahl der Form massgebend.

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konsonantisch anlautende Pronominalform unmittelbar folgt. In diesem Falle kann entweder das ältere *lāz* (wie dies stets bei folgendem vokalisch anlautenden Pronomen geschieht) beibehalten werden, oder es kann (in Einklang mit der sonst bei Notker üblichen Behandlung des Hülfsverbs *lāzen*) die jüngere Form *lā* eintreten.

Von diesem Schwanken und von der (zu dem Sprachgebrauche der *Wiener Genesis* stimmenden) Sonderstellung der vokalisch anlautenden Pronominalformen abgesehen wird die Scheidung zwischen *lā* und *lāz* durch den Akzent bestimmt: *lā* ist schwachtonig, *lāz* vollbetont. Nur *gelā* 'gewähre' ist abweichend behandelt. Das mag zunächst wie ein einfacher Lautübergang aussehen. Aber wo geht sonst ein *z* im Auslaute schwach betonter Wörter verloren? Und wie erklärt sich bei dieser Voraussetzung die Ausnahme *gelā*? Offenbar muss etwas anderes zu Grunde liegen.

Man pflegt die kurzen Formen des Verbums *lāzen* jetzt auf Rechnung der Verba *stān* und *gān* zu setzen. Z. B. bemerkt Paul, *Mhd. Gramm.* § 180: "Zusammengezogene Formen neben den vollen zeigen die Verba *lāzen* und *haben*. Auf die ersteren hat die Analogie der Verba *gān, stān* eingewirkt"; und Braune, *Ahd. Gr.* § 351 A. 2 verweist für das Althochdeutsche auf diese Erklärung Pauls. Allerdings stehen ja im Mhd. die Formen von *lā(ze)n* denen von *gān* und *stān* vielfach sehr nahe. Aber auch hier muss der Umstand bedenklich machen, dass eine Berührung in der Bedeutung, wie man sie für die Formübertragung voraussetzen möchte, schwerlich vorhanden ist. Auf die Zeit Notkers passt die Erklärung noch weniger, insofern es zu dieser Zeit selbst an einer rein äusserlichen Ähnlichkeit des Formensystems mangelt. Denn die bei Notker vorkommenden kurzen Formen des Verbs *lāzen* einerseits und der Verba *gān* und *stān* andrerseits schliessen sich gegenseitig aus. Wo *gān* und *stān* kurze Formen haben, hat *lāzen* lange Formen; und umgekehrt kommen kurze Formen bei *lāzen* nur da vor, wo *gān* und *stān* lange Formen aufweisen.

Besonders deutlich tritt dies im Imperativ hervor.[1] Zu *gān* (*gangan*) und *stān* (*standan*) gehören bei Notker die Imperativ-

[1] Bei dem Verbum *gān* steht Notkers Gebrauch in Einklang mit der allgemein ahd. Regel. Denn wie schon Graff IV, 68 hervorhob, wird der Imper. sg. nur von *gangan*, der Imper. pl. nur von *gān* (*gēn*) gebildet. Für den Plural sind dabei allerdings die Tatianübersetzung und Notker die einzigen Zeugen. Bei *stān* trifft die entsprechende Regel nur für den Singu-

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formen 2. sg. *gang* (*Bo.* 44, 13; *Ps.* 36, 7), *stant* (*stant ûf Ps.* 3, 7; 7, 7; 9, 20 usw., vgl. Graff IV, 606); 2. pl. *gānt* (*Ps.* 95, 8; 99, 2. 4), *stānt* (*ferstānt iuh, Ps.* 93, 8; *stānt ûf, Ps.* 126, 2). Während hier der Singular vom längeren, der Plural vom kürzeren Stamme gebildet ist, liegt die Sache bei *lāzen* umgekehrt. Die kurze Form *lā* begegnet nur im Singular, und zwar neben der längeren Form *lāz;* der Plural dagegen wird stets vom längeren Stamme gebildet. Die Belege für den Singular sind bereits oben verzeichnet. Der Imper. pl. lautet bei Notker durchaus *lāzent* (*Bo.* 12, 28; *Ps.* 2, 10; 30, 25; 32, 1; 118, 115; *Cant. Annae* 3) oder *lāzzent* (*Ps.* 6, 9; 45, 11; 61, 11; *lazzent toûfen,* Glosse zu *baptizetur* 58, 14). Diese beiden Formen sind natürlich nur graphisch verschieden. Von der alemannischen Endung abgesehen, deren *n* übrigens (mit Ausnahme der einen Stelle 45, 11) in der Wiener Bearbeitung der Psalmen wieder beseitigt ist, stimmt diese Pluralform zu der üblichen ahd. Form *lāzet.*

Die angeführten Tatsachen scheinen mir die Möglichkeit auszuschliessen, dass die Form *lā* ihren Ursprung den *gā-* und *stā-*Formen verdanke. Läge ein Einfluss letzterer vor, so würde man im Plural des Imperativs nach *gānt* und *stānt* die Form **lānt* erwarten. Im Singular dagegen sollte nach dem Muster von *gang* und *stant* die Form *lāz* unangetastet geblieben sein.

Es gilt also, eine andre Erklärung zu suchen. Und zwar kommt es nur darauf an, den Imper. sg. *lā* neben *lāz* zu erklären, da der Plural *lāzent*—von dem *n* der Endung abgesehen—keine Änderung erfahren hat.

Die Umgestaltung des alten *lāz* zu *lā* kommt, möchte ich glauben, auf Rechnung des Imperativs *tuo.* Zunächst stehen sich *lā(z)* und *tuo* syntaktisch sehr nahe. An Unterschieden im einzelnen fehlt es zwar nicht. Aber diese Unterschiede treten zurück gegenüber dem, was beiden im Vergleiche mit anderen Verben gemeinsam ist.

Beides sind Verba von sehr allgemeiner Bedeutung, indem sie im weitesten Sinne Beteiligung an einer Handlung ausdrücken.

lar ausnahmslos zu, da der Plural zwischen der kurzen und der längeren Bildung schwankt. Erstere ist (von Notker abgesehen) meines Wissens nur durch *erstēt, Tat.* 182, 8 bezeugt, während letztere in *arstantet* ebd. 91, 3, *erstantet* ebd. 166, 4, *uorstantent* ebd. 84, 6 und *forstantet Mons. Frg.* 40, 14 u. 23 vorliegt.

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Bei 'tun' ist der Anteil ein tätiger, während er sich bei 'lassen' zunächst darauf beschränkt, der Handlung keinen Widerstand entgegen zu setzen. Aber die Grenze zwischen diesen beiden Begriffen ist fliessend. Wenn wir sagen, "der Richter liess sich den Angeklagten vorführen," so stellt die Sprache den Vorgang so hin, als verhielte sich der Richter dabei nur passiv, was ja in einem gewissen Sinne auch zutrifft. Aber zugleich ist es doch eben der Richter, der den Auftrag zu der Handlung gibt, also in hervorragendem Masse tätig—wenn auch nur mit seinem Worte—an dem Vorgange beteiligt ist. Ferner dürfen wir nicht vergessen, dass auch Gegensätze sich in der Sprache häufig beeinflussen (vgl. z. B. engl. *female*, nach *male* umgebildet), wie ja auch Gegensätze oft durch 'und' verbunden werden (tun und lassen,[8] gehn und stehn. Freund und Feind, Mann und Weib, Tag und Nacht, usw.).

Eine hervorstechende syntaktische Eigenheit beider besteht darin, dass sie einerseits—so namentlich auch in Zusammensetzungen—als Vollverba mit nominalem Objekt gebraucht werden können (etwas tun, Busse tun, etwas lassen, etwas unterlassen, jmd. eine Strafe erlassen, usw.), andrerseits als Hülfsverba in Verbindung mit einem zweiten Verbum. Letztere Konstruktion ist bei dem Verbum *tun* der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache jetzt abhanden gekommen, war aber der älteren Sprache ganz geläufig (vgl. Grimm, *Gr.* IV, 94), und hat sich u. a. im heutigen Englisch (namentlich in negativen und Fragesätzen, z. B. *do not forget to tell him, did you forget that I told you?* usw.) in weitem Umfange erhalten.

Als Gegenstück zu den oben verzeichneten Beispielen für den Imper. *lā* mit folgendem Verbum folgen hier einige ahd. Beispiele für den entsprechenden Gebrauch des Imperativs *tuo*.[9]

ni tuo trumbun singan fora thir (= *noli tuba canere ante te*) *Tat.* 33, 2.

[8] "und durch mich tuont unde länt *Iw.* 28. si wolte tuon unde lān *Trist.* 10280. Dieses *tun und lassen* ist eine stehende, auch in Urkunden gewöhnliche Redensart" Müller-Z., *Mhd. Wtb.* unt. *lāze* (I, 944).—Vgl. die Belege für: *lassen*, mit seinem Gegensatz *tun* formelhaft verbunden, bei Grimm-Heyne, *Dt. Wtb.* unt. *lassen* I, 5, c (Bd. VI, Sp. 220).

[9] Diese Konstruktion ist natürlich nicht—so wenig wie bei *lāzen*—auf den Imperativ beschränkt. Man findet reichhaltige Nachweise für das Althochdeutsche bei Graff, *Ahd. Sprachschatz* V, 301 f. (*tuon*) u. 312 f. (*getuon*).

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Die übrigen Beispiele gehören sämtlich Notker an:

Tuô mih resurgere tertia die. *Ps.* 21, 20.
unde tuô siê uuésen suert unde scílt. *Ps.* 34, 2.
Duô sia irstân. ebd. 17.
unde tuô mih pechennen Got. *Ps.* 38, 5.
unde tuô gebórn uuerden christum dîn líeht. *Ps.* 42, 3.
so tuo mih kehorren. *Ps.* 142, 8.
Ketûo sînen sín uínden gûotes úrspríng. *Bo.* 179, 6.
I'n getûo fólgên dînên uuórten. *M. Cap.* 718, 29.
Ketuô mánege sêla uuesen dero rehton. *Ps.* 34, 3.
ketuô siê danne salubriter gehôren. *Ps.* 73, 19.

Seiner äusseren Gestalt nach nimmt der Imperativ *lāz* unter den Formen des Verbums *lāzen* insofern eine Sonderstellung ein, als er im Präsenssystem die einzige einsilbige Form dieses Verbums ist. Unter den Perfektformen steht mit ihm in dieser Hinsicht nur die 1. 3. sg. *liez*, von der später die Rede sein wird, auf einer Linie. Hierin lag ein formeller Berührungspunkt mit dem Imperativ *tuo* vor, der bei der Ähnlichkeit der Bedeutung und der grammatischen Funktion leicht dazu führen konnte, die beiden Formen einander weiter anzugleichen. Die Sprache hat diesen Weg tatsächlich eingeschlagen, indem sie den Imperativ *lāz* seinem Gegenstück *tuo* dadurch annäherte, dass sie ihm—wenn auch mit gewissen Einschränkungen—vokalischen Auslaut gab.

Die Neigung, das ausl. *z* nach dem Muster der bequemeren Form *tuo* fallen zu lassen, machte sich namentlich da geltend, wo der Imperativ *lāz* schwach betont war, sei es dass er als Hülfsverb diente, oder dass ihm ein betontes Verbalpräfix folgte. Hier wird sie nur eingeschränkt durch den Fall, dass sich an den Imperativ eine enklitische Pronominalform anschliesst. Für sich allein ist der Anschluss des Pronomens freilich noch nicht ausschlaggebend. Bei konsonantischem Anlaute der Pronominalform kann das ausl. *z* nach Belieben wegfallen oder beibehalten werden. Es bleibt jedoch stets vor vokalischem Anlaute der Pronominalform, also da, wo die Abneigung gegen den Hiatus hinzutritt.

Aber auch vollbetontes *lāzen* kann im Imper. sg. sein ausl. *z* aufgeben. Es handelt sich hier vorwiegend um Zusammensetzungen mit untrennbarem Präfix, wie *belāzen, gelāzen, verlāzen*. Der Einfluss des Imper. *tuo* ist auch hier unverkennbar. Alle vorhandenen (oder wenigstens alle mir bekannten) Beispiele fügen sich der folgenden Regel: Komposita von *lāzen*, die sich in ihrer Be-

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deutung nahe mit entsprechenden Komposita von *tuon* berühren, geben ihr ausl. *z* auf; ist dagegen den entsprechenden Zusammensetzungen von *tuon* gegenüber die Bedeutung bei den Zusammensetzungen von *lāzen* eigenartig entwickelt, so behält der Imperativ *lāz* seinen Auslaut. Daher heisst es *gelā* 'gewähre,' aber *belāz* 'erlasse, vergib,' und *ferlāz* 'verlasse.' Ersteres steht seinem Gegenstück *getuo* seiner Bedeutung nach so nahe, dass man beide oft genug ohne Beeinträchtigung des Sinnes vertauschen könnte. Dagegen stehen sich *belāzen, ferlāzen* und *betuon, fertuon* der Bedeutung nach ganz fern; es fehlte also hier die als Grundlage für die Formübertragung unentbehrliche innere (intellektuelle) Verknüpfung.

Dem Imperativ sing. *lā(z)* folgte in der Abwerfung des Auslautes das Präteritum sing. (1. u. 3. Person) *lie(z)*. Über diese beiden Formen geht zu Notkers Zeit der Verlust des *z* bei dem Verbum *lāzen* nicht hinaus. Der Grund ist klar: *lāz* und *liez* sind in dem Formensystem von *lāzen* die beiden einzigen auf *z* auslautenden einsilbigen Formen. Was dem einsilbigen Imperativ recht war, war der einsilbigen Präteritalform billig: es geriet der auslautende Konsonant auch bei ihr ins Wanken. Bei Notker, der die vokalisch auslautende Form im Imperativ schon oft gebraucht, ist sie im Präteritum noch selten. Sie begegnet in den uns erhaltenen Schriften nur an einer Stelle: *Bo.* 126, 2. *Sî lie daz sáng ûz.* (= *Iam finiuerat illa cantum.*) Die Seltenheit der Form im Ahd.[10] gegenüber dem älteren *liez* (*liaz*) erklärt sich daraus, dass sie später als der Imperativ *lā* entstanden ist.

Einer noch jüngeren Schicht gehört die 3. sg. *lāt* im *Memento mori* (Str. 13, 4)[11] sowie *uzlāt* (Glosse zu *effundit*) in den Einsiedler *Prudentiusglossen*, St.-S. II, 522, 47 (Hs. des 11. Jahrh., vgl. Steinmeyers Handschriften-Verzeichnis, *Ahd. Glossen*, Bd. IV,

[10] Sie findet sich ausser an dieser Stelle, so viel ich weiss, nur noch zweimal in der aus Tegernsee stammenden, nach Docen (vgl. Steinmeyer, *Ahd. Glossen*, IV, 561) um 1070 geschriebenen, grossen Glossenhandschrift Clm. 18140: '*indulsit*' *gilie* St.-S. II, 600, 70; '*cesserat*' *gilie* ebd. 602, 57.

[11] In diesem Gedichte (MS. *Denkm.* 3 nr. 30, b; Braune, *Ahd. Lesebuch* nr. 42) sind die sogen. 'kontrahierten' Formen überhaupt sehr beliebt: *vân* (d. i. *fân*, für *fâhen*) 5, 2; *geslât* (3. sg.) 6, 6; *hân* (Inf.) 1, 6; 7, 8; *hât* (3. sg.) 10, 8; *hânt* (2. pl.) 7, 6; 11, 5.

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S. 425, Nr. 120) an.[12] Denn diese Form leitet schon hinüber zu dem mittelhochd. Sprachgebrauche, wo *lā(ze)n* in den Präsensformen dem Muster von *gān* und *stān* folgt, wenn auch mit der Einschränkung, dass *ē*-Formen bei *lān* nicht zugelassen werden. Das Bestehen des von *gān* und *stān* seiner Entstehung nach unabhängigen Imperativs *lā* liefert den Schlüssel für diese sonst unverständliche Einwirkung der *gān*- und *stān*-Formen auf die Flexion von *lāzen*. Freilich auch mit Hülfe dieses *lā* lässt sich *lāt* in der 3. sg. des Indikativs kaum verstehen, wenn nicht vorher schon *lā* aus dem Imper. sg. in den Imper. pl. oder in die 2. sg. des Indikativs eingedrungen war. Derartige Formen sind für die mhd. Frühzeit belegt,[13] und aus dem Spätahd. wohl nur zufällig nicht überliefert.

Das Präteritum *gie* tritt zuerst im *Merigarto* auf, wo es viermal vorkommt (vgl. Schatz, *Altbair. Gramm.* S. 151) und in *Ezzos Gesang von den Wundern Christi* (V. 101). Ob es dem Prät. *lie* nachgebildet ist—was voraussetzen würde, dass Formen wie *lāt, lān* schon vorhanden waren und mit *gāt, gān* in Parallele gesetzt wurden—oder ob es sich unabhängig von *lie* zu den *gān*-Formen des Präsens entwickelt hat, wird sich schwerlich ausmachen lassen. Jedenfalls ist *gie*, der Überlieferung nach zu urteilen, etwas jünger als *lie*.

Das Präteritum *fie, enphie* ist im Althochdeutschen noch nicht belegt. Doch war die Vorbedingung für das Weglassen des Auslautes in Präsensformen wie dem Inf. *fān* (vgl. Anm.[11]) und der 3. sg. *enphāt* (vgl. Anm.[12]) gegeben.

Zu dem Aufkommen und der Ausbreitung der kurzen Präteritalformen wird der Umstand beigetragen haben, dass es mit Hülfe dieser Neubildungen möglich war, bei den Indikativformen der hierher gehörigen Präterita zwischen dem Stamme des Singulars (abgesehen von der 2. sg., die ja aber auch bei den ablautenden Verben im Mhd. eine Sonderstellung einnimmt) und des Plurals einen deutlichen Unterschied zu schaffen und dadurch die Bildung des Präteritums dieser Verba derjenigen der ablautenden Verba anzunähern. Von diesem Gesichtspunkte aus wird es verständlich, dass die kurzen Präteritalformen sich meist nur so lange halten,

[12] In derselben Hs. ist in diesem Zusammenhang die Glosse 'concipit' *enphāt*, St.-S. II, 522, 36 bemerkenswert. Sie verhält sich zu dem (für das Ahd. nicht überlieferten) Präter. *enphie* wie *lāt* zu *lie*.

[13] Die 2. pl. imper. *lāt* z. B. in der *Wiener Gen.*, vgl. ob. S. 210.

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als bei den ablautenden Verben der Unterschied zwischen Singular- und Pluralstamm streng aufrecht erhalten wird. Mit der Ausgleichung beider bei den ablautenden Verben geht der Verlust der Formen *lie, gie, fie* und die ausschliessliche Verwendung von *liess, gieng, fieng* im Neuhochdeutschen Hand in Hand.

HERMANN COLLITZ.

Johns Hopkins University.

OLD FRENCH *ESPOIT*

Under *espoit* Godefroy gives three distinct words, all spelled in the same way. He translates them as follows: (1) *espoit, "jaillissement d'une source"*; (2) *espoit, "becquebois, pivert"*; (3) *espoit, "épieu, broche."* The second and third are well-established Old French forms, proved by numerous citations. They do not need further explanation. It is accordingly with the first only that we are to deal here. Of this Godefroy gives but two citations. The first is from the Arthurian poem of *La Mule sanz frain*,[1] or *La Damoisele a la mure.*

> Lors li a Gauvains recontees
> Les aventures qu'ot trovees:
> De la grant valee et do bois,
> Et de la fontaine a espois,
> Et de l'eve qui noire estoit. Vv. 1091-5.

This passage occurs near the end of the poem, where the author gives a recapitulation of the various incidents of the journey of the hero. All the adventures listed here have been already described more or less in detail in the first part of the work. Therefore, in order to understand *fontaine a espois,* one should read the description of the fountain as found in vv. 214-222:

> En une plainne est descenduz;
> A sa mule a la sele ostee.
> Lors voit il eve en mi la pree,
> Mout pres d'iluec une fontaine
> Qui mout estoit et clere et sainne,

[1] Ed. by R. T. Hill, Baltimore, 1911; also by B. Orlowski, Paris, 1911.

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Et qui mout bien i avenoit.
Avironee entor estoit
De flors, d'epins[2] et de genoivre.
Maintenant sa mule i aboivre.

Thus the fountain is shown to be a clear, wholesome spring surrounded by a mass of bushes, hawthorns, and junipers. It will be noted that there is no reference to the gushing of the water. Why then should this characteristic be specially mentioned in the poet's *résumé*, when it has not figured in his preceding description? Would it not be more natural that a reference to the thicket should be included? One is thus led to ask whether *espois* might not refer to *flors, d'epins et de genoivre*. In Old French we find *espes* as the regular derivative of Latin *spissu* and also *espeis, espois* due to the analogy of *espoisse* < * *spissĕa* and *espoissier* < * *spissiare*.[3] Furthermore, *espois* is used both as adjective and noun, in the latter case having the meaning of "thickness" just like *espoisse*. Cf. *Ne fu puis om qu'il pëust empirier, Ne mais itant l'espes de dous deniers. Coronem. Looïs*, 600-601. For other examples cf. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire*, IX, 543. We have thus seen that *espois* is used like *espoisse* with the meaning of thickness. The latter, however, has frequently a special meaning of a thick mass of woods or bushes, *i. e.*, thicket. Cf.

Tristran se fu mis a la voie
Par l'espesse d'un'espinoie.
Tristran, Bér. 4353-4354.
En un' espoise aval s'en traient. *Ib.*, 1537.

The first of these citations shows that *espoisse* has undergone the gradual process of transformation of meaning from "thickness" to "thicket." As *espois* is used as a substantive, it seems but reasonable that it should have also acquired the secondary meaning of "thicket" which is so evidently appropriate in the passage under discussion.

As for the rhyme of *espois : bois*, there are several instances in *La Mule sanz frain* of *oi* < *ŏ* + *i* : *oi* < *ei*: cf. *joie : auroie*, 81;

[2] In Godefroy's *Dictionnaire* this word is cited as *epus*, and no meaning given. This error was due to Méon's edition of the poem, as explained by a note to v. 221 in my edition. The MS. is clearly *epins*, which is also the reading of the Sainte Palaye copy.

[3] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, I, 111; Thomas, *Mélanges d'étymologie*, p. 51.

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bois : mois, 145; *ançois : bois,* 191. Even as late as the seventeenth century *espois* is found in rhyme with *bois* in Scarron's *Virgile travesti* (*De son gros chef couvert de bois S'exhale maint nuage espois*). On the other hand, if we are to accept *espois* as a plural of *espoit* the *s* must = *ts*. Now, the author of *La Mule* avoids the rhyme of *s : ts,* as I have pointed out in my edition, p. 6. So this forms another argument against *espoit.*

It seems evident, therefore, that in this passage we have *espois,* a well-known Old French form whose etymology and meaning have been demonstrated, and not *espoit* of unknown source and uncertain signification.

It remains now to examine the only other citation Godefroy gives under *espoit, "jaillissement d'une source."* This is from the Old French poem on the *Vie de Ste. Euphrosine.*[4] The verse in which *espoit* occurs is found only in the MS. of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The passage is as follows:

> Pasnutius ses peres fut de riche parage.
> Heredité ot bone qui mut de son linage;
> De l'espoit kin essit ne sai faire estimage.
> Molhier prist honeree ki fut de son terrage.
>
> Vv. 21-24.

It is first of all obvious that the meaning given by Godefroy for *espoit* is impossible here. The question is then to find a solution of the verse. In examining the entire text according to the four MSS., it was discovered that in v. 201 the Bodleian MS. had the verb *espoitier: Li peres convoitos de la chose espoitier.* Here the other three MSS. show the correct form to be *esploitier.* This correction was still further proved by v. 342: *Entretant poras bien de la chose esploitier,* where all four MSS. unite in giving the same reading. By comparing these cases it appears clear that the *espoit*

[4] Paul Meyer, in his *Recueil d'Anciens Textes,* Paris, 1877, part 2, pp. ii-iv and 334 ff., has printed a few strophes of the latter part of the poem as found in the Bodleian and Arsenal MSS. In his *Documents manuscrits,* p. 203, he has published the beginning and the conclusion from the Bodleian MS. only. It is from the latter publication that Godefroy took his citation. Except for these fragments, the *Vie de Ste. Euphrosine* has never been published. The writer of this article has copied all four MSS. of the poem and is now engaged in preparing an edition which he expects to bring out in the near future.

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of v. 23 should be *esploit*.[5] This word means "revenue," "income" in Old French. It fits in appropriately in v. 23. "Pasnutius has inherited a large fortune; so vast is it that the poet cannot estimate the income from it." When one compares this meaning with the interpretation given by Godefroy, it seems to me there can be little doubt as to which is correct.

Since the only two examples of *espoit*, "*jaillissement d'une source*," have been shown to be, not *espoit* at all, but *espois* and *esploit*, and since as far as I have been able to discover, no other instances of *espoit* with the above meaning have been cited in Old French, it seems reasonable to conclude that this definition of Godefroy has no justification.

RAYMOND THOMPSON HILL.

Yale University.

NOTE ON BULWER-LYTTON'S TRANSLATION OF SCHILLER'S *FANTASIE AN LAURA*

The task of rendering into a foreign tongue Schiller's early poems, in which his youthful exuberance often found vent in comparisons and images so extravagant as to render his meaning obscure even to German readers, may well baffle the skill and the patience of the most expert translator. To Bulwer-Lytton the epithet of "skilful" and "expert" must no doubt be conceded; for, if in his *Poems and Ballads of Schiller*[1] we sometimes look in vain for the vigor and poetic glow of the original, we are hardly ever disappointed as far as the correctness of the rendering is concerned. But Bulwer was also a painstaking translator, as will appear from the facts here to be discussed.

The leading thought of Schiller's *Fantasie an Laura* (first published 1782, in the *Anthologie*), as is well known, is formed by the idea that sympathy, the laws of attraction, of affinity, of love, not

[5] The loss of *l* after a consonant or when final is one of the characteristic traits of the Oxford MS.; cf. *aute* for *autel*, *qui* for *qu'il*, *de* for *del*, *boie* for *bloie*, *escarcie* for *esclarcie*, etc. This is one of the well-known peculiarities of the Walloon dialect to which this MS. belongs. Cf. *Romania*, XVI, 121; XVII, 565; *Poème Moral*, in *Rom. Forsch.*, III, p. 107.

[1] London, 1844, 2 vols. Here the *Tauchnitz Edition* (Leipzig, 1844) is quoted.

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only rule over the macrocosm of the heavenly spheres, but also govern our human emotions. Even sensations diametrically opposed are subject to this eternal law. Thus, joy is forever linked to pain, hope to despair, delight to melancholy. On the other hand, Hell attracts vice, and Heaven rejects it, sin is followed by shame and remorse, renown by danger; pride goes before the fall, envy clings to Fortune, voluptuousness causes premature death.[2] The stanzas, however, in which Schiller expresses this idea, are fraught with strange conceits; they are indeed "überspannt" and betray an "allzu unbändige Imagination," to use Schiller's own words in his review of the *Anthologie* in the *Wirtembergisches Repertorium*.[3] The stanzas in question (9-14) read:

Gleich allmächtig, wie dort in der todten
Schöpfung ewgem Federtrieb,
Herrscht im arachneischen Gewebe
Der empfindenden Natur die Lieb'.

Siehe, Laura, Frölichkeit umarmet
Wilder Schmerzen Ueberschwung,
An der Hoffnung Liebesbrust erwarmet
Starrende Verzweifelung.

Schwesterliche Wollust mildert
Düstrer Schwermuth Schauernacht,
Und entbunden von den goldnen Kindern,
Stralt das Auge Sonnenpracht.

Waltet nicht auch durch des Uebels Reiche
Fürchterliche Sympathie?
Mit der Hölle bulen unsre Laster,
Mit dem Himmel grollen sie.

Um die Sünde flechten Schlangenwirbel
Scham und Reu', das Eumenidenpaar,
Um der Gröse Adlerflügel windet
Sich verräth'risch die Gefahr.

Mit dem Stolze pflegt der Sturz zu tändeln,
Um das Glük zu klammern sich der Neid,
Ihrem Bruder Tode zuzuspringen
Öffnen Armes, Schwester Lüsternheit.[4]

[2] Cf. *Schiller's lyrische Gedichte*, erläutert von H. Düntzer, Leipzig, 1874, pp. 305-311.

[3] Düntzer, p. 35.

[4] This is the text of the *Anthologie* as given in Goedeke, *Schillers sämmtliche Schriften*, I, pp. 209-211, Stuttgart, 1867.

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For a while Bulwer was entirely at a loss as to the meaning of these lines, and was particularly puzzled by the expression "Goldene Kinder." In his predicament he asked the advice of his friend Carlyle in a letter (hitherto unpublished), the original of which we find in the large collection of autographs and general correspondence of Varnhagen von Ense, the well-known historian and miscellaneous writer (1785-1858), now in the possession of the Royal Library of Berlin.[5] The letter is not unworthy of the author of *Pelham:*

My dear Sir:—

Will you forgive me for resorting to you in a difficulty. In Schiller's poem of "Fantasie to Laura," Stanza 11, what does he mean by "goldenen Kindern"—. Is this any allusion, do you suppose, to some passage in German Poetry with which I am unacquainted?—or does he mean the Golden Children to refer to the Frohlichkeit (*sic*) of one Stanza and the Schwesterliche Wollust of the other (rather tawdry as well as obscure if he does)—or in short what the deuce does he mean by his Golden Children.—The only golden Children worth having, poor Men—(which the Cavalier Wits under Charles II used to call Golden Boys)—were certainly not more in his mind than in his pocket—tho' they have no small connexion with Frohlichkeit & Wollust.—To say the truth I don't clearly comprehend his general idea from Stanza 10 to 14, that is—I don't see how far these stanzas are pertinent either to Love or to Laura— . . . but I don't ask Schiller to give me general understanding—I have a right to ask him the intention of his own children—Golden or otherwise.

Forgive my intrusion
& believe me
truly yours
E. L. Bulwer.

To this Carlyle added the following marginal note, for Varnhagen's and our own enlightenment. "Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer Bart.; —written probably two years ago: it appears he was then translating some things of Schiller's for Blackwood's Magazine."[6]

[5] Cf. Ludwig Stern, *Die Varnhagen von Ensesche Sammlung in der Kgl. Bibl. zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1911, *sub* Bulwer, p. 119.

[6] Bulwer's translations were first printed, in an order which somewhat

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Carlyle's answer is not known to us; but answer he did—although his explanation did not quite meet the case. For the only "variant" which is to be discovered in the *Blackwood's* text as compared to the book-edition refers precisely to the ominous eleventh stanza. It reads in the Magazine:

> Of sister-kin to melancholy Woe,
> Voluptuous Pleasure comes, and with the birth
> Of her gay children, (golden Wishes,) lo,
> Night flies, and sunshine settles on the earth.

To this, Bulwer adds a note which begins: "Literally 'the eye beams its sun-splendour,' or, 'beams like a sun.' For the construction that the Translator has put upon the original (which is extremely obscure) in the preceding lines of the stanza, he is indebted to Mr. Carlyle."

It was only later that Bulwer discovered—or was told—the real meaning of the stanza, and in the book-edition the five stanzas quoted above, including the puzzling eleventh, are correctly translated:

> Mighty alike to sway the flood and ebb
> Of the inanimate Matter, or to move
> The nerves that weave the treacherous web
> Of Sentient Life—rules all-pervading Love!
>
> Ev'n in the Moral World, embrace and meet
> Emotions—Gladness clasps the extreme of Care;
> And Sorrow, at the worst, upon the sweet
> Breast of young Hope, is thaw'd from its despair.
>
> Of sister-kin to melancholy Woe,
> Voluptuous Pleasure comes, and happy eyes
> Delivered of the tears, their children, glow
> Lustrous as sunbeams—and the Darkness flies!
>
> The same great Law of Sympathy is given
> To Evil as to Good, and if we swell
> The dark account that life incurs with Heaven,
> 'Tis that our Vices are thy Woocrs, Hell!

differs from the book-edition, in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vols. 52-54, the first instalment appearing in the issue for September, 1842 (vol. 52, p. 283 *sq.*). In a short preface the author proclaims his general principle of "translating line by line, and of assigning to each poem the same number of verses as contents the idea in the native German." The *Fantasie to Laura* was printed in vol. 53, pp. 638-639, May, 1843.

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In turn those Vices are embraced by Shame
And fell Remorse, the twin Eumenides.
Danger still clings in fond embrace to Fame,
Mounts on her wing, and flies where'er she flees.

Destruction marries its dark self to Pride,
Envy to Fortune: when Desire most charms,
'Tis that her brother Death is by her side,
For him she opens those voluptuous arms.

The opening sentences of the note have also been changed. Bulwer first quotes the German text of st. 11, line 3-4, explaining that the "Golden Children of the Eye" are the tears. The remainder of the note is identical in the two editions: The author points out the obscurity of the poem, gives a plausible explanation of the leading thought, and justifies his free renderings: "The connecting links [of the idea] are so slender, nay so frequently omitted, in the original, that a certain degree of paraphrase in many of the stanzas is absolutely necessary to supply them, and render the general sense and spirit of the poem intelligible to the English reader."

This is no doubt correct; but unfortunately additions such as "Ev'n in the Moral World," or "If we swell the dark account that Vice incurs with Heaven" sound rather prosaic and are detrimental to that impression of rugged impetuousness that is the chief charm of the youthful Schiller. It is cases like these—rare cases, indeed,—that would seem to justify G. H. Lewes's rather unfavorable estimate of the book given in a note to Varnhagen, of March 27, 1844:[1] "Bulwer has recently published a translation of Schiller's Gedichte, with a Life. I have only dipped into it here and there, but fear it will be found more Bulwer than Schiller."

WALTHER FISCHER.

Würzburg.

[1] Cf. Stern, *l. c.*, *sub* Lewes (unpublished).

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THE FABLE AS POETRY IN ENGLISH CRITICISM

In a discussion of the rimed fable in England (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXI, 206) I hazarded the use of the prose Aesop in the schools as an explanation of the rather odd fact that we have no collection of fables in verse from the days of Henrisone to the end of the sixteenth century. The enthusiastic veneration for Aesop as a poet manifested by Lydgate and Henrisone gave place to a more familiar regard for him as a teller of moral or pithy anecdotes. True as I believe this conjecture to be, on the whole, a fair presentation of the case calls for a recognition of the fact that during this period we have an expression of critical opinion specifically referring to Aesop as a poet, and to the fable as a form of poetry. A consideration of the extent to which the poetic concept of the fable prevailed and the extremes to which this was carried in a later century would seem a necessary complement to the previous discussion.

It was no reminiscence of Latin elegiacs or medieval regard that called forth the first and most famous pronouncement in the Elizabethan period, but the Puritan attack upon poetry. When that began, the exemplary and moral character of the fable made Aesop, the poet, a valuable ally for the defense, and it is in this capacity that he appears in Sidney's eulogium of the poet, in which we are told that "the Poet is indeed the right Popular Philosopher, whereof *Esops* tales give good proofe."

This passage and that in which Sidney declares that "Infinite proofes of the strange effects of this poeticall invention might be alledged," citing the fable of Menenius Agrippa, are too well-known to need quotation.[1]

Sidney's conception of poetry was quite in accord with renaissance theory; its defense was its ethical import.[2] Furthermore, Sidney conceived of poetry as determined rather by the creative invention of the writer than by any canon of form. A more strictly æsthetic theory was in process of formulation even with Sidney himself, but his influence was such as to assist in

[1] *Apologie for Poetrie*, Arber's Reprint, p. 35 and p. 41.

[2] *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith, Oxford, 1904, I, xxiv ff.

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the continuance of this identification of fable and poesy. It is clearly with Sidney before him that Davenant writes in the preface to *Gondibert*, 1651:

> And it appears that Poesy hath for its natural prevailing over the Understandings of Men (sometimes making her conquests with easie plainness, like native country Beauty) been very successful in the most grave, and important occasions that the necessities of States or mankinde have produc'd. For it may be said that Demosthenes sav'd the Athenians by the Fable or Parable of the Doggs and Wolves, in answer to King Philip's Proposition;[3]

then follows an allusion to the famous telling of the fable of the Belly and the Members by Menenius Agrippa.

Bacon no more than Sidney escapes the medieval tradition which gave to the allegoric in poetry a high value. He too seems to include fable among the kinds of poetry. In *De Augmentis Scientiarum*,[4] 1623, he speaks of "Parabolical Poesy" as being of a higher character than either Narrative or Dramatic, and points out how it serves for a double use and contrary purposes, being employed both for "an enfoldment," and for "illustration." "In the latter case," he remarks, "the object is a certain method of teaching, in the former an artifice for concealment." As a method of teaching, "Parabolical Poesy" was useful in bringing ideas "nearer to the sense" by a "kind of resemblances and examples." "And hence," he continues, "the ancient times are full of all kinds of fables, parables, enigmas, and similitudes, as may appear by the numbers of Pythagoras, the enigmas of the Sphinx, the fables of Aesop, and the like." Fables, however, are more or less obsolete, he concludes, for "Fables, as has been said elsewhere, were formerly substitutes and supplements of examples, but now that the times abound with history, the aim is more true and active when the mark is alive."

The author of *Hudibras*, in the observations scattered through his notebooks, expresses himself much in the tone and manner of Bacon, although he conceives only one of Bacon's two functions of "Parabolical Poesy," or allegory, as we should say, namely, the illustrative. The other he denies. His comments on the nature of the fable deserve a passing notice:

[3] *The Works of Sir Wm. Davenant*, London, 1673, p. 19.

[4] Ed. Ellis and Spedding, Re-ed. J. M. Robertson, London, 1905, p. 593; see also in *Adv. of Learning*, ibid., p. 88.

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Men take so much Delight in lying that Truth is sometimes forced to disguise herself in the habit of False-hood to get entertainment as in Fables and Apologues frequently used by the Ancients, and in this she is not at all unjust, for Falshood do's very commonly usurp her Person.[5]

This passage, which in a rather contradictory way seems to admit a kind of "Enfoldment," after all, as a function of allegory, hits at the essential nature of the fable, indicating it as a device to give common-place truth an attractive appearance of novelty. For the most part, however, Butler has use for allegory only when it serves to convey some unfamiliar or little-obvious truth. But the high value he places on fables he expresses thus:

The easiest way to understand Truth is by Fables and Apologues that have nothing at all of Truth in them. For Truth ha's little or nothing to do in the Affayres of the World, although all things of the Greatest weight and moment are managed in her Name, like a weake Princesse, that has the Title only, and Pretence and Falsehood all the Power.

Sidney emphasized the power of the fable to influence men's conduct through an appeal to their imaginations; Bacon, although still in a way identifying fable and poesy, emphasizes the value of fable as a means of illuminating the understanding; Butler sees in the fable a means of utilizing for good man's natural depravity. If Butler had been speaking of the fable even more distinctly as a poetic form, this idea of its falsity would have been in complete agreement with the renaissance and medieval idea that poetry was an agreeable form of lying. These two ideas, that the end of poetry was moral instruction[6] and that poetry was essentially false,[7] old as the days preceding Aristotle, surviving to the age of English Anne, did something to put the fable theoretically in prominent place among poetic forms in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Add to these the confusion arising from the two separate meanings bound up in the very word "fable," and we have a situation which distorts and confuses values most notably. The word

[5] *Characters and Passages from Note-Books*, ed. A. R. Waller, Cambridge, 1908, pp. 282, 401, 397, 478. See also p. 443.

[6] *Literary Criticism*, Spingarn, N. Y., 1899, 7 ff., 19 ff., 270; *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, Butcher, London, 1907, 215 ff., 238-239.

[7] Spingarn, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

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"fable" today, of course, means both a distinct form of allegory, and also plot or argument. Formerly no sharp distinction was made between these two meanings. Even in Aristotle's day the same word was used for both ideas, namely μῦθος, although for the Aesopic tale αἶνος and γέλοιος were also used. The Latin word "*fabula*" continued the confusion.

The common association of the two concepts with the word "fable" appears in Dryden's "Remarks on the Empress of Morocco:"[8] "If," he writes, "they [i. e. dramatists] invent impossible fables, like some of Aesop's, they ought to have such morals couched under them, as may tend to the instruction of mankind, or the regulation of manners, or they can be of no use; nor can they really delight any but such as would be pleased with Tom Thumb, without these circumstances." Dryden is here merely saying that if dramatists' plots are as lacking in probability as Aesop's fables, to have any merit at all, they should at least be as useful as those fables. Dryden is not identifying the two ideas.

In Blackmore and Dennis, however, we get a complete identification of the two meanings of the word, and also an insistence upon the moral end of poetry. In the Preface to *Prince Arthur*, 1695, Sir Richard Blackmore shows how completely "Universal" and "Allegoric," "Fable" and "Plot" were identified:

> An Epick Poem is a feign'd or devis'd Story of an Illustrious Action, related in Verse, in a *Allegorical*, Probable, Delightful and Admirable manner, to cultivate the Mind with instructions of Vertue. 'Tis a feign'd or devis'd Discourse; that is, a *Fable;* and so it agrees with Tragedy and Comedy. The word Fable at first signified indifferently a true or false story, therefore Cicero for distinction used *Fictas Fabulas* in his Book *de Finibus*. But afterwards Custom obtain'd to use the word always for a feign'd Discourse. And in the first Ages, especially in the Eastern World, great use was made by Learned and Wise Men of these feign'd Discourses, Fables or Apologues, to teach the ruder and more unpolish'd Part of Mankind. . . . So Thales, Orpheus, Solon, Homer, and the rest of the great Men in those ages have done, and the famous Philosopher Socrates is by some affirm'd to be the Author of many of the Fables that pass under Aesop's name.

Confusion is apparent when Blackmore finds it necessary to dilate on Aesopic fable in a discussion of the argument of an

[8] *Works*, ed. Walter Scott, London, 1808, xv, 412.

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epic or the plot of a tragedy. The deep gulf fixed today between the two sorts of narrative, the one allegoric, and the other typical or universal, did not exist.

And John Dennis, who did not feel that Blackmore had laid sufficient stress upon the didactic in the epic, comes out flatly in his rejoinder, "On the Moral and Conclusion of an Epick Poem:"

> Now I know no difference that there is, between one of Aesop's Fables, and the Fable of an Epick Poem, as to their Natures, tho' there be many and great ones, as to their circumstances (i. e. incidents to be treated, setting, style, etc.). 'Tis impossible for a Poet to form any Fable, unless the Moral be first in his Head.[9]

Other criticism of the type appeared in the eighteenth century periodicals, and still other in the prefaces and miscellaneous writings of the eighteenth century indicating a reaction against the excessive popularity of the form, but this survey will be sufficient to show the process by which the fable came to occupy a rather important position in the criticism of the seventeenth century, and by a species of annexation, to figure beside the epic and the tragedy. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the Swiss critics, Bodmer and Breitinger,[10] following out lines of thought not dissimilar, with their insistence on the marvelous in poetry (falsity), and its moral aim, arrived by strictly logical processes at the conclusion that among poetic kinds, the first place should be accorded to—the Fable. Goethe laughed.[11]

It appears, then, that even before the revival of the rimed fable in England, and during the period of the prose Aesop, there were voices asserting the poetic rank of the fable, at least by implication; but although these were notable, they found influence in this regard, which indeed was but incidental with them, only in the following century, Sidney with Davenant, and Bacon with Butler. The extravagance to which ideas inherent in their utterances were later pushed would have met with only contempt from them.

Syracuse University. M. ELLWOOD SMITH.

[9] *Original Letters*, London, 1721, p. 4.

[10] *Kritische Dichtkunst*, 1740. The chapter on which Goethe comments is by Bodmer, not Breitinger. *J. J. Bodmer Denkschrift*, Theo. Vetter, Hans Bodmer, Hermann Bodmer, Zürich, 1900, p. 23. Also *J. J. Breitinger Sein Leben u. seine Litterarische Bedeutung*, Hermann Bodmer, Zürich, 1897, I, 74.

[11] *The Autobiography of Goethe*, trans. J. Oxenford, N. Y., 1895, I, 218.

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The custom has been to regard Salomon Gessner as a strong inspirer of pastoral in the eighteenth century, especially in France. At the same time a certain humanitarian attitude toward animals and children discernible in his idyls is asserted [1] to have influenced English writers from Cowper to Wordsworth and Coleridge, and the problem of a sinner as presented in *Der Tod Abels,* which was translated into English as early as 1761, undoubtedly affected both Wordsworth and Coleridge. On the other hand the revival of a freer, less pseudo-classical interest in Shakespeare during the century and the poetry of Burns exercised similar influences on the substance of English literature. As to the effect of Gessner on German literature the accounts vary in their ascription of importance to it.

In regard to the development of German pastoral from Gessner on, additions are needed to Mr. H. E. Mantz's *Non-Dramatic Pastoral in Europe in the Eighteenth Century.*[2] The Swiss painter of landscapes, Gessner,[3] after reading Amyot's French translation of Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe,* produced in prose *Die Nacht* (1753), *Daphnis* (1754), a pastoral romance, and the first series of *Idyllen* (1756), of which the last work founded his reputation firmly. These idealistic idyls are typical of most of his work, for they are smooth, agreeable, moral in treatment of characters, sensuous in selection of details to form a harmonious and beautiful view of nature at different times of year. The simple topic of *Amyntas* [4] is the helping of a tree liable to be swept away by a torrent, and a delightful winter landscape distinguishes *Daphnis.*[5] The purpose of the series was to describe a Golden Age, and mildly to follow Theocritus. Next came *Der Tod Abels,* a Biblical epic of a sentimental pastoral tone. This was inspired by Brockes' *Irdisches*

[1] B. Reed, "The Influence of Salomon Gessner Upon English Literature," *German American Annals,* New Series, vol. III, nos. 3, 4, 5, 9, vol. IV, nos. 3, 4 (1905-6).

[2] *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.,* XXXI, 421-427.

[3] Both the Swiss Haller and Gessner's friend Hagedorn may have influenced Gessner.

[4] Series I, 7.

[5] Series I, 4.

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Vergnügen in Gott, and by the efforts of his Swiss friend, Bodmer, who had attempted the verse epics *Die Sündflut* (1751) and *Noah* (1752), weak patriarchal imitations after Klopstock's early cantos of the *Messias* (1748). Gessner's work, with its touch of "Anacreontic" rococo, now exerted a considerable influence, some in England, much in France.

His powers again showed a stronger sensibility than they did an appetite for homely realism in the second series of *Idyllen* (1772). The rather realistic idyl by Ewald von Kleist, *Irin* (1758), which presents a father's advice to his son and his pious thanksgiving for escape from a storm at sea, influenced Gessner even as Gessner had affected Kleist. In *Das hölzerne Bein*,[6] Gessner displayed a degree of Wordsworthian interest in the coincidences occurring in the lives of humble people as well as sounded a note of Swiss battles for freedom. Moreover, in a use of light and shade not unlike work of the painter, N. Poussin, whom Gessner much admired, he developed a sharp yet agreeable contrast in mood between the tempest in the first part of *Der Sturm*[7] and the final pious disposition of the treasure saved from the shipwreck. *Der Sturm* may well have suggested to Stolberg the partly Ossianic poem *Hellebek* (1776) and to St. Pierre, the friend of Rousseau who approved Gessner, effective devices for *Paul et Virginie*.

The slight tendency to realism which arose from Gessner's[8] simpler manner in prose and his depicting of nature, together with other forces such as Thomson's *Seasons*, Kleist's *Frühling*, Gray's *Elegy*, and Goldsmith's writings, encouraged the natural temper of the Göttinger Dichterbund to a treatment in verse of life rural, if not strict pastoral. Further inspiration to the same result came from Friedrich ("Maler") Müller, whose earlier painting inclined to shepherdry and Netherlandish tastes and some of whose idyls, *e. g.*, *Die Schafschur* (1775), treated peasants with realism. In this work, Walter declares in regard to certain literary treatment of shepherds: "das . . . was uns alle Tage vor Augen kommt und ans Herz geht, davon pipfen sie kein Wort." But the Bund had already produced genuinely realistic idyls of rural folk and con-

[6] Series II, 22. [7] Series II, 20.

[8] In the introduction to *Gessner's Werke* by A. Frey, vol. XII, Deut. Nat. Lit., is an interesting array of Goethe's, Herder's, Gervinus' and Schiller's opinions on Gessner and on the pastoral.

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tinued to do so after the departure of Müller to Italy. Instances are J. M. Miller's *Klagelied eines Bauren* and *Fritzchens Lob des Landlebens* (1772), with its homely longings and reminiscences; Hölty's *Das Feuer im Walde* (1772) and the "Schnitteridylle," *Christel und Hannchen* (1774) with its simple references to the pastoral life of Rachel and a moonlight evening, a poem in its manner looking forward to "The Gleaners" of Millet and "The Song of the Lark" of Breton. A little later were M. Claudius' *Morgenlied eines Bauermanns* (1777), *Abendlied eines Bauermanns* (1778), and the good humored *Ein Lied hinterm Ofen zu singen* (1783), rural songs with touches recalling some of Burns's; and Voss's idyls in Low German and especially *Luise*[9] (1782-84 for its first appearance in three parts), with a Homeric atmosphere. *Luise* paved the way for Goethe's epic pastoral *Hermann und Dorothea* (1798), which has a perfect and delightful variety of sincere mood and natural character, and sounds in the distance the din of French wars after the Terror. In 1803 appeared what Goethe praised highly, Hebel's *Alemannische Gedichte*. Nearly all of the realistic poems since the idealistic idyls of Gessner treated not the life of shepherds, but that of peasants in the country, for the opportunity for genuine portrayal of the latter was much greater. None of them is a pastoral in the narrowest sense of the word, and there is but one except Goethe's that is closely in the spirit of the Old Testament pastoral, the second of Hölty's mentioned above.

A similar realistic development took place in England with a certain influence on the German writers in the seventies. Whether the later German development of Voss and Goethe exerted a return influence on the height of realistic poetry in England in the person of Wordsworth cannot be determined from evidence available at present.

All that can be said is that there is a possibility. In the autumn of 1798 Wordsworth and Coleridge went to Germany to acquire the German language. What Wordsworth accomplished before his return to England in the spring of 1799, and how far he continued the reading of German up to 1800 is not evident from ac-

[9] Cf. *The Cotter's Saturday Night* and its model.

[10] Cf. for references to war Gessner's idyl mentioned above and Collins' fourth *Oriental Eclogue*.

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counts or letters now published. His sister Dorothy, who accompanied him wrote from Goslar:

"Coleridge is very happily situated at Ratzeburg for learning the language. We are not fortunately situated here, with respect to the attainment of our main object, a knowledge of the language. We have, indeed, gone on improving in that respect, but not so expeditiously as we might have done, for there is no society at Goslar. . . . So we content ourselves with talking to the people of the house, &c., and reading German. William is very industrious."[11]

On the other hand we have two letters[12] from Coleridge to Wordsworth, in which he discusses the limitations of German hexameters. His translation of Stolberg's *Hymne an die Erde*[13] and of Schiller's self-defining hexameters[14] indicate part of his reading in this meter. Among other examples he could have read at the time were *Hermann und Dorothea,* Voss's idyls and his remarkable translation of Homer, idyls by Stolberg including *Hellebek,* Hölty's *Christel und Hannchen,* and Klopstock's *Messias.* It is not unlikely that Coleridge read some of Voss's and Goethe's hexameters. If he did so and discussed them by letter with Wordsworth, it is possible that Wordsworth also read hexameters for part of his training.

He would consider it unnecessary to acknowledge a debt to the Germans for their realistic encouragement, since a marked English tendency in the latter part of the eighteenth century led obviously in the same direction. He had, moreover, done work of the sort in *Simon Lee* and *The Cumberland Beggar.*[15] But the realistic eclogue treating an English shepherd remained to do in the *Michael* of 1800.[16]

E. C. KNOWLTON.

Cambridge, Mass.

[11] *Letters of the Wordsworth Family,* ed. Wm. Knight, Boston and London, 1907, I, pp. 119-20.

[12] Chr. Wordsworth, *Memoirs of William Wordsworth,* London, 1851, I, 140 ff.

[13] *The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge,* ed. Shedd, N. Y., 1854, VII, pp. 277-9.

[14] *Ibid.,* VII, 332.

[15] *Lyrical Ballads,* 1798.

[16] This point, together with some suggestions as to the continuation of pastoral in the nineteenth century, I intend to treat elsewhere.

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LEMAÎTRE'S *BERTRADE*

It is generally conceded that Jules Lemaître is first and foremost a critic and that his creative work is accomplished by virtue of his fine and acute critical perception. On the other hand the critical sense may produce one result while with the same theme the creative power may arrive at another result totally different from the first. As a concrete instance, one may suggest a possible genesis for Lemaître's *Bertrade,* produced in November, 1905.

About a year after the *Théâtre Libre* had begun its career, Lemaître reviewed [1] one of its productions, *Rolande,* by Louis de Gramont. The situation of the play is briefly this,—Rolande promises her dying mother to protect her young brother, guard the honor of the family, and save, or at least watch over her father in his immoral career. After a summary of the action, crass as it is and full of the garishness of license newly acquired, the critic expresses his verdict,—"le vrai sujet de ce drame est évidemment la lutte du père et de la fille." [2] He regrets the long absence of Rolande from the stage, while the father's downward career is being pictured in detail, for her character in its energy and strength of purpose merits a more conspicuous place. In order to give point to "cette lutte singulière et vraiment tragique" [2] between father and daughter, Lemaître desires other encounters between the two, although, as he says, "de les motiver et d'en graduer les effets, c'était l'affaire de l'auteur, et je ne dis point que ce fût facile." [2] He wishes to see Rolande in various states of mind, "parmi des doutes et des déchirements de conscience, passer, par piété filiale, de la fermeté résignée du commencement à l'indignation désespérée et à la sainte impiété de la fin." [3] Her father, Montmorin, should undergo a revulsion of feeling, "un suprême réveil de tendresse humble et repentante, et que, avant de retourner à sa fange pour jamais, il eût ce mouvement, de se refugier auprès de cet ange et de se mettre lui-même sous sa garde. Que sais-je, moi?" [4] But Montmorin is a pathological case and incurable. He would not, therefore, have shot himself, even with the police at the door, but

[1] *Impressions de Théâtre,* IV, pp. 321-331.
[2] *Ib.,* p. 325. [3] *Ib.,* p. 325. [4] *Ib.,* p. 326.

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would have wept and trembled and implored Rolande not to do him harm. It is Rolande who should kill him as the police enter. "Et je vous assure," Lemaître continues, "qu'en insistant davantage sur le caractère de la jeune fille, en nous découvrant plus à fond ses sentiments et ses souffrances, on nous eût fait accepter ce parricide. Ne le croyez-vous pas?"[5] His idea would have created in Rolande an heroic figure with a father who has ceased to be accountable for his acts, in whom the power of will is atrophied. We have then so far a poorly planned play, possessing however a fundamental situation of which Lemaître sees the possibilities of development. He presents in *Bertrade* a situation essentially the same.

Bertrade de Mauferrand has been sent to a convent for her education and then to the secluded provincial home of an aunt, while her father, freed from responsibility towards her, has pursued his riotous career of piling debt upon debt. Thus the very contrast between their modes of living presages a struggle between them, if ever a situation makes one dependent on the other. Bertrade's fortune from her mother has long ago been swallowed up, leaving as its only trace the quick suspicion in the mind of the Marquis that his daughter on that account feels a bitterness towards him. This bitterness does not, however, exist, for she hopes to marry a distant cousin, not rich, but a genuine worker, to whom the lack of a dowry is of no importance. The first favor she has ever desired from her father is now at hand,—that he should agree to their marriage.

At the same time, however, de Mauferrand realizes from his lawyer, who has always obtained money for him by some means or other, that the outermost limit has been reached and that the only possible solution lies in a wealthy marriage for Bertrade. A friend of his, Chaillard, whose fortune has been gained by questionable means, now offers himself as a suitor, proposing conditions very advantageous to the Marquis. Such a marriage to retrieve the fallen fortunes of a noble family is by no means uncommon in life or in literature. Bertrade is, however, not of the type to which it would be possible. In Gramont's play, Rolande also has a lover, whom she sends away, for she considers her duty of watching over her father more important than her personal happiness.

[5] *Ib.*, p. 327.

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Bertrade, on the other hand, refuses to save her father by an unworthy marriage and requests his consent to a just one.

When matters have thus reached an *impasse* between the two, a second solution presents itself. A woman who has had a place in de Mauferrand's early youth appears, now secure before the world as the widow of an Austrian baron, whose fortune she has doubled by her keen practical mind. What she now desires is social prominence. She already possesses the chief mortgages on the property of the Marquis and duplicates Chaillard's offers. In return, the price is not Bertrade, but the Marquis himself. His refusal at hearing the offer is as instantaneous and absolute as his daughter's had been.

After some weeks, when the Marquis has had time to realize his desperate situation, he is seriously considering the Baroness as a refuge. A rumor of this has been conveyed to Bertrade, who now finds her father with both marriage contracts before him, awaiting the signature of one or the other. Up to this point, father and daughter have been opponents and practically strangers in spite of their bond of blood. The encounters between the two, which Lemaître desired to see in Gramont's play, he has indeed portrayed, but he has marked them by obstinacy on each side, rather than by affection or emotion. Therefore this final scene must be something more than a fresh contest of wills. It must have an emotional power arising from the fact that they are, after all, father and daughter, in whose lives natural affection has been reduced to an unnatural minimum. Like the earlier drama, *Bertrade* has a final scene where the police, figuratively speaking, is before the door, bringing disgrace and dishonor to the head of a proud family. In both cases it is the daughter who arouses in the father his better nature, who saves him his self-respect and the honor of his name. With this re-awakening of de Mauferrand's comes a recognition of his daughter's worth and a glimpse of what his life might have been, had he lived with her from childhood,— "tu représentais en dehors de moi le meilleur de mon sang." But it is too late. He cannot accept her proposal that he live a quiet life with her after her marriage to Hubert and see his mountainous debts paid off gradually, but she has shown him another way better than the disgraceful bargain with the Baroness. He promises not to sign the marriage contract, and with a kiss of genuine feeling,

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he sends her away without having aroused her suspicions. Alone, he brings out a pistol with a jesting remark that the Baroness had never dreamed of such a rival. A laconic message to Bertrade is written,—"Epouse Hubert et priez pour moi." He then ends his career with the same sang-froid with which he has lived.

In the interim between the criticism of *Rolande* and the writing of *Bertrade*, Lemaître produced several plays. How has he utilized his former ideas and what remains of them? His chief interest in Gramont's play lay in Rolande, whom he desired to see raised to such a plane of action that a deed of parricide would be conceivable. Nothing in Lemaître's dramas before 1905 hints at an attempt or an ability to portray an epic figure of those proportions. His characters are cast rather in an everyday mould, the sentiments and motives of which he enables us to read to the last nuance. Bertrade then, though still the center of interest as the title indicates, has become a young woman whose pride in her ancestry is coupled with ideals induced by living among those whose gospel is uprightness and work. She intends to save her father from dishonor to himself and their name, but in so doing, and entirely unwittingly, she forces him to suicide. If his resolution to die is due to her appeal to his honor, it must be that he sees death as a refuge from something cowardly and ignoble. The decision thus lies with him and he has the strength to choose the better course. He is therefore far from being a pathological case like Rolande's father, and is likewise far from the sentimental transitory penitence suggested by Lemaître's criticism. He is a consistent, care-free pleasure-seeker and therefore a spender, who at the very end catches a glimpse, through his daughter's eyes, of another kind of life. He has now reached the ultimatum and accepts it coolly. The father and daughter in Lemaître's drama have therefore nothing in common with the other two, except the idea of their opposition, ending in suicide. The plot indeed has some resemblance to Gramont's and to Lemaître's ideas of its possibilities in 1888, but ceasing to act as a critic, Lemaître has created two totally different characters and with them has grown a new play.

SARAH MOREHOUSE BEACH.

University of Wisconsin.

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A FORERUNNER OF MILTON

A careful reading of two significant passages of *Paradise Lost* warrants the assumption that Milton was one of the progressive thinkers who accepted the Copernican theory. Lord Bacon in *The Advancement of Learning* had dismissed it as untenable, and Milton's friends, the Smectymnuans, in 1641 had called it absurd. Other reasons, however, impelled Milton to base his epic on the old-established Ptolemaic system. About it were gathered the rich imaginative associations that the poet needs, while the rival theory was still a debated question in the schools. Nevertheless, it seems certain that Milton's scientific studies at Cambridge and Horton had convinced him of the truth of Copernicus' teaching, and that he gave it as unguarded approval as was possible in a poem that, for poetic reasons, rests on another philosophical belief.[1]

A much more positive argument for the Copernican theory is found in Henry More's *Psychathanasia,* published at Cambridge in 1642 and reprinted in 1647.[2] The author entered Christ's College in 1631, shortly before Milton left it. More's tutor there was William Chappell, who had served as Milton's tutor before his rustication. More also contributed a short poem in Greek to the memorial for Edward King, in which *Lycidas* first appeared. These facts at once arrest attention. But More remained in close touch with the university throughout his life, and, with his fellow Platonists, followed the advance of scientific investigation more closely than Milton, disgusted as he was with academic methods, cared to do. In the *Psychathanasia,* then, he appeared as the outspoken and somewhat discursive champion of the new astronomical theories. Twenty-five years later Milton, substituting suggestion for argument, took virtually the same position that his predecessor had held.

More's case against the "stiff-standers for ag'd Ptolemee" presents a strange combination of Platonic mysticism and rational science. His first argument is "theosophical." The neo-Platonists assumed the existence of a potent spiritual force as the moving principle of the universe. More calls this force, in Plato's language,

[1] *P. L.*, 4, 592-597; 8, 15-178. [2] Book 3, canto 3.

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" that bright Idee of steddie Good," and, in Christian terminology, " that eternall light which we call God." About it, he asserts, " all things in distinct circumference move." But this central force of the universe is the archetype of the sun in the solar system, and about the sun, therefore, the planets must revolve;

> So doth the Earth one of the erring Seven
> Wheel round the fixèd sunne, that is the shade
> Of steddy Good, shining in this Out-heaven.

Such mystical reasoning would be convincing only to an early Platonist, and the angel Raphael in *Paradise Lost*, in speaking of the earth as one of the seven revolving planets, wisely says nothing of it.

Having thus " fairly prov'd the sunnes stability," More has next to demonstrate the revolution of the earth on its axis, by which he would explain the succession of day and night. His opponents judged him mad for so seeming

> to shake the stable earth,
> Whirling her round with turns prodigious.

If the earth should spin so rapidly, they argued, objects would hurtle from its surface into space, trees would whistle in the wind as they rush madly on, and beasts, hiding in terror, would be brained in their caves. Furthermore, clouds could rise only in the east, and an arrow shot skyward could not fall at the bowman's feet. All these objections might have been refuted from Galileo's experiments on falling bodies, which had proved the force of gravitation. Strange as it may seem, however, in so progressive a thinker, More flatly rejected the theory of gravitation.

> What they pretend of the Earths gravity,
> Is nought but a long taken up conceit:
> A stone that downward to the earth doth hy
> Is not more heavie then dry straws that jet
> Up to a ring, made of black shining jeat.

To account, then, for the impulsion of all objects to the earth's center, More assumes the existence of a central spirit of the earth that binds all things to it;

> Gravity is nought but close to presse
> Unto one Magick point, there near to enter;
> Each sympathetick part doth boldly it adventure.

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But this force is spiritual, not physical. The arrow, he explains, "hath one spirit with this sphere" and in the air moves eastward with it. All else is bound to the earth by the same spiritual sympathy;

> So every stone on earth with one commotion
> Goes round, and yet withall right stifly strives
> To reach the centre.

With such reasoning More answered the objections raised against the supposition of the earth's rotation.

In the positive argument that follows this refutation, More reasons on broader principles and seemingly anticipates Milton. Adam, we remember, in conversation with Raphael, wonders that the sun and stars are forced to revolve in such measureless orbits about the tiny earth, "that better might with far less compass move." More, likewise, on the authority of Moses ben Maimun, argues that

> each good Astronomer is ty'd
> To lessen the heavens motions vainly multiply'd.

and that it is wrong to attribute these circuits to the sun and stars, since

> The earths motion might
> Save that so monstrous labour, with lesse pains,
> Even infinitely lesse.

More anticipates Milton, also, in rejecting as unnecessary the whole complicated theory of cycle and epicycle, elaborated to explain the apparently irregular movements of the stars. Adam is shown by Raphael the presumption of astronomers who "build, upbuild, contrive to save appearances," and

> Gird the Sphere
> With Centric and Eccentric scribbled o'er,
> Cycle and Epicycle, Orb in Orb.

But Milton's criticism of the ingenuity of the astronomers is less caustic than More's:

> Here 'gins the wheelwork of the Epicycle:
> Thus patch they Heaven more botch'dly then old cloths
> This pretty sport doth make my heart to tickle
> With laughter, and mine eyes with merry tears to trickle.

Both More and Milton see that the Copernican theory has rendered all this complicated figuring needless;

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> All this disordred superfluity
> Of Epicycles, or what else is shown
> To salve the strange absurd enormity
> Of staggering motions in the azure skie;
> Both Epicycles and those turns enorm
> Would all prove nought, if you would but let flie
> The earth in the Ecliptick line yborn.

The *Psychathanasia* presents the opposed astronomical theories more comprehensively than Milton could do in these explanatory passages of his epic. But there is nothing in Milton's explanation that was not to be found in More's poem twenty-five years earlier. One need not therefore add another item to the ever growing list of sources for *Paradise Lost*. A reading of the *Psychathanasia* simply shows that Milton was as well grounded in seventeenth-century scientific teaching as in history, literature, and philosophy. The two poems, also, taken so together, illustrate the distinction made in *Paradise Regained* between appreciative, creative scholarship and the mere acquisition of facts.

ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON.

The State University of Iowa.

SOURCES OF HEINE'S *SEEGESPENST*

No investigation of the sources of Heine's well-known *Seegespenst* has hitherto been undertaken. Indications point very plainly, however, to the fact that Heine's real inspiration for the main outlines as well as for a number of details of his poem was Ludwig Tieck's *Der Pokal*. (*Schriften*, Berlin, 1828, vol. 4.)

Der Pokal has for its chief motive the illusion of finding again a long-lost love, young and living as in former days. This motive is foreshadowed in the vision of the cup and amplified in the second portion of the story. In the account of the cup-vision the effect is of a subjective sort, due first to the intent gazing upon the cup and second to the magic influence of the aged Albert. In part two of the story, on the other hand, the effect produced upon Ferdinand is more in the nature of delusion, superinduced by a combination of outward circumstances turning the mind of Ferdinand to the past, particularly to the scene of the cup-vision. The

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effect depicted in part two is in no small measure due to the memory of part one. The skill with which the author depicts the ever-increasing strength of the spell in part two is considerable. Ferdinand's conduct after he first sees the bride, his remarks to the bridegroom concerning her, his soliloquy that night in his chamber, his still greater perturbation and excitement the following day in the bride's presence, his complete delusion at the wedding-feast and the beginning of his later conversation with the mother of the bride—these are the steps in an ever-increasing conviction on the part of Ferdinand that he is beholding before his eyes his Franziska, young and beautiful as in former days. The story has three sub-motives: the cathedral scene, the vision of the cup and the scenes in the old house after the lapse of many years. The salient points in the first of these are (1) the people, old and young, hurrying across the market-place and to the adjoining cathedral, among them many maidens; (2) the figure of the maiden who is the heroine of the story, modest, beautiful, blue-eyed, golden-haired and clad in rustling silk; (3) the church-service with its saddening effect upon the young lover; (4) the Christian atmosphere of the whole, emphasized by the presence of the cathedral and the portrayal of the church-service, together with the church-goers and priests. In the vision of the cup we have the gazing into the depths of the goblet; the distant music with its saddening effect; the sparks dropping into the cup; the smiling vision of the maiden; the youth's passionate grasp for this vision; and lastly the breaking of the illusion, and the red rose. Very cleverly the author here makes illusion and fact merge delicately into one fabric, when he tell us how a few hours later, as Ferdinand waits for a glimpse of his sweetheart as she passes in her carriage, she leans towards him with the same wonderful smile and there drops from her bosom to his feet a red rose. In the third of the subordinate motives the leading features are, the old house, the same as in part one of the story; the young bride, the image of his lost love; the goblet and the gazing into its depths.

The chief motive of Heine's *Seegespenst* is, like that of *Der Pokal,* the illusion of the finding again of the long-lost beloved, young and living before the eyes of the lover. As in *Der Pokal* the hero sees his beloved by gazing into the "waves" of the wine within the cup and fully expects to see the vision of part one rise again, so in the *Seegespenst* it is through intent gazing into the

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depths of the sea that the narrator at length beholds the vision below. There is also the same idea in both of earnest thinking on the beloved, who indeed, so deep is the love, crowds every other thought into the background in the mind of the passionate lover. In a word, the illusion is produced by the same general method in both instances. The sub-motives of the *Seegespenst* are the situation of the narrator at the beginning and the close, the city beneath the sea, the beloved in the old house, and the attempt of the narrator to become united with her again. The first of these is traceable, not to Tieck, but to E. T. A. Hoffmann, who, in his *Der goldne Topf* (*Gesammelte Schriften*, Berlin, 1873, vol. 7) writes: "Der Student Anselmus sass in sich gekehrt bei dem rudernden Schiffer, als er nun aber im Wasser den Widerschein der in der Luft herumsprühenden und knisternden Funken und Flammen erblickte; da war es ihm, als zögen die goldnen Schlänglein durch die Fluth. . . . So rief der Student Anselmus und machte dabei eine heftige Bewegung, als wolle er sich gleich aus der Gondel in die Fluth stürzen. 'Ist der Herr des Teufels?' rief der Schiffer und erwischte ihn beim Rockschoss." With this may be compared the parallel situation in the *Seegespenst*. The city beneath the sea is, of course, the Vineta legend, which the poet merely uses as a setting for the market-place, cathedral scene with which the rest of the poem has to do. That it is really the similar scene in *Der Pokal* which he is here following is confirmed in the first place by the fact that this Vineta is a Christian spot, with a cathedral and a host of church-goers, whereas the Vineta legend proper has to do with a city utterly pagan. The market-place of the *Seegespenst* likewise teems with people young and old, and its general description is very closely allied with that of *Der Pokal*. Golden-haired maidens, slender, clad in silk, modest in behavior, with tripping steps,—these in the poem are but reflections of the same things in the story, where, to be sure, they are applied to Franziska alone. Between this sub-motive and the next occur certain lines in the poem in which we are told that the narrator is moved by the sound of distant music and bells to a great feeling of sadness and yearning. Aside from the motivation arising from the situation itself—the melancholy circumstances under which he finds his beloved again—we find here certain distinct echoes from *Der Pokal* (Cf. p. 399). The dropping of the blood into the depths below, suggested by the words early in *Der Pokal* (p. 395) is also the direct reflec-

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tion of the sparks dropping into the cup (p. 400), for, as the drops of blood complete the union whereby the lover again beholds his beloved below, so in *Der Pokal* the dropping sparks fulfil the charm whereby the vision rises from the cup. Even the sadness is directly suggested by the words in *Der Pokal* (p. 399): "Immer stärker ward die Musik . . . dass . . . ihm die Thränen in die Augen stiegen." The beloved in the old house likewise shows unmistakable points of similarity with *Der Pokal*. The maiden sits here smiling, which seems odd enough in view of her pitiable condition; we must remember that in *Der Pokal* the image comes forth *smiling* from the cup (p. 400). She has also concealed herself out of childish whim, as in *Der Pokal* she has married another at hearing that her lover had married, and had lived for years in the same city, unknown to both. In the poem the maiden has been here for centuries, which is, of course, a lengthening of the decades of *Der Pokal*, in keeping with the decidedly more transcendental nature of the Vineta setting. Thus, too, she is here among strangers, unable to leave, as Franziska had so many years been among strangers, among those whom she did not love as she had loved Ferdinand. The house itself is a combination of the description of Albert's house in part one of *Der Pokal* and that of part two (pp. 397, 408 f.). The same age, size and solitude are apparent in both. The attempt of the narrator in the *Seegespenst* to become united with his beloved by plunging down with outstretched arms, whereby the spell is broken, is taken from *Der Pokal*, where Ferdinand passionately reaches for the vision (p. 401). The title of the poem itself, as well as the general Vineta setting, may very probably have been suggested by Ferdinand's own comment upon the situation at the close of *Der Pokal* (p. 415): "Es ist wie eine schauerliche Geistergeschichte, wie wir uns verloren und wieder gefunden haben," together with the gazing into the depths of the wine earlier, in the scene at the wedding-feast (p. 412).

It becomes apparent, therefore, that the leading motives and many details in *Der Pokal* have given Heine the initial suggestion for his poem, although in their use he has exhibited a truly genial poetic skill in the adaptation and nice handling of his material.

P. S. Barto.

Carnegie Institute of Technology.

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REVIEWS*

The Unmarried Mother in German Literature, with special reference to the period 1770-1800, by OSCAR HELMUTH WERNER, PH. D. New York, Columbia University Press, 1917.

The author states (page viii) that "this dissertation was undertaken primarily to find, if possible, a more satisfactory explanation than has been given hitherto for Goethe's utilization of the theme of unmarried motherhood with its consequent infanticide in his 'Faust.' . . . The investigation was not limited, therefore, to the field of belles lettres but included all literature of the period which might have a bearing on the subject." The body of the book consists of three chapters, entitled: I. Traditional Status of the Unmarried Mother; II. The Humanitarian Revolt of the Eighteenth Century; III. The Literary Reflex of the Revolt in the Storm and Stress Period. Chapter IV is devoted to Concluding Observations, which are followed by a Bibliography and an Index.

An investigation in this field cannot well be expected to bring to light many startling new facts, as the various phases of the subject have previously been touched upon by other scholars—the salient points of Chapter III, for example, by Erich Schmidt in his *Heinrich Leopold Wagner.* The merit of the book must chiefly be sought, therefore, in its orderly arrangement and amplification of the material which serves as a setting for the literature of Storm and Stress. The bulk of this material originated in the Mannheim Contest of 1781, when von Dalberg offered a prize of 100 ducats for the best essay on the prevention of infanticide. Some four hundred contributions were received, and for a number of years subsequently numerous other essays on the subject were written and published, together with criticisms of them. In addition to these reviews, the contemporary journals gave accounts of the more striking cases of infanticide, statistics, and letters from travelers dealing with various aspects of the subject. It is this material which Dr. Werner has undertaken to collect and to study, and a Bibliography of twelve pages testifies to his industry. "With a few exceptions only the literature which could be had in this country is listed, therefore no claim to completeness of the list of productions on unmarried motherhood during this period is made." But

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completeness is the chief virtue of all bibliographic lists. Even with the given qualification, the author's facilities seem to have been in some respects limited. First-hand use has been made of the *Deutsches Museum* and the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, but the *Neue Allgemeine Bibliothek* seems to have been inaccessible, while the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, the most important critical journal of the period, is conspicuous by a single reference. An examination of the indices of these two publications would have yielded a considerable body of new material, the more important titles of which are added below:

Neue Allg. Deutsche Bibl. XII, 116: J. D. Michaelis, *Zerstreute kleine Schriften gesammelt*, 1. Lief., Jena, 1793. Contains an article entitled: "Warum hat Mose in seinem Gesetze nichts vom Kindermord? Ein Zusatz von J. D. Michaelis zu seinem mosaischen Rechte." Michaelis was one of the three judges of the Mannheim Contest. This article had previously appeared in the *Magazin der Wissenschaften und Litteratur*, Göttingen, Volume IV, 2, pp. 84-152, and was reviewed in *Schotts Bibliothek der neuesten juristischen Literatur*, 1786, I, 142.

Neue Allg. Deu. Bibl. XIV, 407: *Briefe über die wichtigsten Gegenstände der Menschheit. Geschrieben von R. und herausgegeben von S. T. U. 2 Theile, Leipzig*, 1794. Number XIV is entitled: "Ueber das Problem: wie es anzufangen sey, dass es keine Kindermörderinnen mehr gebe. An Herrn Justizrath W. zu O."

Neue Allg. Deu. Bibl. XIX, 36: *Freymüthige Gedanken, Wünsche und Vorschläge über den Kindermord und über die Mittel, denselben zu verhindern.* Stendal, Franz und Grosse, 1793, 78 pp. This is probably a second edition of the work listed by Werner on page 113, line 6, as the number of pages is identical.

Neue Allg. Deu. Bibl. XXI, 447: *Neue peinliche und bürgerliche Rechtsfälle. . . .* Erster Band, Zeitz und Naumburg, 1794. No. VIII: "Geschichte einer des Kindermordes verdächtigen, mit Staupenschlägen und ewiger Landesverweisung bestraften Weibsperson."

Neue Allg. Deu. Bibl. XXII, 78: *Themis und Comus, oder juristische Frucht- und Blumenlese, von einem Barden.* Leipzig, 1794. 234 pp. II. Stück: "Auch eine Untersuchung der Frage: Welches sind die ausführbarsten Mittel, dem Kindermorde Einhalt zu thun?"

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Neue Allg. Deu. Bibl. XXXVIII, 140: *Untersuchung, ob der Verschuldung einer Kindermörderinn die Todesstrafe angemessen ist.* Von C. A. H., Leipzig, 1798. 56 pp.

The following references are to the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* of Jena:

1785, I, 230: *Drei Preisschriften über die Frage.* . . . Mannheim, 1784. Other reviews appeared in *Allg. Deu. Bibl.* LXIII, 81 (Werner, p. 112) and in *Allgem. juristische Bibl.* V, 1, 56.

1785, II, 6: *Nachtrag zu den Abhandlungen über die besten und ausführbarsten Mittel,* etc., Tübingen, 1785. 52 pp. Reviewed also in *Schotts Bibliothek der neuesten juristischen Litt.,* 1785, I, 15. Werner, p. 113, lists the 1782 edition, the title of which should read: . . . *über die beste ausführbarste Mittel.* . . . It also has 52 pages, and the motto: Qui vult unum, velle etiam debet alterum.

1786, I, 417: *Unvorgreifliche Betrachtungen über die drey zu Mannheim gekrönte Schriften von der besten ausführbaren Verhütung des Kindermords.* Dresden und Leipzig, 1785. 64 pp. Reviewed also in *Schotts Bibliothek,* 1785, II, 374; *Tübinger gelehrte Anzeigen* 1786, p. 119; *Neue Leipziger gelehrte Zeitungen* 1785, IV, 2443.

1786, I, 433: Birnstiel, F. H., *Versuch, die wahre Ursache des Kindermords aus der Natur- und Völkergeschichte zu erforschen und zugleich daraus einige Mittel zur Verhinderung dieses Staatsgebrechens zu schöpfen.* Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1785. 204 pp. Reviewed also in *Tüb. gel. Anz.* 1785, p. 746; *Neueste kritische Nachrichten,* Greifswald, 1786, p. 216; *Schotts Bibliothek* 1786, I, 167.

1788, I, 290: *Statistische und politische Bemerkungen bey Gelegenheit einer Reise durch die vereinigten Niederlande.* 1788. 121 pp. Anonymous, but written by von Barkhausen, and previously published in letter form in the *Deutsches Museum,* 1781, II, 277. The fact is brought out that from 1732 to 1788 only 79 persons had been executed in the Netherlands for infanticide, and that these all belonged to the lowest classes. The exceedingly low annual average is attributed in part to the existence of the Foundling House in Amsterdam.

1788, IV, 737: Pfeil, J. G. B., *Preisschrift von den besten.* . . . *Mitteln.* . . . Leipzig, 1788. Reviewed also in *Allg. D. Bibl.*

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LXXXVIII, 90 (Cf. Werner, p. 114); *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1788, II, 1206; *Tüb. gel Anz.* 1788, p. 489; Feder und Meiners, *Philosophische Bibl.* II, 232; *Schotts Bibl.* 1788, p. 49.

1793, I, 293: *Der Kindermord. Zur Beherzigung an alle meine Mitmenschen.* Rostock und Leipzig, 1792, 216 pp. Reviewed also in *Neue Allg. D. Bibl.* VIII, 40; *Tüb. gel. Anz.* 1793, p. 337.

J. G. Schlosser's well-known essay, *Die Wudbianer,* discussed by Werner at various places, was reviewed in the *Tüb. gel. Anz.* 1786, p. 718; *Allg. Deu. Bibl.* LXVII, 91; *Allgem. jurist. Bibl.* VI, 1, 29. It also had the distinction of being translated into Danish: *Wudbianerne, et Priisskrift af J. G. Schlosser.* Kopenhagen, 1789. Cf. *Allgem. Lit. Zeit.* 1789, *Intelligenzblatt* No. 132, p. 1096.

Various other journals likewise contain articles and reviews bearing on our subject:

Journal von und für Deutschland, 1786, I, 231: "Geschichte einer Kindsmörderin in der Reichsstadt Speyer." This article, written by a citizen of Speyer named Weiss, begins as follows: "Blutschänder, Mordbrenner und Mörder zugleich, den Gesetzen nach, und doch ein Jüngling von edler Seele seyn, ist, seitdem uns der vortreffliche Meissner, ihn in seinen Skizzen nicht idealisirt, sondern dem Faden der wirklichen Geschichte pünctlich getreu, so unnachahmbar schön geschildert hat, nicht mehr Erdichtung kranker Empfindeley, ist historische Wahrheit." Weiss then proceeds to tell the story of an infanticide, as a parallel to Meissner, the first volume of whose *Skizzen* had appeared in Leipzig, 1778. The last story but one in this collection has for its title the opening words of the above article, and is said to be based on an actual event in Brandenburg. A detailed review of Meissner's book may be found in Part II of the *Anhang* to Vols. 25-36 of the *Allg. Deu. Bibl.,* p. 718 ff.

In the *Journal von und für Deutschland,* 1786, II, 53, there is another "Beytrag zur Geschichte des Kindermordes, nebst der Liste der Gebornen und Gestorbenen in den Mecklenburg Schwerinischen Stadtpfarreyen." This is anonymous. The same journal, 1785, I, 500, gives a tabulation of the illegitimate children born in the various provinces of Prussia during the years 1783 and 1784, the headings of the columns being Male, Female, Town, Country. The totals are 7221 for the year 1783 and 9061 for 1784.

Posselts wissenschaftliches Magazin für Aufklärung, I, 39, has

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an article entitled: "Kann die Todesstrafe auf den Kindermord ohne Verletzung der göttlichen Gesetze abgeschaft werden, und ist es rathsam, dieses zu thun oder nicht?" In Vol. III of the same magazine, pp. 129 and 240, are two other contributions: "Ueber die besten und ausführbarsten Mittel, den Kindermord zu verhüten." A similar one is found in *Amalthea für Wissenschaft und Geschmack*, II. Band, Erstes Stück. In the *Braunschweigisches Journal* for 1789, 2. Stück, is an article by S. Heinecke: "Ueber die besten Mittel, dem Kindermorde zu wehren, und zugleich die Sittlichkeit unter der gemeinen Volksklasse zu vermehren." Similarly, the *Magazin für gemeinnützige, interessante und unterhaltende Lectüre* for 1785, I. Theil, has an article "Vom Kindermord," which is reviewed in *Schotts Bibliothek*, 1786, II, 412. In the *Deutsches gemeinnütziges Magazin*, 1787, I. Jahrg., 1. Quartal, there is a "Geschichte eines Kindermords, nebst einigen allgemeinen Betrachtungen über diese Handlung, und deren Bestrafung," by Ch. U. Dtl. v. Eggers, the editor.

The journals just cited are all of a more or less popular character: at the opposite extreme is a Latin inaugural dissertation on this subject: *D. i. de Infanticidio a matribus in recens natos infantes commisso et quibusdam eius impediendi remediis, quam praes. J. Ph. Buchero prop. aut. Gli. Dn. Claver.* Rinteln, 1785, 38 pp. 4°. This was reviewed in *Schotts Bibliothek* 1786, II, 240 and in *Klübers kleine jurist. Bibl.* II, 5, 65.

In conclusion, I would call attention to Eschenburg's[1] review (in Part II, pp. 764 f., of the *Anhang* to Vols. 25-36 of the *Allgem. Deutsche Bibliothek*) of Wagner's *Kindermörderinn*, Leipzig, 1776, which Erich Schmidt, in his discussion of the contemporary opinion of this play, likewise failed to note. Eschenburg does not see how the first act could possibly be represented on the stage, and presumes that the author had hardly hoped to see his play acted, but had intended to present a series of tableaux portraying the dangers of luxury to the middle class, and the terrible consequences of a mother's carelessness or thoughtlessness.

"Und aus diesem Gesichtspunkte betrachtet, muss man dem

[1] The review is signed *Mo.* As this sign is ascribed to Eschenburg in the case of an almost simultaneous review in Vol. XXXIII, pp. 496-498, of the *Allg. Deu. Bibl.* (Cf. Meyer, *Goethe-Bibliothek*, No. 187), his authorship of the present review is hardly open to question.

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Verf. allerdings sehr viel Verdienst zugestehen, sehr viel Talent in der treuen Nachahmung der Natur, in Handlung, Gesinnung und Sprache der theilnehmenden Personen. Freylich sind die Farben oft zu stark aufgetragen; die Züge oft zu kühn, und, wir möchten fast sagen, gar zu natürlich; aber man schätzt in der Malerey auch den Ostadischen Geschmack."

Karl Lessing's adaptation: *Die Kindermörderinn, so wie sie abgeändert auf dem deutschen Theater zu Berlin im Jenner* 1777. *aufgeführt worden ist. Berlin, bey Himburg,* is declared a failure:

"Der Umänderer hätte gar wohl voraus sehen können, dass es ein missliches, fruchtloses Unternehmen sey, so ganz heterogene Dinge mit einander vertauschen, eins in das andere umschmelzen wollen. Gerade so sonderbar, als wenn man ein Niederländisches Gemälde in ein Italiänisches umzuzeichnen und umzukoloriren versuchen wollte. Die besten, originellsten Züge werden dabey verwischt; alles Eigenthümliche verschwindet; und man weiss am Ende nicht mehr, was für ein Zwitterwerk man vor sich hat. Ganz ist diess zwar der Fall bey dieser Umänderung nicht: denn sie ist nicht ohne Schonung gemacht, und sehr vieles ist ganz unverändert beybehalten; aber das Weggelassene ist nicht allemal das Schlechtere, und noch seltener das, was dafür in die Stelle gesetzt ist, das Bessere. Und im Grunde ist viel stehen blieben, wodurch die Aufführung verhindert werden muste."

W. KURRELMEYER.

Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans, by EDWIN MILLER FOGEL, PH. D. Philadelphia, Americana Germanica Press, 1915. iv + 387 pp.

Philologists have long since recognized that the dialect of the German settlers of Pennsylvania, far from being unworthy of consideration as the bastard jargon of an uncultured population, well repays careful study as containing many dialectical forms which have disappeared in Germany. The first monograph on the dialect was that of Professor Haldemann of the University of Pennsylvania, read as a paper before the Philological Society of London and subsequently (1872) printed in Philadelphia. Since then many articles and papers on Pennsylvania German have appeared, the more important of which are the handbooks of Rauch (Philadelphia, 1880) and Gibbons (New York, 1882); M. D. Learned, *The Pennsylvania German Dialect,* Baltimore, 1886; H. H. Reich-

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ard, *Pennsylvania German Dialect Literature*, Johns Hopkins University Dissertation, 1911 (not yet in print). Thru the efforts of the late Professor Learned the Pennsylvania German Society was founded in 1891 and the volumes of its *Proceedings* contain much valuable information.

Several collections of Pennsylvania German superstitions have appeared in the last few years,[1] but they are all fragmentary when compared with the present volume, which comprises over two thousand popular sayings. The items are printed in a phonetic notation devised by the author himself. His reasons for adding another system to the many already in existence are threefold: there is no uniform German system and the systems of Viëtor, Passy, Heilig and Langenscheidt he avoids because the volume is to be freely used by non-phonetically trained persons; and, finally, the English and American systems were impracticable in the case of a German dialect.

To the items in the dialect are added English translations and parallels from German folklore, particularly that of the upper Rhine, the Palatinate, Baden, Württemberg and the Alsace; wherever possible, cognate superstitions current in the English counties are given. Professor Fogel points out that only about 100 of the total number are purely British, 269 are common to Great Britain and Germany, 1,400 have German correlatives and the remainder, about 20 per cent., seem to be of Pennsylvania German origin. The author attributes this preponderance of German correlatives over the British to a less thoro collection of British superstitions; but it is hardly fair to lay the blame entirely at the door of English folklorists, for it is not to be assumed *a priori* that England and Germany must have all their superstitions in common.

One cannot repress the thought that the book might have been more serviceable if an index had been added. Classification by topics does not entirely supply this want, especially since a number of the groups overlap. Thus it is not quite clear why a distinction should have been made between "Omens and Wishes" and "Luck and Omens of Luck," since the latter is merely a subdivision of the former. So we have No. 326 as a special case of

[1] See *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, I, 125; IV, 321; V, 176 and the literature cited by Fogel on p. 5.

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the more general Nos. 474 and 481, which declare the breaking of a mirror to be an ill omen. Some omens are interpreted in various ways, as for example, the meeting of a spider in the morning, which is asserted to be an ill omen according to No. 289, indifferent according to No. 288, and a good omen according to No. 446. Nor do these differences of opinion always correspond to different localities, since the last three are all found together in Lancaster County. Again, some of the dream omens might have been listed with the "Omens of Death" (Nos. 258, 261, 269, 270, 271, etc.). A certain amount of overlapping of the groups is, of course, unavoidable, but a system of cross-references, if kept within bounds, would have done much to weld the disjointed items into an organic whole.

Further, superstitions of similar intent might have been better grouped within the compass of the sections; for example, Nos. 40, 43 and 99 belong together; similarly, 92-94 and 105; 79 and 130; 219 and 238; 401, 443 and 462-464. Likewise some repetitions have crept in: No. 65 is word for word like No. 151 and other duplicating pairs are: 162 and 170; 332 and 387; 367 and 395, 304 and 390; 934 and 941.

One wonders if it were possible to determine from the language whether a superstition is borrowed from Anglo-Saxon tradition or is part of the original stock brought by the settlers from Germany. As a matter of fact, undoubtedly old proverbs contain many English words: No. 135, grik (creek); No. 141, b̥ēl (veil); Nos. 174 and 175, bō (beau); No. 183, hands schēken; No. 245, tschumpe (jump); No. 303, disappoint (disappointed). Others apparently Anglo-Saxon appear only in pure dialect as Nos. 291 to 294. An adaptation of old proverbs and sayings to the new surroundings has also taken place and it would seem therefore to be almost impossible to separate the new from the old on the basis of language alone. So in No. 561 the owl of the Suabian folklore has been replaced by the whippoorwill.

The energies of the collectors of folklore in this country have until now been largely devoted to the assembling of a mass of Indian legends and negro superstitions with a consequent neglect of the folklore current among the whites. It is perhaps too much to expect that material will be collected which has not also survived in the European homes of our white settlers, but much benefit can be derived by completing the collections already made with con-

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tributions from the States. The work of Professor Fogel is a valuable addition of most carefully selected and thoroly sifted material which cannot fail to be of great assistance to the student of folklore, for the time is here when we must not be content with merely accumulating, but must turn to the task of analyzing and interpreting the huge harvest of popular mythology and superstition which has been garnered in the past century.

TAYLOR STARCK.

Smith College.

The Contemporary Drama of Ireland. By ERNEST A. BOYD. Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1917. Pp. viii + 225.

Mr. Ernest A. Boyd has prepared for the Contemporary Drama Series, under the general editorship of Professor Richard Burton, a volume on the Irish Drama, uniform with the work recently published by Professor Thomas H. Dickinson, *The Contemporary Drama of England.* Mr. Boyd was more fortunate than Professor Dickinson in having a single, well-defined dramatic movement as the theme of his little book—a theme covering a shorter period and with less manifest affiliation with the preceding corpus of dramatic composition. He traces the development of the drama in Ireland from the founding of the Irish Literary Theatre in 1899 to the present time. Professor Dickinson had the less pleasant task of calling to our attention sundry artistic crimes that alleged English playwrights had committed in the name of drama during the earlier years of the Victorian age.

Mr. Boyd's opening chapters, outlining the first efforts of Edward Martyn, George Moore, and William Butler Yeats, are followed by a well-digested account of the Irish National Theatre and a fairly detailed summary of Mr. Yeats' poetic contributions to the movement. The plays of John M. Synge and of Padraic Colum are adequately treated in a chapter entitled "The Impulse to Folk Drama." In a chapter on "Peasant Comedy" is a review of the plays of Lady Gregory and William Boyle, while all the remaining writers are more summarily treated as "Later Playwrights" or in the following chapter on the Ulster Literary Theatre. It may be questioned whether George Fitzmaurice deserves

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as much attention as Mr. Boyd gives him, or whether, on the other hand, T. C. Murray and Norreys Connell should be dismissed with a few lines. Connell, in fact, is not even mentioned in the extensive bibliography appended to the book and only two of his plays are named in the text.

Although Mr. Boyd has evidently taken pains with his bibliography, there are several slips and omissions that should be noted. On p. 60 we are told that Yeats revised *The Land of Heart's Desire* in 1912; on the opposite page that the revised version was produced in 1911, which is correct, as the revival occurred at the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, on February 16, 1911. There is apparently no reference whatever in text or bibliography to William Boyle's *The Love Charm,* produced at the Abbey Theatre, September 4, 1911, nor to his recent play, *Nic,* played at the same theatre on October 25, 1916. Lord Dunsany's *The Gods of the Mountain* is adequately treated in the text, but is omitted (p. 202) from the list of his works. Other omissions are St. John G. Ervine's *Compensation,* produced 1911 in London, and Lady Gregory's first play, *Twenty-five,* which is mentioned in the text. The same holds true of Edward Martyn's *The Place Hunters. The Enchanted Sea* of the text (pp. 22, 27) becomes *An Enchanted Sea* (p. 204) when it reaches the bibliography. Rutherford Mayne's play, *If,* is mentioned, both in text and in bibliography, as produced in 1915. The correct date is Belfast Opera House, November 25, 1913. Mayne's *Evening,* produced at the same theatre on March 2, 1914, is not mentioned.

T. C. Murray's first play, *The Wheel of Fortune,* produced at Cork, December 2, 1909, is ignored in the text, though listed in the bibliography. No reference is made, however, to the revised version, *Sovereign Love,* produced at the Abbey Theatre, September 11, 1913, and at the Court Theatre in London, June 8, 1914. Seumas O'Kelly's play, *The Stranger,* is twice mentioned in the text (pp. 149, 150) but is not listed (p. 205). O'Kelly's *Driftwood,* played at the Gaiety Theatre, Manchester, October 11, 1915, is apparently not familiar to Mr. Boyd. The date of O'Kelly's *The Bribe* is not 1914, as given, but Abbey Theatre, December 18, 1913. To the list of Lennox Robinson's plays should be added *The White-headed Boy* (Abbey Theatre, December 13, 1916), which was produced after Mr. Boyd compiled his bibliography.

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In dating the publication of Synge's *In the Shadow of the Glen* and *Riders to the Sea* as 1905, Mr. Boyd has overlooked the earlier appearance of these plays in *Samhain*, December, 1904, and October, 1903, respectively.

It would be unjust if these comments led to the inference that Mr. Boyd's bibliography has been carelessly done. There are innumerable opportunities for minor errors in dealing with the date of production and publication of plays, and no bibliographer of contemporary drama can print his material with absolute confidence in the accuracy of his data.

JOHN LOUIS HANEY.

Central High School, Philadelphia.

Ludovico Ariosto: Gli Studenti (Commedia) con le Continuazioni di Gabriele e Virginio Ariosto. A cura di ABDELKADER SALZA. Città di Castello: Casa Editrice S. Lapi, 1915. 16mo., lxv + 182 pp.

This is the best modern edition of Ariosto's so-called *La Scolastica*. It comprises a preface, an appendix containing variants, Ariosto's *Gli Studenti* (unfinished), and the continuations by his brother, Gabriele, and his son, Virginio. Virginio's work, hitherto thought lost, has been discovered by the editor in a new MS. in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence.

The preface, in seven chapters, deals with the sources of the present text, and contains a detailed description of the new MS., a bibliography, and an historical account of the play (Chap. I), including its completion by the Ariosti. Salza's bibliography of editions of *La Scolastica* (Chap. II) is the most nearly complete ever published, but not reliable. He appraises the various editions of *La Scolastica* (Chap. III), in many cases giving their history. He describes in detail (Chap. IV) Gabriele's MS. of *La Scolastica*, in the Bib. Comunale at Ferrara; the various editions founded upon this MS., none of which he considers of value; and the new MS., *L'Imperfetta*, which he has discovered. He studies the sources of his edition (Chap. V), which he entitles as Ariosto intended—*Gli Studenti*. (The author's title was, exactly, *I Studenti*.) The text is based on Virginio's newly discovered MS., *L'Imperfetta*, and also

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on Griphio's edition of 1547. Virginio's prologue, lacking in the new MS., has been reproduced from Barotti's edition of 1766; for Barotti declared that he copied it directly from Virginio's autograph. Gabriele's ending of *Gli Studenti* has been taken for the most part from Griphio's edition of 1547, rather than from Gabriele's autograph MS. at Ferrara, because this MS., besides containing many gaps, was probably revised by Gabriele himself for Griphio's edition. Finally, we are given seven illustrations of the superiority of Virginio's text (*L'Imperfetta*) over Griphio's edition and Gabriele's MS.

In Chap. VI Salza gives brief biographies of Virginio and Gabriele Ariosto. In Chap. VII he discusses the historical and literary importance of Ariosto's comedies, and explains in detail the plot of *Gli Studenti* with its two endings. He prefers that of Virginio, averring that it is "migliore . . . nella forma e nel verso, e, che più importa, nell' invenzione." This may be true; but we cannot all agree with Salza when he goes so far as to say that *Gli Studenti* would have been Ariosto's *best* comedy, if the author had completed it. There are many who consider *I Suppositi* and *La Cassaria* Ariosto's most sparkling comedies, and *La Lena* his most powerful play.

Salza's bibliography is the least praiseworthy part of his work; for he has accepted as authority not only bibliographers like Brunet, but also thoroughly unreliable bibliographers, such as Guidi. He has consulted, he says, besides the commoner ones, the bibliographies of Melzi-Tosi, Guidi and Tambara, and in mere completeness he has left little to be desired.

The bibliographies, however, abound with errors. For example, Graesse's bibliography (1859) records an edition of Ariosto's *I Suppositi* in verse, dated 1542. Brunet (1860) makes the same mistake. Probably what Graesse meant was that there is a copy of *I Suppositi* in prose, dated 1542,—information which he obtained from Gamba (1839), who in turn got it from Alacci (1755), whose testimony on this point happens to be correct. Salza himself (*Prefazione*) says that Mazzuchelli, Baruffaldi and Polidori cite an edition of *La Scolastica* of 1546, each deriving the information in turn from the other, but that, as this edition has not been seen by anybody, it must be considered as not existing. Either those editions alone which the editor has himself seen should have

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been mentioned, in which case the library where each is to be found should have been noted; or those he has not seen should have been distinguished from the others.

Salza notes (Chap. III) thirty-six editions of *La Scolastica* (1547-1883). Sixteen of these he appears to be personally acquainted with; he does not tell us whether he has seen the remaining twenty or not. Four of the twenty do, in fact, exist, for I have seen them, as well as the sixteen probably known to the editor. But if the sixteen remaining editions noted by Salza exist, they must be extremely rare. Of these sixteen, six are quoted from Ulisse Guidi, *Annali delle Edizioni e delle Versioni dell' Orlando Furioso*, Bologna, 1861, namely: 1740 (Orlandini); 1745 (Pitteri); 1778; 1783 (Rossi); 1786; 1793 (Remondini); all of Venice. Julius Petzholdt, in his invaluable *Bibliotheca bibliographica* (Leipzig, 1866, pp. 169 ff.), names the sources from which Guidi took many of his titles, and says that though Guidi leaves little to be desired as regards completeness, the same thing cannot be said for his accuracy: in many cases he merely copied wrong titles from his sources.

Three of the remaining ten editions are mentioned in Polidori's bibliography, *viz.*: 1755 (Bortoli); 1771 (Remondini); 1772 (Zatta); all of Venice. But Polidori's confusion of mind was not confined to his method of preparing a text of *La Scolastica* (see *Prefazione*, p. xxxiv), and his bibliography of this play is the most unreliable ever made. Nor does the fact that Graesse also cites the two first-named editions prove that they exist: Graesse is well able to record editions of Ariosto's plays that do not exist, such as "Arezzo, Bellotti, 1756"; "1811," without further information; "Parigi, Prault, 1746, 1768, 1777"; with the remark that "les éditions suivantes des œuvres de l'Arioste ne sont pas très estimées," a saying that would appear to be true, for no one else mentions them, not even Salza.

Of the seven editions that are left, Tambara is authority for one: Firenze, 1779. The sources of the six others are not given, but three of them are mentioned in Graesse's untrustworthy bibliography, *viz.*: 1760[1] (Remondini, Venezia); 1780 (Remondini, Venezia); 1798 (Remondini, Bassano). The remaining three edi-

[1] This edition is mentioned in *Libreria Giovanni Dotti*, Firenze: "Ven. Remondini, 1760-61 (4 vol.), in-12." Possibly this is a genuine edition.

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tions are: 1765 (Zatta, Venezia); 1823-4 (Ciardetti, Firenze); 1853 (Trieste). I am confident that the Trieste edition of 1853, without name of publisher, does not exist. An edition of Trieste which does exist, but which Salza does not mention, is the folio of 1857. A copy of this edition is to be found in the Bib. Comunale at Ferrara, and another in the Bib. Marucelliana at Florence. Still another in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples has been provided with a new title-page reading as follows: "*Opere di Lodovico Ariosto con Note Filologiche e Storiche.* Volume Unico. Milano. Presso l'Ufficio Generale di Commissioni ed Annunzi. Galleria Vittorio Emanuele N. 77."

Another edition not mentioned by Salza, which I have not seen, is recorded in the *Catalogo Generale della Libreria Italiana,* as published by Le Monnier in 1886.

However we may judge Salza's bibliography, this critical edition is immensely preferable to the two uncritical editions preceding it (Polidori, 1857, and Sonzogno, 1883).

ELIZABETH CHANDLEE FORMAN.

Haverford, Pa.

CORRESPONDENCE

STEPHEN PHILLIPS AND EDGAR ALLAN POE

The *Spectator* characterizes Stephen Phillips' poem, *Cities of Hell,* as "exceedingly stirring and original;" but it may be worth while to notice that a striking similarity exists between this poem and *The Power of Words,* a dialogue by Edgar Allan Poe. In each case we have a disembodied spirit that has passed "beyond the boundaries of the earth," and in similar fashion each is made cognizant of a new idea by another spirit. In the poem there is a particular illustration of a general idea, and in the dialogue a general thought is evolved and then illustrated and emphasized by a particular instance. In *The Power of Words* the angel Agathos explains to Oinos, a spirit newly become immortal, that motion is the source of all being; God created only in the beginning; all subsequent creation is mediate or indirect. A motion of the hand upon earth produces a vibration of the atmosphere which is in-

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definitely extended. Motion of any nature creates, and the source of all motion is thought.

"You are well aware," says Agathos, "that, as no thought can perish, so no act is without infinite result."[1] In the ninth stanza of Stephen Phillips' poem we find the same idea expressed in almost identical words:

> Nothing done, or said, or thought,
> Shall ever perish : none can ever die.

At the end of Poe's dialogue Agathos gives Oinos a very vivid illustration of the physical power of words. Every word is an impulse in the air. Oinos asks Agathos why he is weeping as they hover together above a fair star, which is the greenest and yet the most terrible of all they have encountered in their flight. "Its brilliant flowers," says Oinos, "look like a fairy dream—but its fierce volcanoes like the passions of a turbulent heart."[2] To this Agathos answers:

"They *are!*—they *are!* This wild star—it is now three centuries since with clasped hands, and with streaming eyes, at the feet of my beloved—I spoke it—with a few passionate sentences—into birth. Its brilliant flowers *are* the dearest of all unfulfilled dreams, and its raging volcanoes *are* the passions of the most turbulent and unhallowed of hearts."

In *Cities of Hell,* the spirit, passing beyond the earth, sees cities of earth rebuilded upon space, London, Paris, Rome and Babylon, and venturing down into that other London, comes into a chamber where above a new-murdered woman bends a man in fury. In answer to the question as to how this tragic London chamber still exists beyond the limits of the earth, the woman says,

> Such power hath passion upon stones that he
> Transported into space the very walls,
> The hour, the room, this bed where still I droop,
> Hither at death we naturally came,
> Inheriting the home that moment built.

In both cases the essential idea is the same. *The Power of Words,* with a show of scientific reasoning, attempts to prove that the passionate words of Agathos by their impact upon the atmos-

[1] *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe,* edited by James A. Harrison, vi, 141.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 143.

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phere had power to create the wild star with its brilliant flowers and raging volcanoes. Whereas in *Cities of Hell* the same scene that we have first on earth is perpetuated or recreated in Hell through the passion of a man. Stephen Phillips frankly ignores the laws of science while Poe attempts to give color to his dialogue by pseudo-scientific reasoning. As Prof. W. LeConte Stevens says:[3] "Poe evidently had no more idea that his writings would be subjected to scientific analysis than did 'Munchausen.' Between the two there is no comparison, so far as refinement and genius are concerned. But they are about equally independent in neglecting the laws of scientific evidence."

Both poem and dialogue are works of the imagination rather than of the reason, and both are illustrative of the same idea that "nothing done, or said, or thought, shall ever perish."

If the dialogue and the poem be taken in their entirety, the resemblance can be more readily appreciated. One is almost compelled to believe that Stephen Phillips must have been acquainted with Poe's dialogue; if he was not, there remains an extremely remarkable coincidence.

HERBERT EDWARD MIEROW.

Lakewood, N. J.

Fondo en . . . A RARE SPANISH IDIOM

About eight years ago Dr. C. C. Ayer of the University of Colorado called by attention to a use of the word *fondo* which dictionaries make no record of. It occurred in a passage of Moreto's *El lindo don Diego* (II, 12). The *gracioso* gives vent to his admiration for the shrewdness of the soubrette, Beatriz, in the following words, which constitute his entire speech:

> ¡Oh gran Beatriz, *fondo en tía!*[1]
> (*Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXIX, 363 c.)

I was unable at the time to explain or understand this locution, and find myself still in the same case. Since then I have met, however, four or five other examples, which I should like to lay

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

[1] There is no aunt in the play; *tía* is doubtless to be taken in the sense 'smart woman.'

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before the readers of *Modern Language Notes,* in the hope that some of them may be able to offer a successful interpretation.

1. Lope de Vega, *La moza de cántaro,* II, 7. Dª. María has indicated that a poor lover is justified in seeking a sweetheart from the lower classes, so as to incur only slight expense in the necessary gifts to her; for ladies demand enormous outlay:

> que para últimos empleos
> de las damas, *fondo en ángel,*
> no hay plata en el alto cerro
> del Potosí, perlas ni oro
> en los orientales reinos.
> (*Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XXIV, 557 b.) [1]

2. Doubtful author, *Lo que hace un manto en Madrid,* III.[2] The *gracioso* expresses wonder at the uncanny knowledge evinced by the veiled duenna:

> Esta es bruja, *fondo en moza.*
> (*Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* V, 713c, line 20.)

There are no other lines in the speech.

3. Tirso de Molina, *Las Amazonas en las Indias,* I, 3. This play is the second of Tirso's trilogy on the lives of the Pizarros. Martesia, an Amazon with the gift of prophecy, has predicted to Caravajal, the facetious old comrade of the Pizarros, that he will be executed if he returns to Lima. Thereat the veteran remarks:

> Desdorara su fama si no fuera
> su oficio bruja, *fondo en agorera.*
> (Cotarelo, *Comedias de Tirso de Molina,* I, 553 b.)

4. Tirso de Molina, *La lealtad contra la envidia,* II, 7. The third of the Pizarro trilogy. Speech of Castillo, a *gracioso* Castilian soldier, in reply to a Peruvian woman who begs him, with tears, to spare the life of her lover:

> Fuera toda petición,
> toda gesticulación,
> todo llanto doralice,
> pues no me cupo del saco
> sino las vidas que quito;
> éste es general delito,
> hermosa, *fondo en tabaco,*
> no me arrumaques, que el perro
> de tu cacique galán
> ha de morir.
> (Cotarelo, *Comedias de Tirso de Molina,* I, 596a.)

[1] Lines 1312-1316 of the text-book edition of *La moza de cántaro,* Holt, N. Y., 1913. The editor, Professor Stathers, passes in silence over *fondo en ángel.* So does Professor F. O. Reed, who reviewed the book in *Mod. Lang. Notes,* January, 1914.

[2] *Lo que hace un manto en Madrid* is a remodeled version of *En Madrid*

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5. I am in doubt if in the following passage *fondo en* has the same significance as in the others; but the meaning is sufficiently obscure to be presented.

> Tras de éste otro coche viene
> de hermosuras escariotes,
> más ligeras y traidoras
> que hacas de postillones.
> Las cejas papel quemado,
> y los labios de cerote,
> lo blanco *fondo en Guinea*,
> lo rubio pelo de cofre.

These lines occur in the midst of a long *Carta a Valle, toledano*, by Lorenzo Ortiz de Bujedo. (Gallardo, *Ensayo*, no. 3288, vol. III, col. 1030.) They form part of a satirical description of a city not named, perhaps Cadiz.

I have not found the phrase *fondo en* cited specifically in any of the dictionaries I have consulted, among them Covarrubias and the *Diccionario de Autoridades*. Probably the key is to be found in a special interpretation of one of the ordinary definitions of *fondo*. Is *fondo en tía*, with its analogs, an exclamation, a kind of oath? Or is it equivalent to *sobre un fondo de tía, con fondos de tía*, or something of the sort? The latter would fit quotation no. 5, but how about no. 4? Does *fondo en tabaco* refer to the snuff-colored complexion of the Quechuan damsel? This much is clear; the idiom is slangy, used by good writers, but only in a facetious way. Of the five examples taken from plays, four are found on the lips of *graciosos*, or of persons acting that part at the moment.

I should welcome more light, or more examples.[4]

S. GRISWOLD MORLEY.

University of California.

y en una casa, a play considered with reason to be of Tirso de Molina. See Cotarelo, *Comedias de Tirso de Molina*, vol. II, Madrid, 1907, pp. xix-xx.

[4] After the above was set in type, two further examples were brought to my notice, the first by Professor Schevill, the second by Dr. E. Buceta:

> Y es muy grande desvergüenza
> que os toméis la mano vos
> sin dármela a mí en la iglesia;
> primillo, *fondo en cuñado*,
> idos un poco a la lengua.
>
> (Rojas, *Entre bobos anda el juego*, I; *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LIV, 23 b.)

> Rostro de blanca nieve, *fondo en grajo*,
> La tizne presumida de ser ceja.
>
> (Quevedo, *Poesías*, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXIX, 136.)

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Captain Thomas Morris on Garrick

Students of American history are acquainted with the reprint by Mr. Thwaites[1] of the interesting *Journal* of Captain Thomas Morris, dated "Detroit, September 25, 1764." To the value of that narrative Mr. Thwaites has done full justice in his introduction. Students of literature, however, have no such ready access to Morris's *Letter / to a / Friend / on the Poetical Elocution of the Theatre / and the / Manner of Acting Tragedy,* which immediately follows the *Journal* in his *Miscellanies / in / Prose and Verse,* London, 1791. This volume is a rarity, and of Morris himself little is known.

The Captain's chief interest from his testimony was "the Poetical Elocution of the Theatre." On this subject he regards himself as a master, and thus attacks Garrick. "To recite verse, especially rhyme, in a perfect manner, is, I believe, the rarest gift bestowed on man. England produces men excellent in every other art and science; but an excellent reciter of verse, public or private, I have not heard since the days of Quin; and I almost despair of ever hearing another. I consider it as a lost art; and it would give me extreme satisfaction to be instrumental in its recovery." Now, although the critic concedes to Garrick "many transcendent qualities: his animation, though often introduced improperly; his thorough conception of his character; his skill in managing his voice, which I think was his greatest excellence, though frequently abused; his graceful deportment; and lastly, though blemished with trick, his mute play," still he insists, "Garrick and verse were not made to agree."

The gravamen of the charge is that Garrick "played from the head and not from the heart." For that reason the Captain dissents from the view that Garrick acted from the same inspiration with which Shakespeare wrote. Rather, he says, "No two men ever differed more than Shakespeare and Garrick: the one was all nature, the other all art; but art of an exquisite kind: yet still it was art. Shakespear wrote from his heart; Garrick played from his head." Blinded by the actor's merits, the public had come to approve his foibles—"the sudden and unnatural transition of voice; the studied, and always premature, start; the pantomime gesture; and all trick . . . miserable expedients, fit only for a booth in a fair, not for royal theatres of the metropolis." In dialogue he grants Garrick "a tincture" of the skill he so warmly commended in Mademoiselle Du Menil; but censures Garrick's soliloquy as "unnatural" and exposing "his false emphasis." He "could not endure Mr. Garrick's hobble. He spoke blank verse very ill; rhyme, despicably. . . . I have been told that Mr. Gar-

[1] *Early Western Travels,* 1748-1846. Cleveland, 1904.

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rick said of Mrs. Siddons, that he wondered how she got rid of her ti-tum-ti. I know not how she got rid of her ti-tum-ti, but I know how, with all her excellence, she got her hobble-ti-trot: She got it, as all others got it, from Mr. Garrick." Upon Quin he bestows the compliment,—"a perfect reciter of verse," and finds his worthiest successor in Mrs. Pope. As for Garrick, "he sacrificed sense to sound; and his sound itself was discord." So long as Garrick is taken for its model, the Captain despairs of the English stage.

He concludes his *Letter*, therefore, with a proposal to come in person to the rescue. Merely to drop Garrick and follow nature "would not bring us to perfection for ages." Models are needed; and these the Captain finds in Quin for reciting and in Du Menil for acting tragedy. Though they are gone, he has learned to recite, as did Quin, "from nature"; and from Du Menil he has received the art of acting tragedy. He can imitate her manner at least. "and that must serve." He offers to transmit the traditions of Du Menil. "Thus may Garrick's imitative acting and bad recitation be lost forever; and tragedians learn to move the heart by true feelings, and delight the ear with poetic melody."

C. B. Cooper.

Armour Institute of Technology.

A Luckless Monthly and an Ill-Starred Maiden

In March, 1698, appeared at Amsterdam, "chez Louis Val," according to the title page, the first number of a periodical with the attractive name *L'Elite des Nouvelles de toutes les Cours d'Europe*. Contemporaries unanimously attribute it to Gatien de Courtilz, better known as Courtilz de Sandras. At this time he was beginning his sixth year in the Bastille, where similar enterprises had lodged him in 1693, but apparently he enjoyed considerable liberty (see Ravaisson, *Archives de la Bastille*). Only three numbers of the journal appeared: the first contains the *nouvelles* of January, February, and March, the second those of April, the last those of May. The work is cited as having run from January through May, and this has led to the erroneous statement that five numbers appeared. The following explanation from the *Avertissement* may suffice to correct this error: "Il semblera que je m'avise un peu tard et même à contre temps en quelque façon de mettre la main à cet ouvrage, maintenant que l'année est commencée; mais comme elle n'est pas encore bien avancée, j'ai cru que je pourrais reprendre ici tout ce qui s'est passé de plus considérable dans les mois de janvier et de février, afin que si ce petit livre a le bonheur

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de plaire au public, il puisse trouver à la fin de l'année tout ce qui y sera arrivé depuis le premier janvier jusqu'à la fin de décembre."

As I have said, this hope was not destined to be fulfilled. Bayle and Lelong state that the "libraire" was banished and the publication suppressed. The *Avertissement* had promised that the author would avoid on the one hand the universal flattery of the *Mercure Galant*, and on the other would refrain from slandering anyone. Possibly his bad reputation caused the ruin of his enterprise, or possibly the officers of the Bastille tightened their grip. In any case the journal has become rare—I have found but one copy, that owned by the University of Leyden.

The work seems to be a combination of the *Mercure Galant* and the *Mercure Historique et Politique* (the latter founded by Courtilz and written by him from 1686 to 1689). The news is classed by countries and published under the headings: *Nouvelles d'Italie, Nouvelles de France*, etc. First there is a recapitulation of political news, related with the cynical spirit of the *Mercure Historique et Politique*. Then come society items in the manner of the *Mercure Galant*, and a string of anecdotes such as Courtilz, to his cost, was always fond of collecting. Among the latter occurs the following, which is not without interest as an indication of the penetration of the extravagant manners of the *précieuses* among their humbler sisters:

"Une pauvre fille qui n'a pas un nom qui soit connu de beaucoup de monde, après avoir manqué deux ou trois mariage d'assez de conséquence depuis qu'elle fait le métier de filer le parfait amour, croyait à la fin être à la veille de se recompenser de toutes ses pertes par celui (*i. e.*, "mariage" or "amour") de M. de Mascarani, maître des requêtes, quand elle s'est rendue cause elle-même de son malheur. Ayant voulu qu'il se purgeât avant de l'épouser, elle lui a donné elle-même une pilule d'un certain charlatan en qui elle avait beaucoup de confiance; mais cette pilule a si mal opéré qu'elle l'a envoyé en l'autre monde. Après un malheur comme celui-là, il ne lui reste plus d'autre consolation que celle de prendre une semblable pilule afin de lui aller tenir compagnie; car comme elle est déjà vieille et qu'elle n'a jamais été belle, il y a apparence qu'elle ne recouvrera jamais ce qu'elle vient de perdre. Au moins, ne trouve-t-on pas tous les jours un amant qui ait soixante et dix mille livres de rente comme les avait M. de Mascarani." (Nouvelles de France, p. 76.)

Thus has true love never run smooth—at least for the *Cathos* et *Madelons* of this world.

BENJ. M. WOODBRIDGE.

The Rice Institute.

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Rainolds' Letter to Thornton

I beg leave to report an error in my article *An Elizabethan Defense of the Stage* (*Shakespeare Studies by Members of the Department of English of the University of Wisconsin*, Madison, 1916, pp. 103-124). On page 108 of this paper I asserted that the letter of Rainolds to Thornton, dated February 6, 1591/2, had never been published. Hence I printed the letter (pp. 108-111) from Corpus Christi College MS. 352, referring to a substantially similar version of it in Bodleian Tanner MS. 77. Professor Kittredge has kindly shown me that the text from Tanner MS. 77 is printed in *The Archæologist and Journal of Antiquarian Science*, edited by J. O. Halliwell, No. 3, November, 1841, pp. 114-117. The existence of the edition from Tanner MS. 77 appears to have been overlooked by recent writers on the Oxford academic drama (See F. S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age*, Oxford, 1914, p. 232, *et pass.*; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. VI, p. 528). In spite of my regrettable error, I venture to hope that my text from C. C. C. MS. 352 may not be thought entirely superfluous. I ought to say that in comparing the text in *The Archæologist* with photographs of its original, Tanner MS. 77, I have observed a certain number of misreadings.

Karl Young.

University of Wisconsin.

BRIEF MENTION

The Rudiments of Criticism. By E. A. Greening Lamborn (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1917). This book is to supply, "in a small compass and in a simple style, a general introduction to the meaning and scope of criticism." It has been prepared by a Headmaster of a school, who has persuaded himself that a record of his methods and of suggestions and conclusions verified by his experience as a teacher may with advantage be put into the hands of less experienced teachers of poetry and into the hands of their young pupils. The aim is to promote in the young the study and appreciation of poetry, and the fundamental doctrine to be inculcated is that poetry is to be read primarily for the form of its matter. This view of the significance of the form of poetry begets the titles of the chapters: What is Poetry? Rhythm and Rime: Poetry is Music: Sound and Sense; Stanza-Form; Pictures in Poetry; The Figures of Speech; Other Artifices and Other Arts; Poetry is Formal Beauty. The chapters are short and in the form of persuasive exposition and discussion, not in that of text-book

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paragraphs. Material is supplied, in a simple style, for fundamental study and reflection and for the verification of elementary experience, not for exact recitation in the course of preparation for a final examination. The pupils are to be taught to recognize and to appreciate the elements of beauty, and school-examinations as an "end-all in education" are renounced with the earnestness, if not with the philosophic breadth and depth, of Mr. Balfour himself; for "poetry does not teach, it inspires."

One might dispute a number of Mr. Lamborn's minor details; and surely an occasional digression of thought disturbs rather than furthers his admirably simple purpose. To inveigh, incidentally, against "higher criticism" and against critics that look for a "moral purpose" in poetry is gratuitous enough; it is something worse than that to take occasion to excuse a judgment of Emerson's by saying that "good criticism can hardly be expected from a nation that has produced no good poetry" (p. 121).

The elementary character of the book is to be kept in mind. This is its merit that it is to assist in teaching children, and the closing chapter, entitled "Children's Exercises," is followed by a confirmation of the argument in the form of a supplement consisting of "verses and essays written by primary school children."

The citation of a few detached sentences from this chapter cannot fail to arouse the interest of elementary teachers: "they will find that when children are given scope for the exercise of the poetic power, which is the special gift of their time of life, the results are surprising. I am not speaking only, or even mainly, of original verse, but of the use of imagery, of the figures of speech and of pictorial epithets in descriptive essays, and of imaginative writing generally" (p. 139). "Children may try not merely to emulate the poets but even to compete with them. This is not so ridiculous as it may sound, for to have failed is to have a criterion of success. But actually, if a good deal of poetry is a rhetorical presentation of a point of view, children may find good training in attempting to set forth the opposite point of view" (p. 146). "The point I have been trying to make all through this essay is that poetry, its rhythm, its music, its imagery, its figures of speech, are instinctive in children, that they have a natural appetite for them, and an intuitive gift of using them" (p. 157). "Only a very few hours weekly for a few years are available for poetry in school; but if we can, in that brief space, awaken a love for it, the child has a whole life-time in which to develop the subject, and, through it, his own being" (p. 156). Mr. Lamborn insists also on being clearly understood on two points to be inferred from the following declaration: "I fancy that people who have no taste for poetry fall roughly into two classes, those who have been fed on sentiment till they sickened of it, and those who have been crammed with notes on meanings and allusions and grammatical examples

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and biographical records until they have learned to curse the poets and all their works" (p. 17).

The unmistakable reflection in this work of a positive personality might be urged as an excuse for further citation from the expressions of a mature and earnest teacher of beginners. The book furnishes a demonstration of the value of a teacher's personality,—a matter that should receive more consideration at all points of the graded system of education.

The modernist will call this an old-fashioned treatise, with its conventional insistence on restraining rules in art-forms, and with its recognition in universal experience of the degrees of culture conditioned by natural endowments, energy of mind, diversity of pursuits, and other external conditions of life. The most modern theorist, however, must begin by agreeing with the traditional teacher that all æsthetic theory is based on the fact that man as man is endowed with mind, and the consequent fact that whatever can be accomplished by the best and the most cultivated mind is a result of effort that, in some degree of quantity (Croce), or of quality, or of both, is possible to every normal mind. This must be true for both intuitive and intellective knowledge. But this ultimate of ultimates, this 'natural man,' has developed arts and sciences, and he has done this not by sitting idly on the foundation stone. Equally futile is it to ignore the theories and 'laws' represented in the superstructure and to say "we have done with" this and that principle of symmetry and proportion, of strength or color of material, etc., and to advocate a method of construction that is to be tried not by the tests by which standards have been maintained in the past, but by the sole test, vague and impossible of definition, of having the character of a "spiritual" procedure. To carry this notice further in the direction of a reversion to the subject of "Creative Criticism" (see the preceding number of this periodical), Croce recognizes the common experience of passing from "slight to greater intuitions"; and his following statements merely confirm "traditional" criticism: "We have each of us, as a matter of fact, a little of the poet, of the sculptor, of the musician, of the painter, of the prose writer: but how little, as compared with those who are so called, precisely because of the lofty degree in which they possess the most universal dispositions and energies of human nature!" And finally, there is a significant admission of an *illusion* in average experience: "It often happens that when people meet a simple and conclusive statement of philosophic truths that may have cost the labors of centuries, they will shrug their shoulders and remark that the boasted discovery is indeed a very easy thing, plain and known of all men. Precisely the same thing occurs in the case of the most inspired creations of art, which are developed with such simplicity and naturalness that every one ex-

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periences the illusion of having achieved, or of being able to achieve them himself."

Mr. Lamborn would have the teacher keep in mind the pupil's "intuitive gift" and offers a method for the initial training of that gift. That is altogether a different matter from basing a logic of æsthetics on intuition, which is a logic or theory that has to face a contention for intellective elements in both creative and appreciative activities, and for a fundamental difference between these classes of experience.

> Natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte
> quaesitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vena,
> nec rude quid possit video ingenium; alterius sic
> altera poscit opem res, et coniurat amice.

J. W. B.

Mr. Albert Croll Baugh has brought out a very careful edition of William Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money* as his thesis for a University of Pennsylvania doctorate (1917). The text of the play is printed from the first quarto of 1616 with all its imperfections on its head, even to the long *s* for *f* and a comma that fell up-side-down into its appointed place. All variants from the other quartos of 1626 and 1631 are given in footnotes with most meticulous care, more as a memorial to exact scholarship than as an aid in the interpretation of the play. The Introduction is taken up with an account of Haughton's life and work, with special consideration of this comedy and a less detailed treatment of the other plays, which were, in contrast to *Englishmen for my Money*, composed in collaboration with others. Mr. Baugh has told us all that can be known about Haughton and a good deal that cannot be connected with him. He may have gone to Oxford, and he did go to jail, "the Clink," from which Henslowe records his release at the cost of ten shillings. His will, discovered by the indefatigable Professor Wallace, is here printed for the first time, and disposes of his "goodes chattells & debtes whatsoeuer vnto my wief Alice Haughton towardes the payment of my debtes, and the bringinge up of my children." Alas for the children, one might exclaim after reading of Henslowe's financial dealings with the father.

It is only relatively that one can agree with Mr. Baugh's enthusiastic estimate of this play as "an excellent comedy." The business-soliloquy abounds, the exposition is exceedingly artificial, and the characterization is conventional and for the most part colorless. Frisco to a certain extent redeems the play from monotony. Pisaro hardly deserves Mr. Baugh's praise, especially in what he says in his tender recollections of his wife when he is

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wickedly tempting Walgrave disguised as the alluring Susan (see ll. 2210 ff.). The three sets of characters, each set of three persons, are not individualized, and three "strangers" are particularly dull, even when intelligible. It is hard to see what a contemporary audience could make out of their jargon when a modern editor is nonplussed. On the other hand, Mr. Baugh does well to point out the significance of this play as "the first regular comedy of realistic London life in the English drama" and "of first importance in the development of the usurer play." The scenes laid in London streets are the precursors of the Jonsonian comedy, and the usurer episodes prefigure those in many comedies which bear a striking resemblance to Haughton's.

J. W. T.

Two timely little books recently issued by the University of Chicago Press are *First Lessons in Spoken French for Men in Military Service*, by Messrs. Wilkins, Coleman, and Huse, and *Le Soldat Américain en France*, by Messrs. Coleman and La Meslée.

The first of these presents in 124 pages the chief points of French grammar and gives lists of military terms and words the "Sammies" will find useful during their early sojourn in France. To teach pronunciation a simple, easily assimilated, phonetic transcription is used, and this is exclusively employed for the reading exercises, tho the individnal words in the vocabularies are given with the ordinary spelling as well.

It is remarkable how much real information has been given in such small compass. After a careful review of pronunciation, the elemental questions of gender, article, the partitive, pronouns, interrogation, and negation follow in immediate succession. Simple explanations are given of the usual difficulties, and exceptions are properly omitted. In the remaining four-fifths of the booklet, the emphasis is entirely on the verb, the object pronouns being taught in this connection. Isolated chapters here and there treat of adjectives, numerals, telling time, and dates. Despite its size, it is doubtful if any grammatical points are omitted which should really be taught students in their first year of French, and the combination of such a grammar with extensive reading of easy texts should give better results than our present methods in the one-year courses in modern languages which now satisfy the requirements of so many of our technical schools.

The second text of the series is a book adapted for use in school and college classes, just as well as in training camps. In short, concise chapters the essential details of French geography, climate, and daily life are presented. Transportation, money, postal service, food, and clothing are some of the things treated, not to mention the more technical subjects which directly affect the soldier's life.

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In order that this book may be used without reference to the more elementary one, a clear exposition of French pronunciation is given in the opening pages, there follows a list of generally useful phrases, while specific locutions are prefixed to each of the chapters. These are intended for oral practice, and the student thus learns insensibly those idiomatic expressions which are so hard to acquire yet so necessary for a proper understanding of the language. The book closes with a vocabulary, in which the pronunciation of each word is figured, and with a short pronouncing list of the French proper names now on everyone's lips. Just before the vocabulary are one or two lists of slang terms most useful for the prospective soldier.

It would not be right to conclude this brief mention without stating that the authors of these most serviceable text-books have generously offered the royalties on the first to the Army work of the Y. M. C. A., and those on the second to the *Œuvre de l'orphelinat des armées françaises.* M. P. B.

In commemoration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation, Professor G. C. L. Riemer has published a new English version of Freytag's *Doctor Luther* (Philadelphia, The Lutheran Publication Society). In the earlier translation of H. E. O. Heinemann (1897) the material had been re-arranged, and rendered into English in a rather free translation: Riemer, on the other hand, follows Freytag's diction closely, without doing violence to the genius of the English language. Now and then, to be sure, the translator fails to hit the exact meaning. For example, *Console* (p. 44, 21) should be *persuade; blessed bread* (45, 10) should be *daily bread; become blessed* (50, 20) should be *be saved; small forms of literature* (53, 1) should be *pamphlet literature; consecration* (140, 23) should be *Holy Orders.* There are also a number of misprints and errors of omission, which would escape the casual reader: for *wounded* (63, 8) read *wounding;* for *September* (112, ?) read *December;* on p. 115, 21, 24, read *Ebernburg;* on p. 118, 15, read *Pappenheim;* after *February* (112, 21) insert *1521;* after *excitement* (113, 3) insert *among the people;* before *O dear God* (171, 26) the words *it must be a great unspeakable wrath* have dropped out.

In addition to the text proper, the book offers a short biography of Gustav Freytag, biographical and geographical notes, and a table of dates, which should prove helpful to the general reader. There are also a number of illustrations, portraying Luther as Junker Georg, Hans Luther, Margarethe Luther, Katharina von Bora, Melanchthon, and Frederick the Wise. The work is well printed, and should prove an acceptable addition to our literature on the Hero of the Reformation. K. J. G.

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